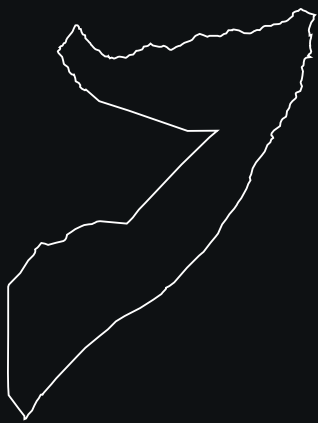




IOM International Organization for Migration



SOMALI REGIONS

MAPPING EXERCISE
LONDON, JUNE 2006

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The aim of this Mapping Report is to guide IOM's outreach activities and communications strategies. The report does not purport to be exhaustive. The mapping consultant who conducted the exercise and wrote the report on behalf of IOM has taken every effort to ensure accuracy in his/her reporting and the views expressed in this report are his/hers. IOM cannot be held responsible for any omissions or inaccuracies.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM OF THE MAPPING EXERCISE, TARGET GROUP AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of the mapping exercise carried out by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) was to identify the main channels of information used by potential beneficiaries of IOM's voluntary return programmes, which are open to asylum seekers and irregular migrants. The aim was also to identify the location of their communities in the UK. The ultimate goal of the mapping exercise is to help IOM to improve its communications with foreign language communities in the United Kingdom through media articles, advertisements and presentations to community groups.

The Somali mapping exercise was carried out in areas where the Somali community makes up a greater proportion of the population than is the case nationally. For example, according to various sources, Somalis represent the second largest ethnic minority in Tower Hamlets¹ and Camden² (after the Bangladeshi community), and one of the largest ethnic groups in Hammersmith and Fulham, Ealing and Southall, Brent, Birmingham and Leicester.³ Other areas with a large concentration of Somalis include Liverpool, Cardiff and Sheffield.

The following sources of information were used to gather data for this report.

- **Key informants.** The consultant interviewed seven key informants who were knowledgeable about the Somali community. They included community workers, teachers, immigration lawyers, Somali workers in mainstream organisations, and Somali business and media personnel.
- **Community consultations.** The consultant participated in several community consultations and meetings of Somali organisations. Three of these meetings took place in London and one in Leicester.
- **Service provider interviews.** Agencies and service providers involved in supporting Somali asylum seekers, refugees and migrants were also consulted.
- **Interviews with Somali individuals.** Sixty-three Somalis in total were interviewed in London and Leicester. The interviews took place at their workplace, in community centres, at voluntary organisation centres or at their place of study.

Interviewing took place over a three-week period between late April and late May. Interviews were conducted in English and Somali. This enabled respondents to use both Somali and English interchangeably to respond to questions. The length of interview depended on how much the interviewees had to say and the time at their disposal. The average length of the interview was between 30-45 minutes.

¹ A 2001 report by Hodan Abdullah for Oxford House and interview with Oxford House personnel.

² A 2005 report by Camden Council and interviews with service providers in Camden Borough

³ 80% of the Somali population in Birmingham and Leicester are of European origin (EU nationals from Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Norway).

It cannot be guaranteed that every possible opinion has been captured by the mapping exercise but, nonetheless, the range of individuals that were involved with the exercise did constitute a wide and diverse sample.

At the end of the field work, IOM was able to create an extensive list of contacts⁴ which merged data gathered directly from completed questionnaires with information provided by the multipliers⁵ during in-depth interviews. This resource will be used by the Information team at IOM to disseminate information on the voluntary return programmes to Somalis in Britain. This list of contacts is an action plan that contains details of organisations and agencies with which IOM should liaise to increase awareness of the voluntary return programmes among the Somali community in the UK.

⁴ This document is confidential and does not form part of this report.

⁵ This term is used to indicate individuals or organisations that are well known amongst diaspora groups and could therefore play a key role in delivering information.

1.2 SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF SOMALIS IN THE UK

Community Profile

Somalis began coming to the UK in significant numbers in the early 1990s and become the second largest group of refugees in the UK. No accurate data exists but it is widely believed that the majority of the Somali population in the UK have only been resident in this country since the late 1980s. The persistence of political instability in many parts of the Somali regions after the 1990s created a new wave of refugees that continues to bring Somalis to the UK.

Somali refugees come from all parts of their country, but several sources reported that a particularly large number of refugees are from the southern part of the Somali regions. This area was hit particularly hard by the fighting and the factional and sectarian violence still continues. It also appears that many of the most recently-arrived refugees and asylum seekers are unaccompanied minors or single mothers.

Size and Locations

There is no official estimate of the size and distribution of the Somali population in Britain. The range of estimates is between 95,000 and 250,000.⁶ The majority of Somalis in the UK live in London.

The estimated size of the Somali community in London is 70,000,⁷ the largest group of some 13,000⁸ people being located in Tower Hamlets. In addition, there are probably more than 50,000 Somali, who are EU citizens, in Leicester, Birmingham, Milton Keynes and Coventry. For many Somalis, choice of residence may depend on the pre-existence of a Somali community in the area. This allows family and clan reunification, community support, cultural gatherings, and a sense of commonality.

The questionnaire respondents also confirmed that the Somali population is the second largest ethnic minority group in Tower Hamlets and Camden (after the Bangladeshi community)⁹ and one of the largest ethnic groups in Hammersmith and Fulham, Ealing and Southall, Brent, Leicester and Birmingham.

The majority of respondents agreed that Tower Hamlets has the largest Somali population in London. The survey also found that the majority of Somali people in Leicester, Birmingham (c. 35,000 Somalis) and, to an extent, Milton Keynes, Bristol and Coventry, are of European origin. These are European citizens from the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Russia and Norway.

1.3 CONSTRAINTS: A CULTURE OF MISTRUST AND DISSENTION WITHIN THE SOMALI COMMUNITY

A further objective of the mapping exercise was to explore the level of awareness and understanding of IOM's work within the Somali community. It also sought to gauge the level of interest in the services offered by IOM within Somali community organisations, for future networking and partnership purposes.

⁶ BBC and ICAR survey estimates

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Oxford House

⁹ Based on a report by Camden Council in 2001, a report by Hodan Abdullah for Oxford House, and mapping exercise interviews with community representatives in Tower Hamlets, Camden, Hammersmith and Fulham, and Leicester.

Geographical Spread of the Somali Community in the UK, 2006



Based on ICAR figures

A Culture of Mistrust

Community representatives and other individuals who were interviewed expressed frustration with the British Government's policies toward Somali asylum seekers in the UK. Many saw the voluntary return programme as part of a deliberate attempt to deport them back to the Somali regions and reduce the number of Somali asylum seekers in the UK.

IOM says that asylum seekers assisted by IOM's voluntary return programmes are returning to the Somali regions voluntarily but Somali community groups and individuals interviewed by the consultant argued that Somali returnees have been psychologically pressured into seeing the voluntary return programmes as their only option. They say pressure from the Government included: threats of arrest on false charges; denial of asylum for reasons such as "manifestly unfounded claims"; withdrawal of NASS support; forced removal from NASS accommodation; and asylum appeals being thrown out by the Courts.

An immigration lawyer interviewed by the consultant said that in the past few years a significant number of Somali asylum applications have been turned down because the Home Office feels that the Somali regions are stable and no longer create refugees. He commented, "This is a country that has been without a central government for more than a decade and continues to be plagued by civil unrest and widespread human rights abuses."

Somali representatives also claimed that the Government makes deals with local militias and warlords to get returnees back to the Somali regions. As a result, some returnees were allegedly sent back to the wrong regions, tortured, and even killed.¹⁰ One comment was: "The Government refuses to recognize Somaliland, or the transitional government in Mogadishu, but are more than happy to deal with malicious warlords and incompetent authorities on the ground in order to deport Somali asylum seekers." Such deportations are regarded by interlocutors as a blatant disregard of international human rights laws which the UK ratified.

For many Somalis, the July 7 bombing, in which a young Somali man was implicated, exacerbated the fragility of their situation. Following this event, and the killing of a police woman in Bradford, allegedly by a Somali man, the Somali community has seen a rising level of xenophobia. In many parts of the country, Somali refugees and asylum seekers have been blamed for a rise in violent gang-related crimes, drug dealing and other social ills. Consequently, Somalis have been subjected to racism, marginalisation, and criminalisation, because they are perceived as murderous gangsters, scroungers and would-be terrorists. Desperate appeals by the Somali community groups to the relevant authorities to address these issues have been, it is said, ignored or, at least, overlooked.

A Somali student of political science interviewed by the consultant said that, "The attack on all Somalis is totally unjustified as not all of us are gangsters or fundamentalist zealots yearning for Jihad." There also have been several rumours circulating in the Somali community since the July 7 bombing and the killing of the police woman in Bradford. Community leaders and individuals who were interviewed spoke of:

- the clandestine deportation of Somali men;
- the disappearance of several law abiding Somali men believed to be held incommunicado in secret locations within the UK;
- a rise in racially and ethnically motivated hate crimes;
- incidences of police brutality against Somali youths in Bradford, London and Liverpool;
- the killing of four Somali men in different locations in London allegedly by the police;
- indiscriminate arrests and immigration swoops for minor bureaucratic errors;
- random attacks on Somali women wearing the traditional veil;

¹⁰ The lack of a tracking system and an IOM field office in Somali regions were also seen to be a part of this conspiracy against Somali asylum seekers.

On the street, the lesson from these rumours is clear: “Avoid all contact with the Home Office and the authorities”.

Some respondents were aware that there have been some efforts to build trust and understanding between the Somali community and the authorities since the July 7 bombing but it was reported that the level of fear and anxiety remains very high. The implication for IOM is that it will take longer than anticipated to gain trust and build sustainable networks with Somali community groups and individuals.

A large number of potential informants were also very alarmed by the perceived involvement of the Home Office in IOM research. They feared that co-operation with the IOM/HO programme might jeopardise client relations and alienate their most vulnerable clientele. Moreover, community representatives cited the fear of deportation and arrest, and a distrust of authorities which has been brought from Somali regions, as major barriers to building trust and partnerships with IOM.

Dissension within the Somali Community

The Somali community is extremely divided, hence the proliferation of Somali community organisations throughout the UK. These divisions are the result of the stratified nature of the community. They mirror pre-existing clan rivalries that have left the Somali regions socially and economically devastated.

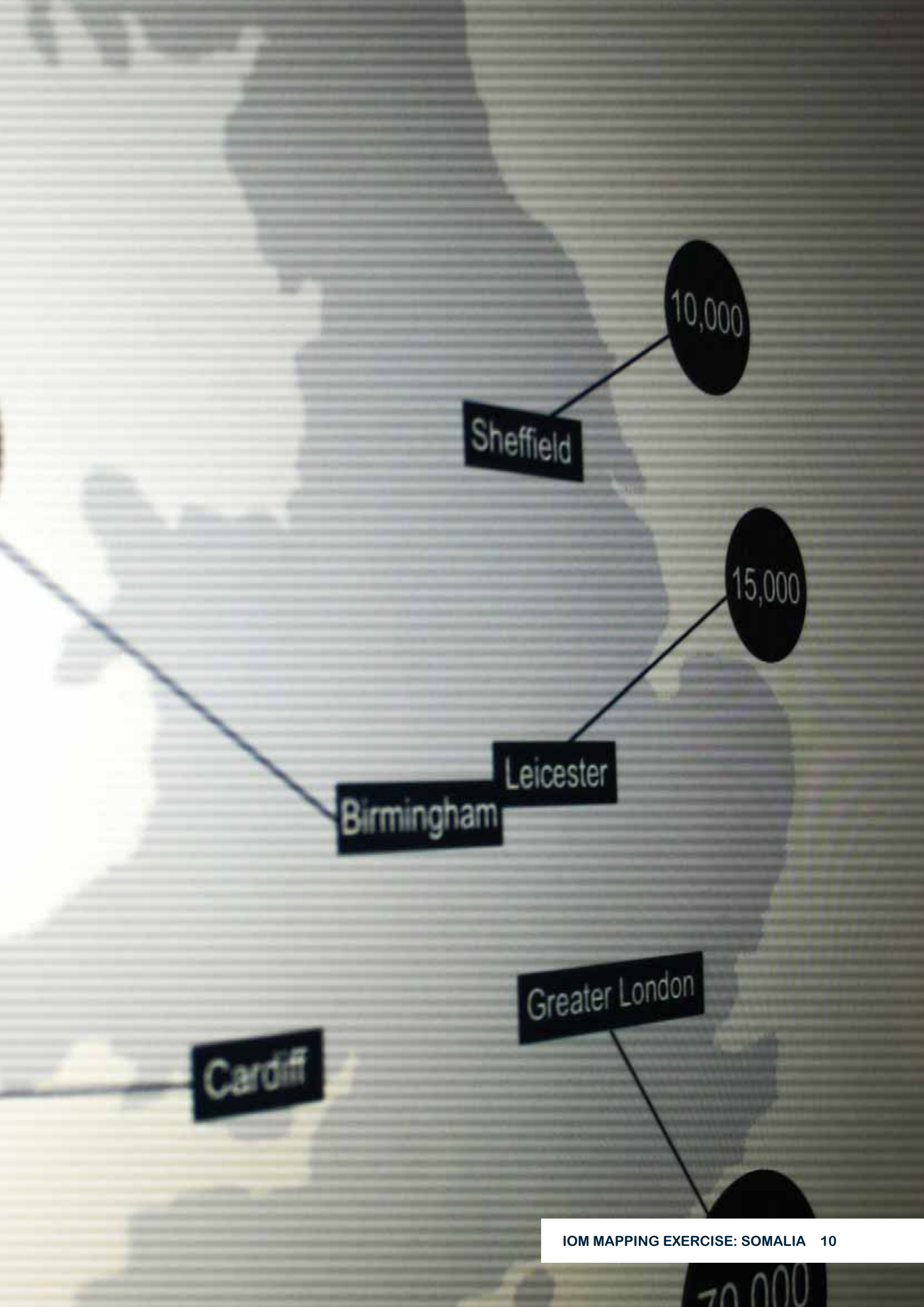
The Somali community is one the largest African community groups in the UK, yet little is known about this still growing population. IOM should certainly take the “clan” aspect of the Somali community into consideration when conducting outreach activities.

Recommendations

At present, the Somali community is in a most vulnerable state. Any attempt to build trust with Somali community organisations will take considerable time. IOM should take the following issues into consideration in developing relations with this group.

- The Somali community is highly politicised and very sectarian in nature. For the purpose of establishing a working and mutually beneficial relationship, IOM should research the different groups thoroughly to avoid being seen as taking sides on divisive issues within the Somali community. (The issue of Somalia and Somaliland should be approached with particular caution).
- Recent clashes between warlords, who have allegedly been sub-contracted by the US, and the Islamists in Mogadishu have claimed the lives of 300 civilians and injured more than 1,500 people. In these circumstances, IOM should consider postponing¹¹ all outreach activities for this community but continue to disseminate information about the voluntary return programmes through intermediaries.
- IOM should monitor the political and humanitarian situation in all parts of the Somali regions. This will ultimately determine the reception of IOM's outreach activities.
- IOM should, if possible, continue to work through Somali third parties to communicate with Somali communities.
- IOM should look into organising a Somali Consultation Day with community leaders, service providers, and Somali individuals, in an attempt to improve trust between IOM and Somali community organisations.
- In summary, factors relevant to the Somali community are:
 - the importance of the “clan” system in the Somali community;
 - dissention within Somali community groups;
 - the impact of the civil war that began in 1991 and still continues;
 - the humanitarian situation in the Somali regions;
 - the aftermath of the July 7 bombing and the subsequent rise in attacks on Somali people;
 - the importance of religion to Somali culture and its way of life.

¹¹ This only applies to outreach activities in London since this is where the majority of Somalis from the Southern part of Somalia, including Mogadishu, are based. However, if IOM is determined to conduct outreach activities for the Somali community in London, it should liaise *only* with the identified “friendlier” organisations. One of the multipliers interviewed said that, “No Southerner would happily engage in a discussion about returning back to Somalia when some of their relatives are being chased away from their homes”.



2 MAPPING EXERCISE OUTCOMES

INFORMATION CHANNELS

A broad range of the information channels used by the Somali community in the UK were explored. The mapping exercise yielded rich and diverse information on how the Somali community uses various media.

2.1 MEDIA

Figure 1 shows that the majority of respondents felt more comfortable receiving information from publications, radio and TV in Somali.

Figure 1: Preferred Language

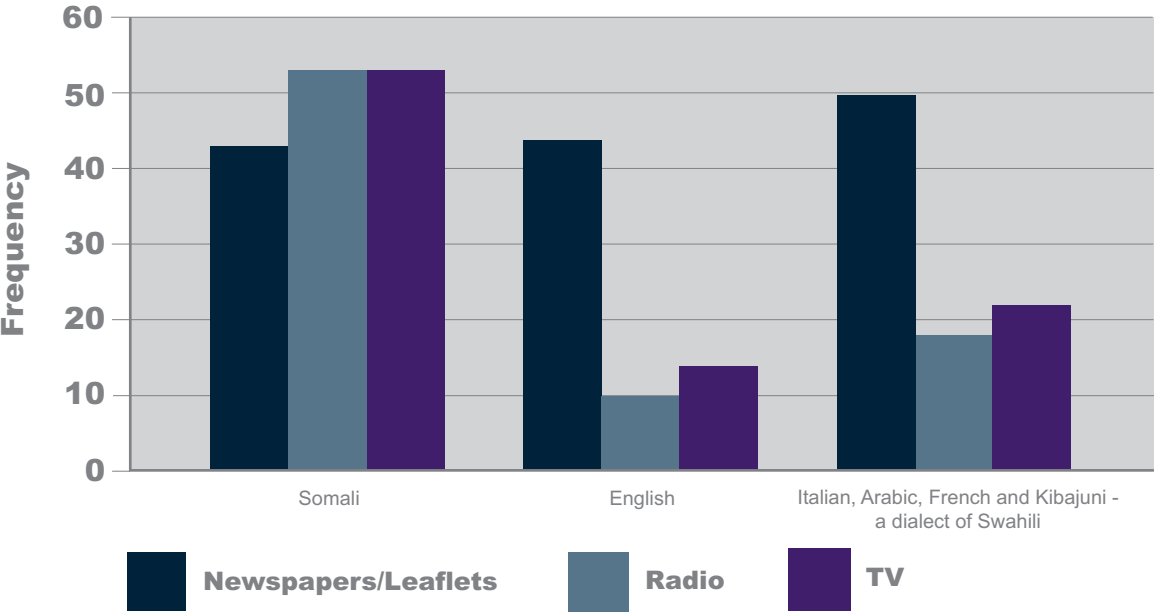


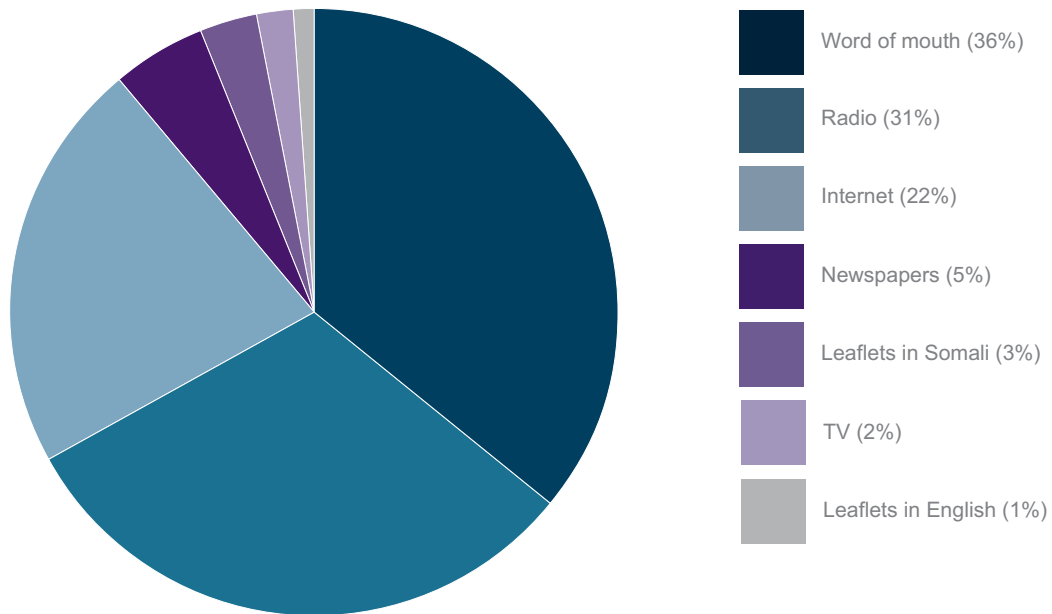
Figure 2 expands on these language preferences.

	SPEAK	READ	WRITE	UNDERSTAND
English	11	11	12	11
Somali	47	43	43	48
Italian	11	9	8	11
Arabic	6	6	6	6
Other	13	24	24	24

Common Sources of Information

Figure 3 shows that word of mouth is the usual way most respondents obtain information, followed by radio (*BBC Somali*).

Figure 3: Common source of information

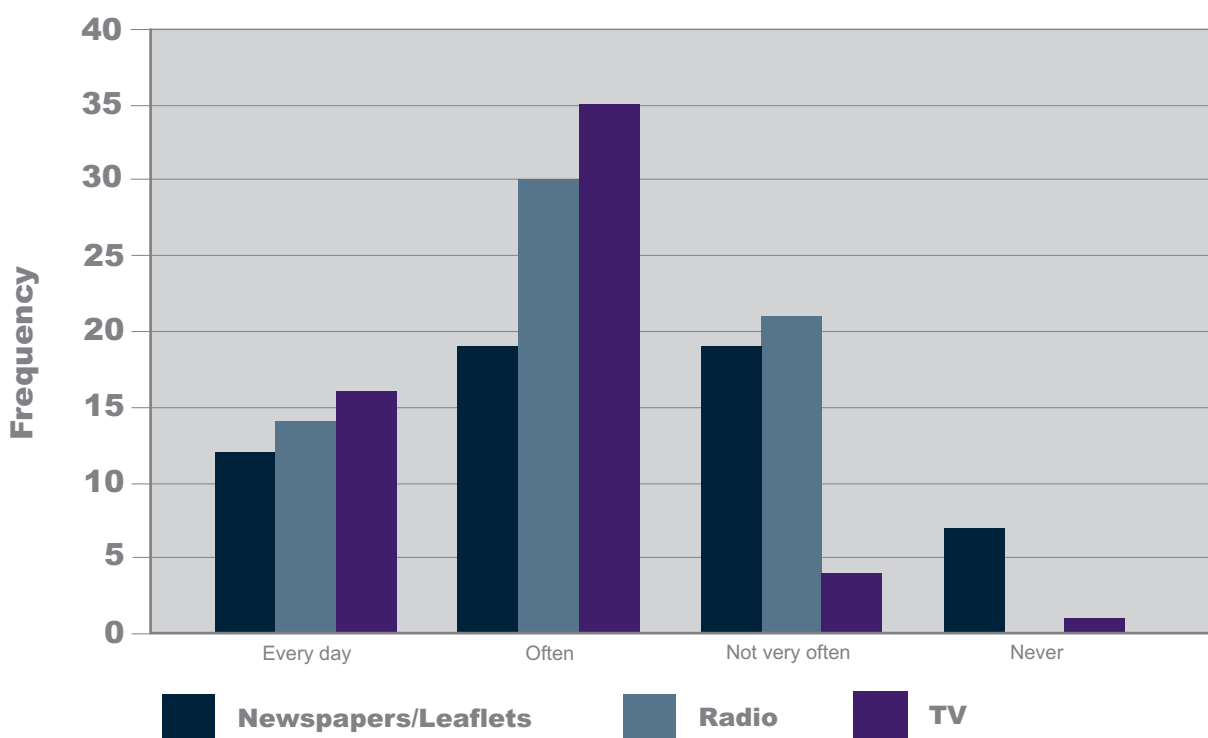


Word of Mouth

Word of mouth is the most important kind of communication within the Somali community. Most Somalis rely on friends and family for basic information, such as how to find social services, ESOL¹² courses, jobs, training, and housing. However, the same networks can also disseminate rumours and false information, occasionally inflating accounts of negative contacts with authorities.

Most respondents said that word of mouth is a much faster and more effective way of disseminating information than distributing leaflets. Much information is exchanged in social contact over the chewing of *Khat (qat)*, religious and cultural gatherings, listening to *BBC Somali*, and in restaurants, coffee shops, and Internet cafes.

Figure 4: Media Comprehension



Many Somalis have a limited ability either to understand spoken English or read any language. Somali women, especially the older ones, are believed to be illiterate in any language. However, answers to the questionnaire paint a somewhat different picture.

Contributing factors include:

- disruption caused by the war and lack of prior schooling in the Somali regions;
- the fact that the written form of the Somali language is fairly recent (the Roman script for the language was adopted in 1972);
- although the term “oral society” may seem obsolete, and at times condescending, Somali society is predominantly oral;
- for many Somali people, English is their third or fourth language (they also speak Arabic, Italian, French, and the *Kibajuni-a* dialect of Swahili).

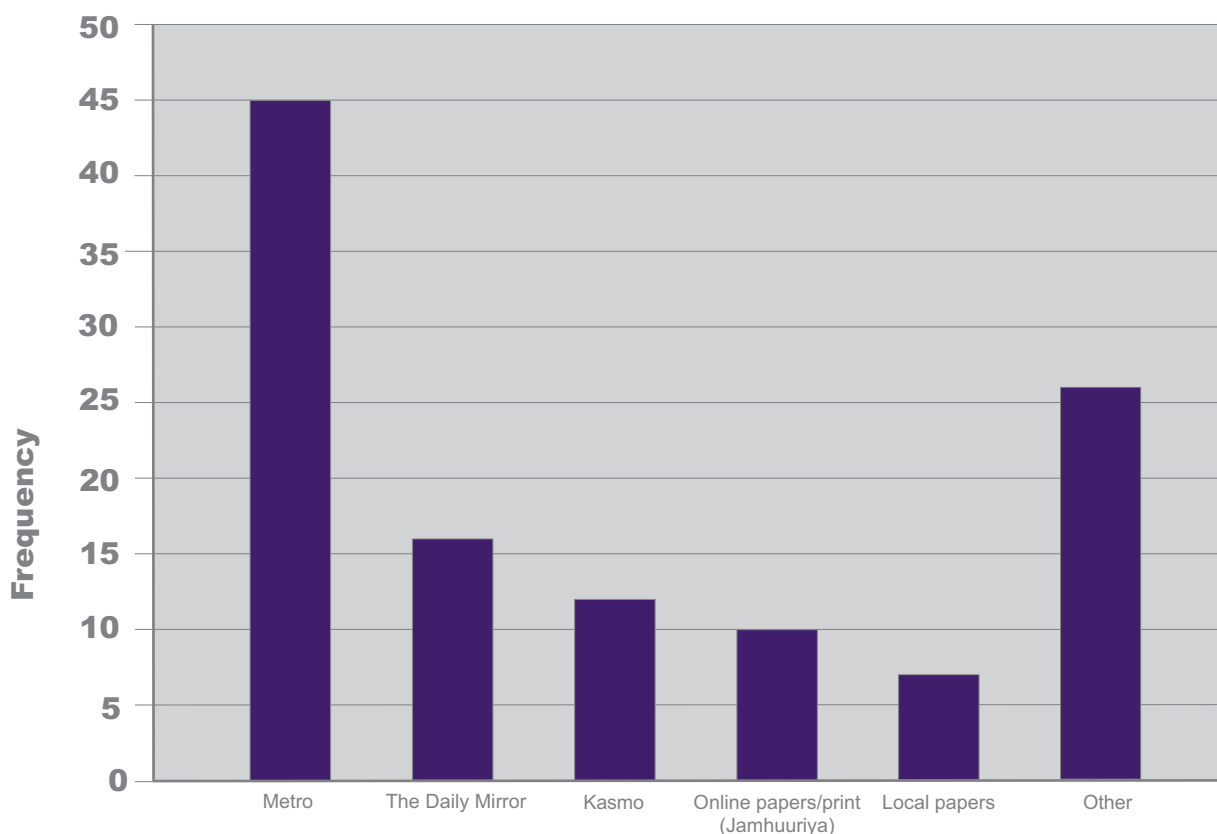
¹² English for Speakers of Other Languages.

Newspapers and Magazine Readership

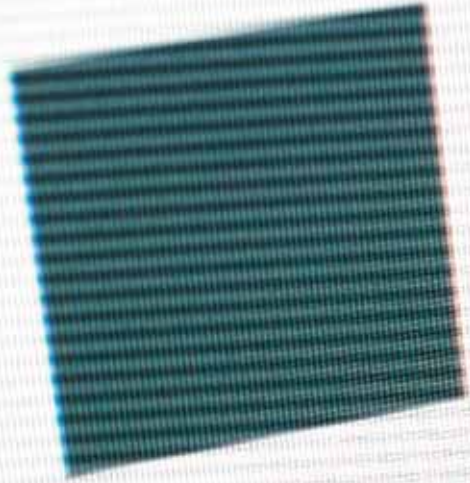
Interviews with key informants confirmed that the majority of Somali people are not able to read any communications in English or, to an extent, in Somali. According to these sources, about 60% of Somalis do not speak English but read Somali adequately to obtain vital information, for the reasons already explained.

This is reflected in the chart of newspapers and magazines readership below. Somali language newspapers and magazines such as *Kasmo*, *Somali Eye* magazine and *Jamhuuriya*, are on sale but Somali people prefer listening to reading. In the past few years, new magazines and newspapers have appeared in the market but they have all failed owing to poor sales.

Figure 5: Newspapers/Magazines Readership



Most respondents said that they often read *Metro* and local newspapers, such as the *Camden Journal* and *Islington Tribune*, as these assisted them in improving their English language skills.



Radio (31%)



Internet (22%)



Newspaper (10%)



Leaflets in
English (5%)



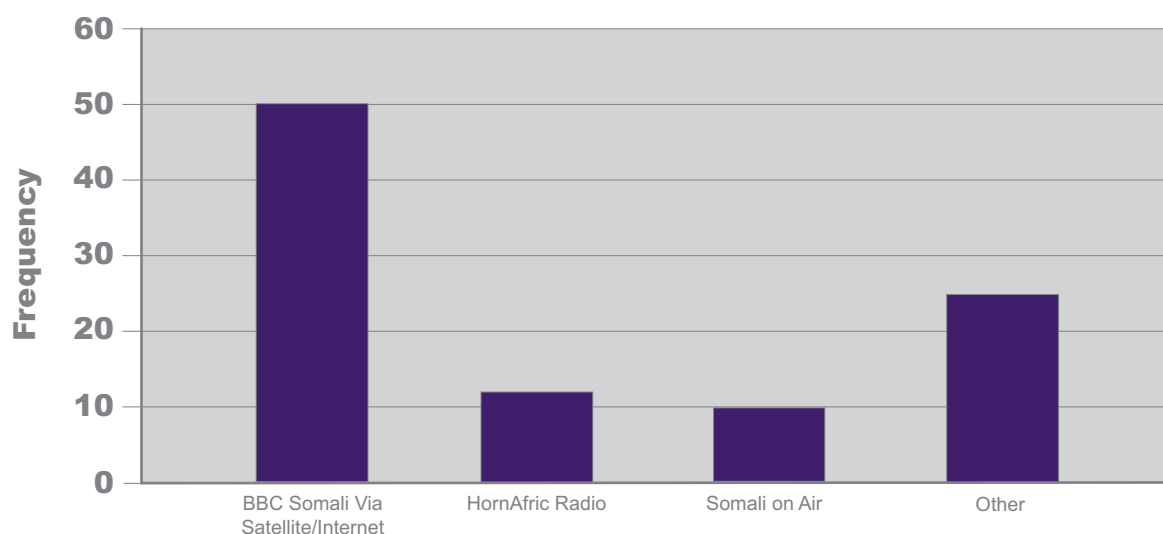
TV (2%)

Radio

Most respondents confirmed that *BBC Somali Radio* holds a central position at home, since they rely solely on it to obtain unbiased news about Somalia. Many pointed out that there is a scarcity of news about the Somali regions in the mainstream British media.

A *BBC Somali* poll also indicated that 99% of Somalis in the UK listen to the service.¹³ For many Somalis, BBC radio is a vital source of information and education. In a predominantly oral society, *BBC Somali Radio* reaches literate, semi-literate and illiterate Somali audiences alike and is thus an effective means of communication¹⁴. The revolution in communications and technology means that many Somalis now have access to *BBC Somali* via satellite or the Internet. However, many still prefer to congregate in *khat* houses, Somali shops, restaurants, coffee shops and mosques because they view radio listening as a collective activity. This habit of congregating reflects the cultural norms that govern the Somali way of life.

Figure 6: Radio



All respondents agreed that radio news and current affairs programmes interest them most.

Fewer than 10% of the respondents said that they tuned in to the new Somali radio station, *Somali On Air (SOA)*. SOA is a part of Spectrum Radio and can be accessed through Sky Digital and DAB radio. The station is fairly new but the potential for reaching out to Somalis in the UK is vast. IOM should monitor the progress of this station.

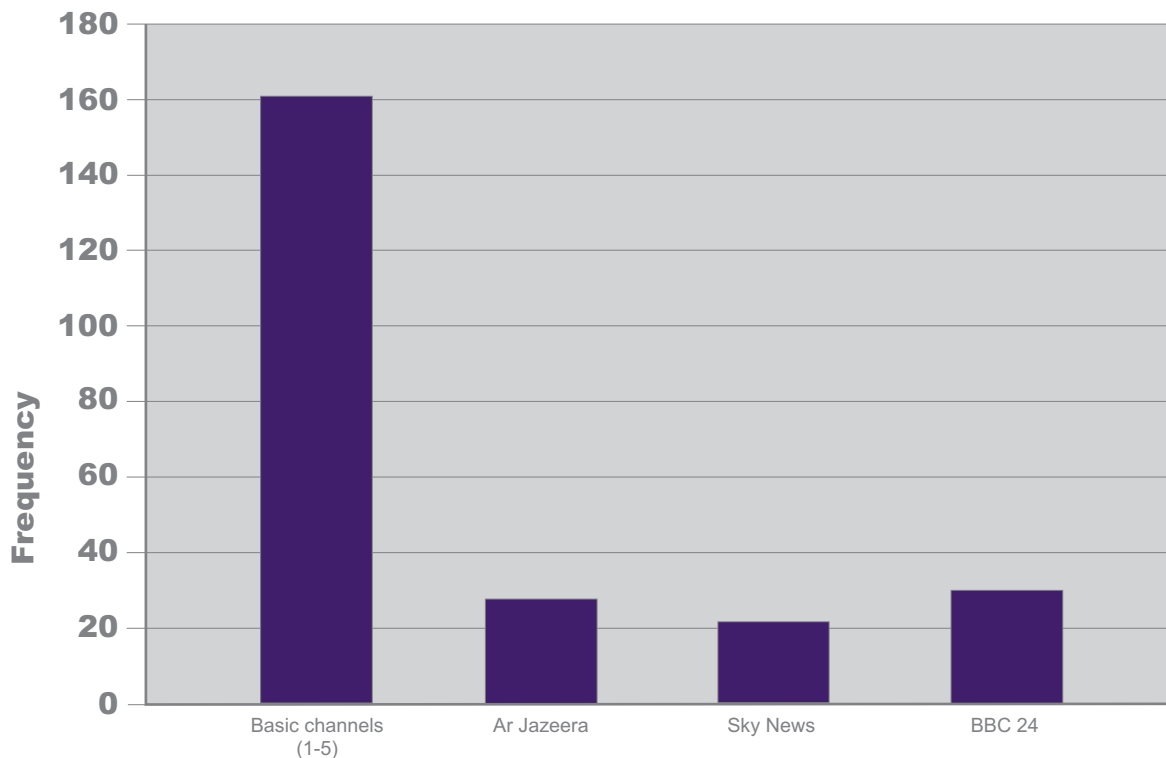
¹³ Anthony Olden, "Oral Culture in a Western Communication", 1999

¹⁴ BBC Somali radio, however, being non-commercial will not accept advertisements.

Television

Many respondents said that they often watched British-based TV channels but trans-national television channels remain a prominent part of Somali life. *Al Jazeera*, in particular, has become the main source of news for many Somalis living in the UK. Many said that the channel reinforces their sense of belonging to the Somali and Muslim communities.

Figure 7: TV



The majority of respondents said that they frequently watched news and current affairs programmes on television.

The Internet

IOM research found that there are more than 300 Somali websites. The vast majority of them are administered by Somalis from the diaspora (North America, Western Europe and the Middle East). Most offer news, information, entertainment, faith-based information, and business advertisements.

Most respondents have access to computers and the Internet, which they use for a wide variety of purposes. Internet users are predominantly men or young people and are relatively well educated. Many respondents, particularly women, said that they could only access the Internet with the help of their husbands or children.

Most respondents reported using a number of different Somali websites equally but the most popular websites were *HornAfric*, *Hiraan* and *BBC Somali*.

2.2 GENERAL INFORMATION ON USE OF TRANSPORT, PHONES AND LOCAL SERVICES

Respondents were asked what means of transport they used most often. Figure 8 shows that the majority of respondents use buses, whilst some said they used the Underground (Tube). Less than 1% used the tram or metro or their own transport.

Figure 8: Transport

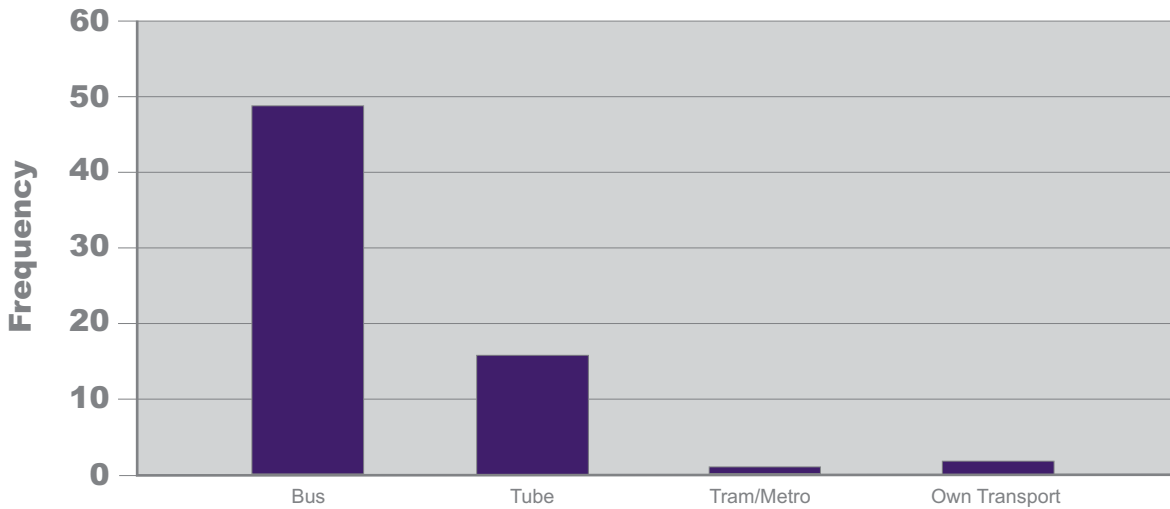
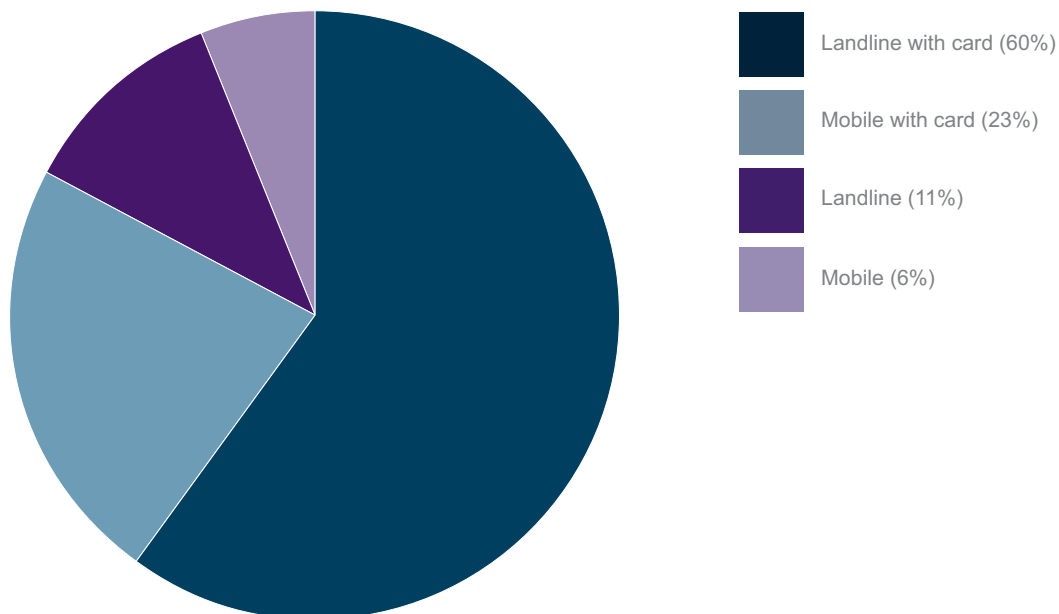


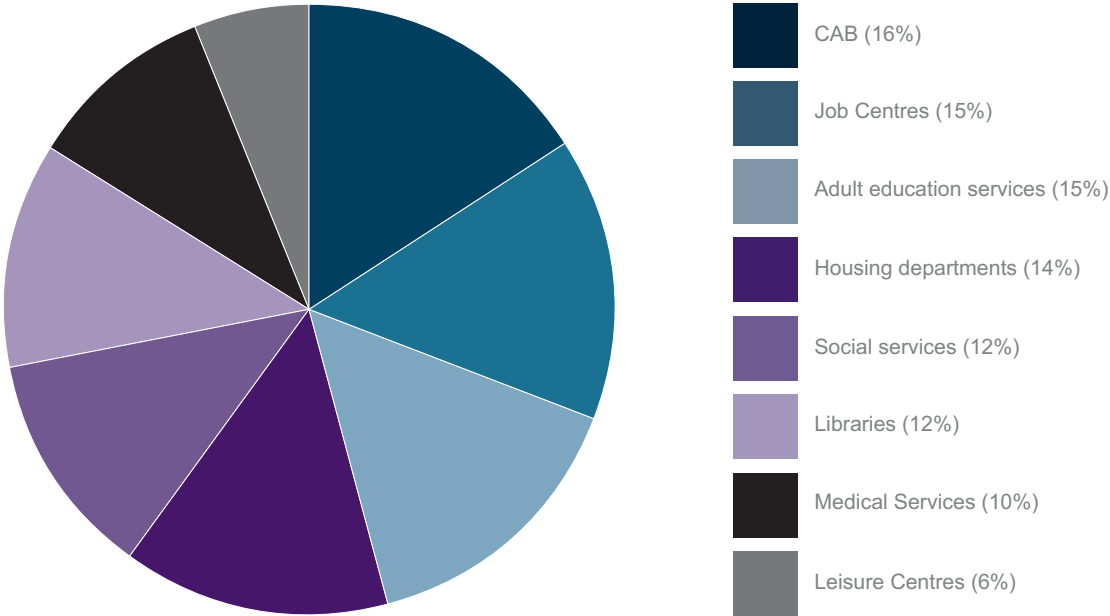
Figure 9 shows that most respondents preferred to use a landline with a discounted phone card when phoning relatives in the Somali regions or in western countries. Respondents considered telephoning to be almost as good as face to face communication.

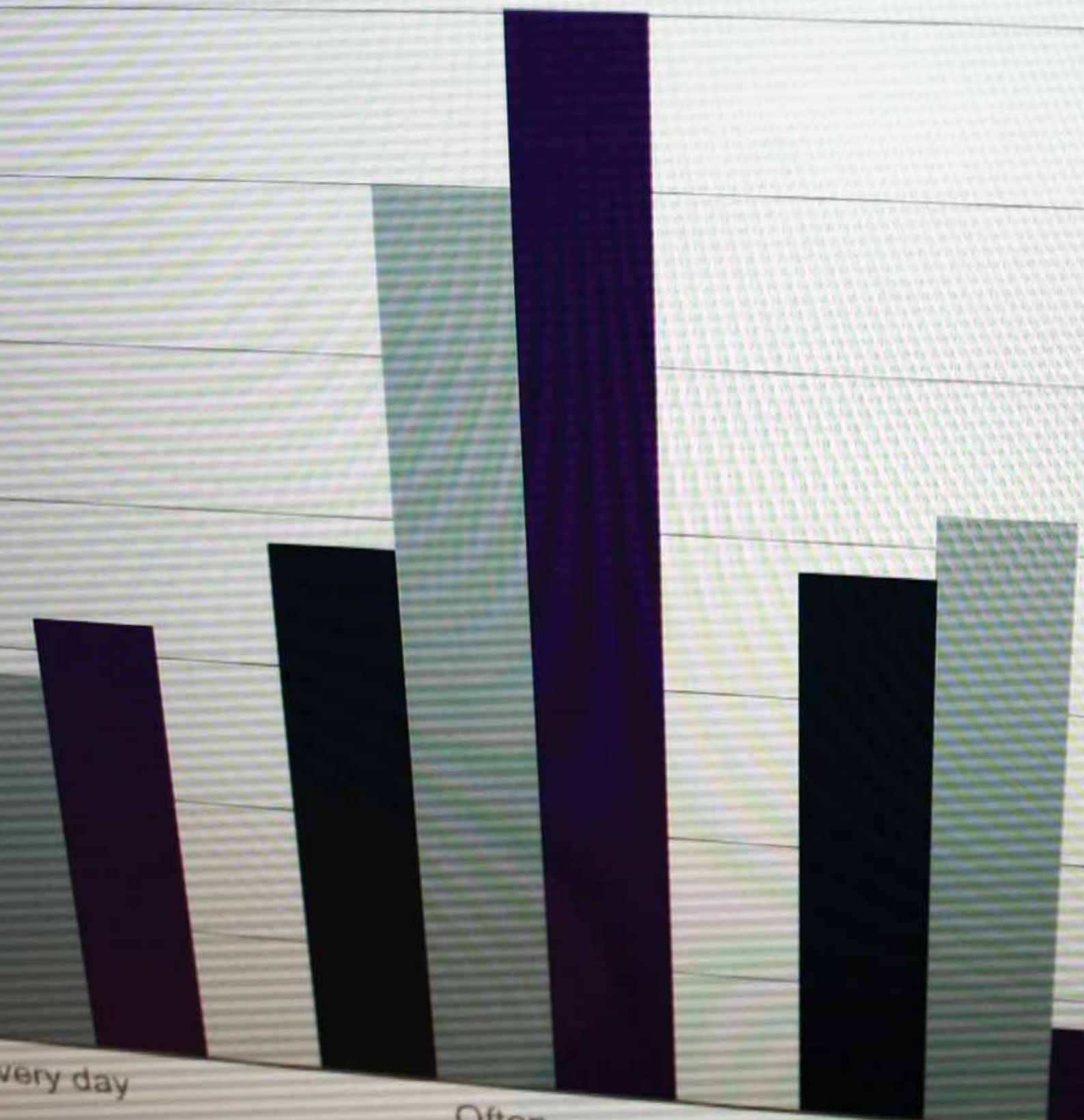
Figure 9: Phone Calls



When asked which local services they used the most, the majority of respondents said they frequently visited CABx, followed by social services, Job Centres and adult education centres.

Figure 10: Local Services





every day

Often

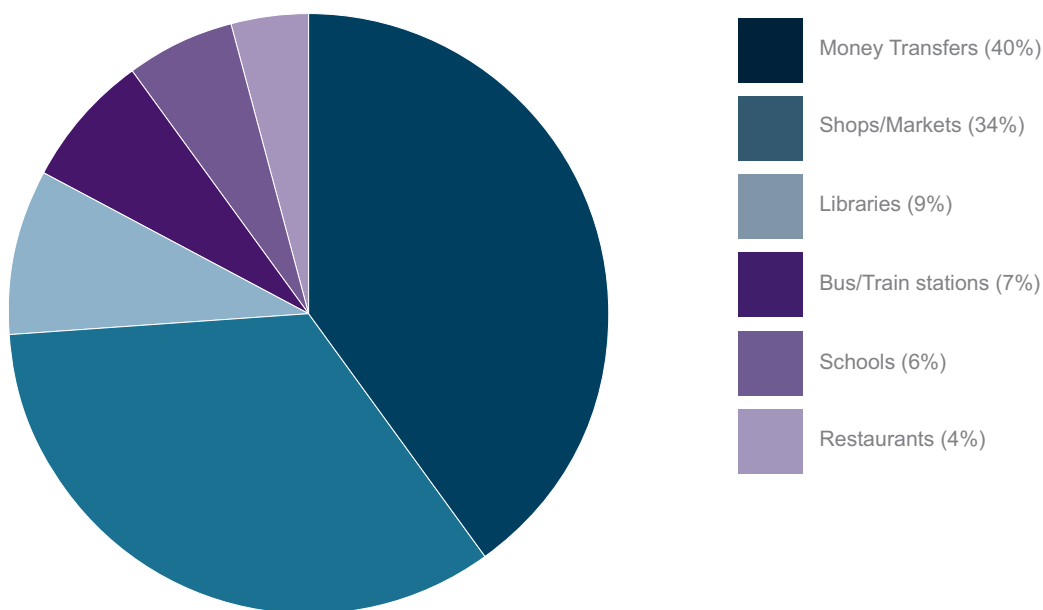
Not very often

Newspapers/Leaflets

2.3 PREFERRED LOCATIONS FOR IOM TO PUBLICISE ITS SERVICES

When asked where information should be publicised, most respondents chose Somali shops and markets — including money transfer facilities, call centres, Internet cafes, and groceries — and libraries. The majority of respondents used buses as their main kind of transportation but only 7% suggested that IOM should advertise on buses or at bus stops.

Figure 11: Recommendation for Locations for Publicity Material



Money Transfer Facilities

Informal money transfer systems (HAWALA) such as Dahabshiil, Amal and Qaran Express provide vital services for Somalis around the globe. The majority of respondents indicated that up to 98% of all Somalis in the UK use money transfer facilities. Dahabshiil is by far the most popular channel for remitting money to the Somali regions and other parts of the world.

Libraries

While the library environment is still a new experience for the majority of Somalis, many said that they like to take the children to their local library.

Recommendations

- IOM is strongly recommended to advertise in Somali businesses (grocery stores, Internet cafes, and money transfer facilities), as well as places of worship, CABx, and local colleges.
- IOM should also investigate placing an advert with one of the more popular discounted calling cards to Somalia.

2.4 OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Apart from the mass media, various organisations and activities, such as community businesses, social events and religious centres, contribute enormously to the way in which many Somalis obtain and exchange information. Most respondents said that they frequently visited CABx, mosques, and Somali community organisations. Most also said that they often take part in national and religious holidays.

Citizen Advice Bureaux

The majority of respondents described these as good organisations that support Somali and other refugee communities. Others said that, “When it comes to unbiased and un-politicised advice”, many Somalis would rather consult Citizens Advice Bureaux than Somali community organisations.

Mosques

Religious institutions such as mosques play an important role in information-sharing. The mosques were described by respondents as having many similarities with advice centres, since they provide services and education to Muslim communities in the UK.

The questionnaires confirmed that a significant number of Somalis are members of such institutions. Mosques are a place where relatives, new arrivals, friends and all other members of the community come for prayers and to socialise. They share information about life back home, community events, and organise cultural ceremonies.

In each mosque there is a counter on which community information is displayed — from immigration advice information, to Somali businesses, and information about wedding ceremonies.

Somali Organisations

It is estimated that there are as many as 300 Somali community organisations throughout the UK. To identify Somali community groups and organisations in London, Leicester, Liverpool and Manchester, this exercise used various sources, including the Internet, IOM’s previous contacts, researchers’ own contacts, and the Refugee Council’s directory of voluntary and refugee organisations in the UK. These sources provided contact names as well as addresses and telephone numbers.

According to key informants, fewer than 50 of the 300 Somali organisations in the UK are considered effective and fully-functioning organisations. During this mapping exercise, the consultant contacted more than 40 Somali organisations and associations, either by phone or letter, but there was little response.

These organisations provide a wide range of services to Somali and other refugee communities, including ESOL classes and training, advice on immigration welfare, and housing issues. The IOM survey found that women, particularly the older ones, visited community organisations on a regular basis. Many women cited language barriers as the main reason for consulting Somali organisations. A significant number of Somali men and women with excellent language skills consulted other statutory bodies or non-Somali voluntary organisation, as they view these to be more efficient and apolitical.

By the end of the mapping exercise, the consultant had established a working relationship with a handful of extremely capable Somali organisations.

Muslim Festivals and National Holidays

Somalis gather at religious and national events such as Muslim holidays and national celebrations or Independence Days. There are two Eid days and two Independence Day celebrations each year. These events provide the best opportunities for socialising and for publicising services within the Somali community. Somali singers and entertainers from the UK and North America often perform at these events. The number of participants varies, depending on the entertainer. The number of participants can be between 500 and 3000.

Recommendations

In order to reach all members of the Somali community, IOM may need to adopt a different communication strategy that does not rely solely on the full co-operation of Somali community organisations.

IOM should try to reach out to a broad array of community-based intermediaries, i.e. Somali businesses, religious centres; social events; and, most importantly, non-Somali service providers, such as local council departments (housing and social services), Job Centres, CABx, and local colleges.

35,000

Sheffie

Birmingham

Leice

10,000

Cardiff

Grea

3 MAPPING EXERCISE OUTCOMES

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The second section of the questionnaire gathered baseline data from each respondent about their age, gender, and length of residence.

3.1 GENDER

57% of the 63 respondents were women and 39% were men. The gender difference between respondents is not so large as to require an explanation but it is noteworthy that the majority of Somali people in the UK are women. Moreover, most of the Somalis attending language schools and visiting community and advice centres where the data was collected were women.

3.2 AGE

Figure 12 shows the age of respondents. The age range with the highest proportion of respondents (35%) was between 35 and 45 years of age.

Figure 12: Age

AGE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF RESPONDENTS
Under 18	4	6%
18-24	9	14%
25-34	14	22%
35-44	22	35%
45-54	14	22%
55-64	0	0
65 or over	0	0
No answer	0	0

3.3 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UK

Figure 13 shows length of residence in Britain. Most respondents have been in the UK for more than 3 years with 29% being in the UK for more than 10 years.

Figure 13: Length of Stay in Britain

TIME IN UK	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF RESPONDENTS
Less than 12 months	0	0
1 year to less than 3	7	11%
3 years to less than 5	10	16%
5 years to less than 10	13	21%
10 years or more	18	29%
No answer	13	21%

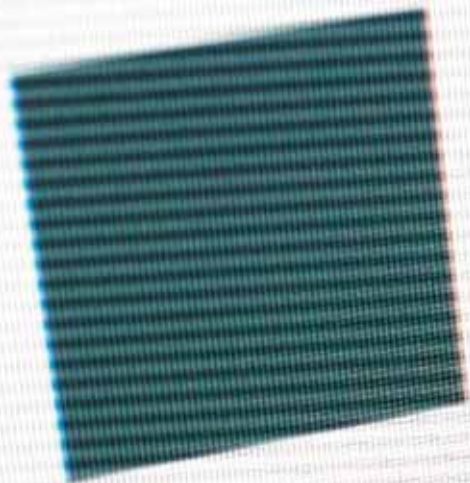
4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Somali mapping exercise has shown that the majority of community leaders and individuals have an unfavourable idea of IOM's voluntary return programmes. Building trust and partnership in a community full of suspicion requires a communication strategy that responds to the particular characteristics of the community, namely:

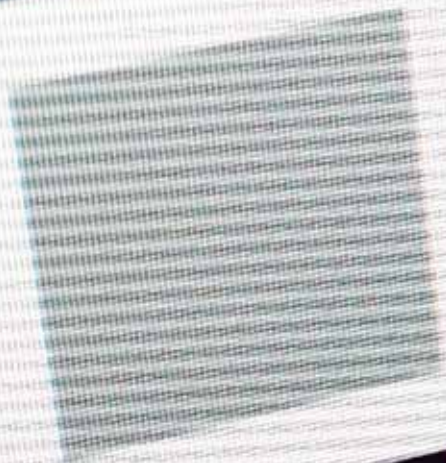
- a culture of mistrust;
- dissention within Somali communities;
- fear of deportation;
- the absence of a tracking system for returnees; and
- a lack of evidence that Somalis are in fact returning voluntarily, i.e. the absence of returnees own stories.

IOM should address these Somali-specific issues directly.

- The IOM Information team should investigate organising a Somali Consultation Day with community leaders, service providers (Somali and non-Somali), and Somali individuals, in order to build greater awareness of IOM activities and reduce mistrust.
- To improve trust between Somali community groups and IOM, it is recommended that IOM create a space for regular dialogue with Somali community groups and provide an avenue for community members to address whatever concerns they may have.
- In order to reach all members of the Somali community, IOM may need to adopt a communication strategy that does not rely solely on the full co-operation of Somali community organisations. IOM should try to reach out to a broad array of community-based intermediaries, including:
 - Somali businesses (grocery stores, Internet cafes, money transfer outlets);
 - religious centres;
 - social events;
 - non-Somali service providers, such as local council departments (housing and social services), Job Centres, CABx, and local colleges.
- IOM should look into the possibility of placing an advert with one of the more popular discounted calling cards to Somalia.
- IOM should document, whenever possible, stories of return to the Somali regions and, if the situation permits, establish a presence there.



Radio (31%)



Internet (22%)



Newspaper



Leaflets in



TV (2%)

... in

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