Project Title: ***A Review of Crime Risk Factors and Community-based Prevention Strategies for Somali-Canadians in Edmonton, Alberta***

Our Focus of the Review: ***A Critical Discourse Systematic Literature Review of Factors Associated with Crime and Migration to Inform the Somali-Canadians Communities of Edmonton about the Discourse and Community-based Crime Prevention Strategies in Canada, the USA, Australia, and the EU***

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABSTRACT	6
1. OVERVIEW	7
2. LITERATURE REVIEW STRUCTURE AND OUTLINE	8
3. GUIDING CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	9
3.1 Theoretical Orientation	9
3.2 Critical Race Theory	10
3.3 Strain Theory	11
4. ANALYTICAL APPROACH OF THE REVIEW: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	12
5. METHODOLOGY & DESIGN	14
5.1 Systematic Literature Review	14
5.2 Delphi Consultations	15
5.3 Steps in the Analysis: Data Sources& Process	16
5.3.1 Literature Review Process	16
5.3.2 Delphi Consultations Data Analysis	17
5.4 Literature Search, Capacity, Process, Strategies, and Overall Scope	17
6. OVERALL LITERATURE SEARCH RESULTS	19
6.1 Summary of Context from the United States of America	19
6.2 Summary of Context from Canada	21
6.3 Summary of Context from Australia	25
6.4 Summary of Context from the European Union	26
7. EMERGING THEMES FROM THE LITERATURE	28
7.1 The Australian Immigrant Experience	28
7.1.1 The Political Economy of Migration, Migrants, and Criminality	29
7.1.2 Discourses of Crime and Fear in Australia	34
7.1.3 Media, Race and Political/Public Discourse on Criminality	35
7.1.4 The Language of War-Battle	35
7.1.5 Risk Factors and Protective Factors	37
7.2 The United States of America Experience	38
7.2.1 Crime and Migration: The Connection	38
7.2.2 The Fear of Crime and the Impact of Immigration	38
7.2.3 Youth, Crime, & Violence	39

7.2.4 Economic Disadvantage as a Cause of Crime	40
7.2.5 Researching Crime Trends & Statistics	41
7.2.6 Risk Factors and Migration Strain	42
7.3 The European Union Immigrant Experience	42
7.3.1 The Political Economy of Migration, Migrants, and Criminality	42
7.3.2 Media, Race, and Political/Public Discourses on Criminality	48
7.3.3 The Language of War Battle	51
7.3.4 Risk Factors and Positive Development for EU Migrant Populations	53
7.4 The Canadian Immigrant Experience	56
7.4.1. Migration Roots and Routes of Somali Canadians: From Somalia to Edmonton via Ontario	56
7.4.2 Migration Strain and Crime: Risk and Protective Factors	58
7.4.3 Somali Migration and crime: Discourses in the Media	62
8. COMMUNITY RESPONSE/REACTION TO THE LITERATURE IN THE DELPHI PROCESS: THEMES AND IMPLICATIONS EMERGING	68
8.1 On Framing Calamities and Labeling	68
8.2 On Social Exclusion and Migration Strain	69
8.3 On the Literature and the Research Process	70
8.4 On Possible Crime Prevention Initiatives	71
8.5. Conclusion, Summary, and Limitations of the Delphi Process	73
9. CONTRIBUTION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO RESEARCH	74
10. CONTRIBUTION THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO POLICY DIRECTIVES	76
11. CONTRIBUTION THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO COMMUNITY PRACTICE	77
12. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	78
13. CONCLUSION	79
14. REFERENCES	81
15. APPENDICES	93
Appendix 1: Literature Review Frame	93
Appendix 2: Article Asssessment Form	94
Appendix 3: Letter of Invitation to a Delphi Consultation Meeting with Leaders	98
Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form	99
Appendix 5: Summary of Selected Projects in Edmonton around Crime Prevention Targeting the Somali-Canadian Community 2006-2011	102

Appendix 6: Definition of Terms	104
Appendix 7: Delphi Consultations Questions	106
Appendix 8: Crime Prevention Models and Approaches	
Appendix 8a: List of Crime Prevention Approaches	107
Appendix 8b: Crime Prevention Theory and Practice in Australia	108
Appendix 9: Newspaper Clips about the Somali-Canadian Community and Crime in Edmonton	110
Appendix 9a. Discourses of Criminality, Victimology, and Community Disintegration	110
Appendix 9b. Conversations about Community-based Solutions and Crime Prevention Strategies	140
Figure 1: Headlines of News Clips	64

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Abstract

This report offers a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the literature on risk and protective factors associated with crime and migration in Canada, the United States of America, Australia, and several of the European Union countries. The report reviews the discourse linking crime and ethno-cultural groups in the above countries; policy and practice reactions by governments, social institutions (i.e. media), and service providers; and proposed community-based crime prevention strategies. Upon reviewing over two hundred articles from refereed and non-refereed publications, the research embarked on an enormous process of thematically analyzing cross-national texts linking crime and migration. The arduous process tackled issues of language, definition of terms, and country-specific contextual issues as diverse discourses emerged. As a result, we identified four major overarching themes: *The Political Economy of Migration, Migrants, and Criminality; Country Specific Research on Risk Factors and Protective Factors of Crime, Discourses on Criminality, "Race" and (In)security, and Media Public Discourse on "Migrant" Criminality*. The report concludes with a discussion of recommendations reactions, and implications to Somali-Canadian communities in Edmonton.

> *"Projects focusing on crime prevention at the community level address the underlying causes of criminal activity…. If we can provide these communities with the necessary early support we stand a better chance of keeping young people out of the criminal justice system. It's also encouraging to see companies like TransCanada support these grassroots projects".* **Former Minister of Justice and Attorney General and current Premier of Alberta Hon. Alison Redford, May 2010**

1. OVERVIEW

The aim of this research project was to conduct a systematic literature review of the literature that addresses risk factors, protective factors, and crime prevention approaches targeted at refugee and immigrant communities in general, and the Somali Diaspora in particular from an international, national, and local angle. Emergent findings aim to inform research, practice and policy in the area of crime prevention and migrant integration, and with a specific intent to equip local communities in Edmonton (i.e. Somali-Canadian community and other racialized and minoritized immigrant communities) with research information to advocate for culturally responsive ways to prevent crime and empower their communities. This literature review has three key objectives:

a. Provide a broad environmental scan of the academic and non-academic discourse linking racialized and minoritized communities and crime (taking a special interest to Somali Diaspora in Canada, USA, the EU, and Australia);
b. Utilize the learnings from the literature review to inform policy makers, community organizations, and service agencies on innovative ways to strategize and mobilize community engagement towards crime prevention;
c. Provide an opportunity for community leaders at the local level (in Edmonton) to react to the academic discourse linking crime and community, thus contextualizing the literature to the local perspective.

As part of our overall approach to conducting the literature review, the Community-Based Participatory Action Research (CBPAR) provided the overall framework for the review and a community Delphi consultation process contextualized the review process. We were informed by CBPAR as it utilizes a more flexible and contextually adaptable framework to guide the research process. The use of CBPAR as a guiding methodological orientation helps to ensure research relevance for individuals and groups (Lindsey & Stajduhar, 1998) and is an appropriate research design when working with sensitive topics such as crime or with marginalized communities. Fundamental principles of CBPAR include a collaborative relationship with the partners in the research (Reason, 1994) and a valuing of the experience and popular knowledge of people (Fals-Borda, 1991; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000). In addition, knowledge that is generated through PAR is no longer exclusively owned and disseminated by academia, but rather is shared by the community or group (Mill, Allen, & Morrow, 2001).

Thus, CBPAR facilitates consciousness-raising and promotes critical thinking in order to deeply explore the root causes of situations (Schoepf, 1994). For the research team, the ability to adapt methods for use in a range of settings, to explore international, national and local knowledge, and

to enhance the quality of the research process and content by including the insights of local individuals are particular strengths of CBPAR (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). As such, the tenets of CBPAR are congruent with the goal of the current research to understand the discourse around crime prevention as it pertains to racialized and minoritized communities in a variety of contexts.

In our attempt to contextualize the review, we focused on research from local (Edmonton), national (Canada), and international (i.e. Europe, US, and Australia) contexts that have particular outcomes specifically to foreground the Somali Diaspora experience as a case study, and in turn inform other minoritized and racialized communities. Utilizing the methodological hardware of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the theoretical lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Strain Theory (ST), we examined published refereed journal articles, books, and book chapters as well as published non-refereed research articles, commentaries, and opinion pieces from the fields of sociology, criminology, social work, globalization studies, migration studies, and educational research. This multidisciplinary approach was utilized to unearth the differences and similarities in the approach, understanding, interventions, and policy directives from all of these fields to broaden our scope and to inform us about how crime prevention initiatives and practice frameworks circulate in both academic and public domains.

Thus, in including several dissimilar contexts (i.e., literature from the US, Canada, EU, and Australia) and from a variety of disciplines and approaches, we not only aimed at shedding some light on the intricacies of the discourse that links crime and migration, particularly for racialized and minoritized communities worldwide, but also varied ways in which systems and institutions in the USA, Canada, the selected EU countries, and Australia respond for specific groups.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW STRUCTURE AND OUTLINE

The analysis in this literature review is separated into thirteen sections, excluding references and appendices. **The first section (above)** presents an overview of the aim of the research and a methodological orientation of CBPAR that anchored the review. This section also presents a synthesis of the research objectives, processes of developing the research goals, and presuppositions that informed the review. **Section two** provides an outline of the literature review, detailing the content in each section. **Section three** summarizes guiding conceptual and theoretical frameworks that guided the review. There is a brief commentary on theoretical contributions that Critical Race Theory (CRT), strain theory, and other theoretical approaches offer in understanding crime, racialization, and crime prevention.

The fourth section briefly reviews and elaborates the analytical and methodological frameworks employed, utilizing the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its analytical stratagems to examine the plethora of articles in a concise manner. In this section, we introduce the Foucauldian-inspired Faircloughian-centered notions of the power of discourse as a contextual and situated enterprise. **The fifth section** deepens the methodological orientation of the literature review and discusses the research design. In this section we detail the analytical approach to the method, outline phases of the methodology, discuss steps in the analysis of the data and where the data was derived, and offer the scope of the literature review, the process we employed in conducting it, and the strategies we utilized in the search process. With the theoretical and

conceptual framework(s) outlined; the methodological orientation justified and the research design described, **section six** summarizes the overall results of the literature search. This session also details successes and limitations in the literature search and how the research team adjusted the review. **Section seven** delves deeply by identifying four major themes and fourteen sub-themes extracted from a variety of sources that include over seventy referred academic articles, twenty non-refereed publications (i.e. community research and intervention reports), over thirty print media commentaries and articles, and several policy documents, books, and chapters in referred books. The section not only reviews the literature that establishes a link between risk/ protective factors and crime, racialization, and crime prevention efforts in the US, Canada, Australia and several European Union countries, but also critically assesses the discourse emerging in such analyses, particularly as it pertains to minoritized and racialized communities (such as the Somali Diaspora and other migrants) who have historically experienced structural marginalization in host (or receiving countries).

This section concludes by discussing silences and omissions in the discourse and the implications of such taken-for-granted knowledge that links crime, crime prevention and racialization. In an effort to expand on the limitations, **section eight** offers a reaction from community leaders (that included parents and youth) derived from the Delphi consultations. Four themes that have emerged in these informal consultations are shared and the section concludes with a discussion of strategies for community capacity to prevent crime, build individual and social competencies, empower communities and build positive identities, and recognize community challenges and assets in shared by the Delphi participants. **Sections nine, ten,** and **eleven** offer concluding comments about the contribution of this review to research, policy directives, and community practice; while **section twelve** offers recommendations for further research based on this current review. **Section thirteen** weaves it all together with concluding comments linking the objectives of the research with what was achieved in this review.

3. GUIDING CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Theoretical Orientation

This literature review was guided by the theoretical hardware of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Strain Theory (ST) in criminology. These theoretical approaches were chosen because they have been very useful in explaining the confluence of marginalization and racialization processes both implicitly and explicitly. What encouraged us, as the research team to use the CRT and ST as theoretical tools is their hermeneutic critique of institutional formations and its emphasis on contextual and historical specificity. Because our current review problematizes what is said about crime and difference in the literature, we felt that infusing both theories would be instrumental in explaining how racialized and minoritized communities are connected to crime and how such constructions become cemented in the discourse. The nature of this literature review requires such a critical orientation. Strategically, both CRT and ST work to unearth the assumptions behind crime prevention efforts and the call in both academic and practice circles to prevent crime.

3.2 Critical Race Theory(CRT)

The CRT perspective[1] originated in the mid-1970s, when legal scholars, Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, Richard Delgado, and others began to challenge the "subtler forms of racism that were gaining ground," following the early success of the Civil Rights movement in the United States of America. With its strong postcolonial and anti-oppression orientation and a strong critique of the knowledge construction process, the CRT problematizes the perpetuation of state power that continues to nourish racially structured practices (Solorzano, 1997).

According to its most prominent theorists (i.e., Richard Delgado, Kimberly Crenshaw, and Mari Matsuda) CRT centers difference and racialization processes as constructed phenomenon that specify social positioning. Thus, difference in terms of "race" and ethnicity and its intersection with other markers of difference predicate one' social position in the power spectrum. According to Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas (1995), CRT describes and explains iterative ways in which "race" is socially constructed across micro and macro levels, and how it determines life chances implicating the mundane and extraordinary in the continuance of racial stratification, or what Winant (1994) frames as "racial conditions" in the form of racism. During post-9/11 period, contemporary CRT has shown increased interest in three main areas:

a. materialist analyses of "race" and racism, in relation to globalization as a racialized process;
b. the 'intersects' with ethnicity and religion are considered essential to examine in various sociological contexts globally, and
c. structures of power, in particular, the workings of nation-states and nationalist ideologies in relation to globalization and increasing agency of individuals and groups they affiliate with (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001).

Thus, CRT analyses the relationship between individuals, justice, and power and draws upon paradigms of intersectionality that recognizes the interlocking process in which "race" and racism (as a global phenomenon), intersects with gender, ethnicity, class, religion, sexuality and/or neoliberal project of statehood as systems of power overmarginalized, racialized, and minoritized individuals and at the same time privileges those who hold power. As Solorzano (1997) explains:

> " Critical Race Theory is a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of people of color" (p. 6).

[1]We connect Critical Race Theory to Strain theory insofar that both are concerned with the way social power abuse, dominance, and racialized inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted in the socio-political context. Both theoretical orientations offer a sustained critical interrogation of racially structured relationships and practices.

3.2 Strain Theory

To complement the CRT perspective, we adopt Strain Theory (ST) to extend the understanding of structured ways in which certain groups become susceptible to crime and the structural sources of strain that purportedly lead certain individuals or groups to commit crime. ST stems from the field of criminology and argues that individuals commit crimes because of the social structures surrounding them. First, strain theory focuses to a large extent on how the individual's negative relationships with others may adversely affect them from developing positive relationships with others. Merton (1938), A. Cohen (1955), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) all examine relationships in which others prevent the individual from achieving positively valued goals. Goal blockage experienced by lower class individuals, for example, trying to achieve monetary success or status is an example of why an individual may commit a crime. It may also explain why groups may commit crimes.

These examples illustrate the individual type of strain described in strain theory. Immigrants, refugees and other minoritized and racialized groups could also experience goal blockage whether they are first or second generation due to societal or institutionalized racism or policies which prevent them from attaining their goals. Agnew (1994) also states that adolescents experience strain when there is a disjuncture between goals and expectations. This may or may not explain individual or youth behavior in immigrant communities since on the one hand they have large family and social networks that shield them from such strain. However, for strain theorists, social structures like poor housing, high unemployment, lack of education, and vacant or vandalized buildings all constitute strain on immigrant families and youth and therefore make them highly susceptible to crime.

According to a critical extension of ST, much of reality about criminality and minoritized groups is the socially constructed meaning that reality is person-specific, situation-specific, and time-specific. Additionally, racialized and minoritized groups internalize stereotypes that the dominant society has in place for defining them, therefore contributing to their self-condemnation. Meanwhile, those dominant in society conjure up stories, which rationalize their domination with very little self-reflection/analysis. By unearthing and understanding how racialized groups understand their own marginalization and how they resist it or are drawn to criminality due to lack of alternatives or choices, according to ST we can truly listen to the silent voices of marginalized groups and their disposition to criminality.

To extend ST in explaining criminality in refugee and immigrant contexts, particularly for the sake of this systematic review, strain theorists would argue that people engage in crime because they experience strains or stressors (Agnew, 1994; Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; Cernkovich, Giordano, & Rudolph, 2000; Palidda, 2011). According to Cernkovich *et al.*, (2000) racialized and minoritized individuals may feel that they have lost something they value (i.e. status, income, respect and dignity) or may feel that they are treated in an aversive or hostile manner by others (i.e. experiencing subtle and overt discrimination, harassment or any other negative treatment), and may be unable to achieve their goals (i.e., fail to achieve the pre-migration goals they set for themselves), or may have difficulties in the settlement/integration process in their newly found land (i.e., access to services, employment, a living wage, status,

autonomy, or social mobility, etc). Such economic, structural, and socio-political stressors/barriers might influence their responses. Some racialized and minoritized immigrants may become resistant to the norms and values of the dominant culture and seek alternative ways to enrich and empower themselves.

Thus, in a desperate search of both monetary and social capital or in attempting to cope with what they perceive as a "hostile" host environment to their culture, religion, general their way of life, or lived experience as foreign trained professionals, some groups might resort to crime. Hence in order to manage perceived exclusion or strains, and depending on the level of constraint or perceived exclusionary experiences, coupled with the amount of strain that individuals or groups face they relive their strains through criminal or delinquent acts (Cernkovich *et al.,* 2000). Consequently, such experienced, vicarious, and anticipated strains, forecasts the likelihood of some racialized and minoritized individuals becoming prone to criminality (i.e., strains they experience increase the likelihood of criminality). Crime, accordingly, becomes a way in which they are allowed to reduce or escape from their strains, at least temporarily; alleviating their sense of perceived failure, exclusion, and disappointment in their new adopted countries.

4. ANALYTICAL APPROACH OF THE REVIEW: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

We adopted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method as a way to understand how criminality and racialization interlock in the literature and how they are discursively constructed, particularly in crime prevention efforts and interventions aimed at racialized and minoritized communities in Canada, US, several EU countries, and Australia. As with other methodological orientations, CDA consists of a number of approaches to research, with different assumptions and emphasizing different theoretical positions and orientations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2003). For our purposes, Norman Fairclough' extension of the Foucauldian analysis influenced our methodological orientation of this current systematic review. Michel Foucault's social criticism and analysis (1972) of the uses of discourse to exercise power (such as his analysis of how "knowledge" is created and with what purpose or effect) has guided our analytical approach. Foucault's method and his concern (1972) with the ways in which power and knowledge come together in discourse. Foucault's influential book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), proposed that a discourse includes not only written and spoken ideas and knowledge, but also attitudes, the way topics are addressed, the terms of reference used, and the social practices embedded in conventions.

For Foucault (1972), discourse analysis involves identifying discursive formations and the strategies by which statements identified with these formations become true and are circulated or excluded and rendered invisible or silenced. These discourses, as others have noted, "govern what can be said, thought and done within a field" as well as how texts "form the subjects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1977, p. 49). Understanding how certain statements become "true" involves attention to the history of power relationships. The important thing is not whether what is said is right or wrong, but how it defines the way an issue is to be understood.

Extending Foucault's analysis of discourse is the work of social theorist Norman Fairclough, whose critique also problematizes the power of discourse and its contextual and situated existence. In his chapter entitled: *"Critical Discourse Analysis"* published in Van Dijk's (1997) book: *Discourse as Social Interaction,* Fairclough and his colleague Wodak propose eight principles of CDA. According to Fairclough & Wodak (1997), the first principle of CDA addresses social problems. Thus, CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. *Second,* CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its endeavors to make explicit power relationships, which are frequently hidden because such discourses are of practical relevance to the social, cultural, political, and even economic contexts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The *third* principle is that power relations are discursive. That is, in any CDA analysis, an explanation of how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse is crucial (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This principle relates to Foucauldian ideas of power as situated and of power relations having something to do with discourse. Thus CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.

The *fourth* principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture. This means that every instance of language and ideological use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture, including relations of power (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In other words, language and ideologies are often produced through discourse. To understand how ideologies are produced, it is not enough to analyze texts; the discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) must also be considered (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The *fifth* principle within the CDA is that discourse is history. Thus discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context. The centrality of history in CDA is crucial in that determinants such as culture, society, and ideology in historical terms drive the construction of reality. Thus, discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their historical context. In Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) view, discourses are not only imbedded in a particular culture, ideology, or history, but they are connected intertextually to other discourses.

The *sixth* principle relates the link between how text and society is mediated. CDA, thus, is concerned with making connections between socio-cultural processes and structures on the one hand, and properties of texts on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). CDA does not take this relationship to be simply deterministic, but invokes an idea of mediation. Thus there are "mediating" factors that explain the relationship between text and society, and these factors are context-based. The *seventh* principle is that CDA is interpretative and constructivist (or explanatory). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA goes beyond textual analysis and offers moments in the research process for interpretations and explanations of the text. This interpretive orientation allows for the production of meaning relations by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole. The final and *eighth* principle is that CDA is a form of social action. Discourse from the point of view of CDA uncovers power relationships and is socially committed to unearthing taken-for-granted notions of "reality" and "truths." As Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest, CDA attempts to bring about change in socio-political practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The principles theorized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) have formed the basic first step in our systematic literature review. What is critical in the CDA process reviewed above is the insistence by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) that "discourse" in an abstract sense is a category for designating particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life (e.g., it is common to distinguish different discourses, which represent, for example, problems of inequality, disadvantage, poverty, and "social exclusion" in different ways). An analysis of discourse of crime, criminality, crime prevention, and racialization, therefore becomes a critique of "forms of practice," in the terms of "social action and interaction," "both in text and context". Thus the overriding objective of CDA, according to Fairclough (2000), is to give accounts of the ways in which social discourse "(re)constructs" social life in different ways for particular reasons.

For our purposes in understanding both the academic and non-academic discourse linking racialized and minoritized communities and crime; as well understanding innovative ways to strategize and mobilize community engagement towards crime prevention; an analysis of discourse, therefore, involves an assessment of knowledge produced and why it is produced. For us, academic and non-academic texts constitute the data for discourse analysis and are seen as artifacts of particular patterns of knowledge, whether oral, written, or signed as Gee, Michaels, and O'Connor (1992) suggest. What makes discourse analysis "critical" in our literature review is the illumination of the ways in which certain discourses about groups are produced and naturalized in discourse (Lemke, 1995). Our critical approach to discourse analysis will therefore explore the literature not as truths, but as discourses that act in the world in ways that both define and distribute power.

Thus, our analytical approach is concerned not just with what the literature says about the link between crime and racialization, but also with what the literature does not say, how it is said, and why it is said. Drawing attention to the literature as discourses is thus one way of problematizing and perhaps re-configuring truths about the discourse of crime, criminality, and migrant communities (especially discourses about racialized and minoritized communities such as the Somali Diaspora and other racialized and minoritized groups) that have the effect of privileging racialized notions of human difference in research practices.

5. METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

5. 1 Systematic Literature Review

For the sake of clarity and organization, two phases were adopted in order to ensure the literature review was completed efficiently and in a timely fashion. The first phase included a systematic review of literature utilizing the Cochrane Collaboration (1999) model. The intent in adopting Cochrane model was to provide direction for the research and/or to inform the project of potential issues or areas of concern that may emerge. The review began generally with a discussion around the background and details of the research topic. The research team discussed the research topic at length and clearly outlined the objectives of the review. A literature review frame (See Appendix 1) was developed to structure the review. A brief description of the main elements such as the types of studies, participants, interventions, and measures was discussed in subsequent research meetings and based on the principal investigators' previous work [see Khalema, 2010] an article asssessment form for this review was developed (See Appendix 2).

This assessment form explicitly outlined the search strategy and identified the inclusion/exclusion criteria including the research terms and databases used. This assessment form also identified how papers were chosen for review, and how the data was extracted from the studies was analyzed. This process included the gathering and critical review of relevant academic/research literature, grey literature, and online information related to crime prevention within ethno-cultural communities in general, and Somali communities in particular. Initially, the review concentrated on a three-stage approach that included:

1) A **literature scan of the current research** information both at the **practice and empirical** levels **on crime prevention and newcomer settlement/integration processes** in **local, national and international contexts**,
2) A critical analysis of **studies on best practice approaches to crime prevention** with a particular **focus** on **factors associated with crime involvement and current intervention strategies** in the Somali-Canadian communities of Edmonton to contextualize the review,
3) A **synthesis of community practice models** aimed at **developing a framework** on how to better intervene at the individual **and community level**s to prevent crime.

Each researcher was assigned a region in the world to review and each researcher was given freedom to approach the literature in his/her own way and style, particularly with diverse geographic areas being investigated as long as project goals are met. Following the reviews, each researcher prepared a summary of the review, detailing the studies chosen, their methodological orientations, and detailed results of the findings of the studies. The review proceeded with a discussion of the interpretation and assessment of the results utilizing a CDA method. In this instance, the research team extracted themes from the reviews, detailing similar and diverse discourses emerging from the Canadian, several EU countries, the US, and Australian literature. This process also included a CDA of limitations, silences, and implications of the search results particularly as it pertains to crime prevention efforts for racialized and minoritized groups. The review concluded with each researcher preparing a summary of main empirical findings and the explication of how the findings build on specific aspects of the conclusions drawn, detailing gaps that exist in the literature for further investigation.

5.2 Delphi Consultation to Contextualize the Review

Following the systematic review, a Delphi consultation process was employed to contextualize the review to local Edmonton context. Initially three Delphi consultations were planned with hopes of engaging with an expert panel of key community leaders from the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton on three occasions. We hoped to include representative from youth, women, men, as well as service agency stakeholders, law enforcement personnel, and crime prevention practice and policy development leaders. In the initial plan, the Delphi process was divided into three *phases* with each phase responding to the three *literature review stages.* The *first phase of the Delphi* consultation involves a preliminary response by participants to the initial literature scan of the current research on crime prevention and newcomer settlement/integration processes at local, national and international contexts, while the *second*

phase responds to the analysis of studies on best practice approaches to crime prevention with particular focus on intervention strategies in the Somali communities of Edmonton.

The *third phase of the Delphi consultation* offers the participants an opportunity to assist in developing a framework on how to better intervene at the individual and community levels to prevent crime and inform practice and policy. However, due to time constraints and individual availability, we are able to conduct two Delphi consultations with community leaders (mostly men) and youth leaders. The first Delphi consultation comprised of 9 community leaders representing a variety of organizations within the Somali-Edmonton community and the second consisted of 14 youth participants for a total of 23 participants. Prior to arrival to the consultation, the participants were invited to attend the meeting (See Appendix 3) and upon arrival at the consultation, the participants were briefed about the purpose of the consultation and consent was requested (See Appendix 4).

The consultations brought diverse community leaders together to comment on the compiled literature. The research team summarized the research findings and presented it to the Delphi participants. The intent was for the Delphi participants not only to identify and guide the research team on their analysis of the discourses emerging, but also to refine the research process, particularly as it relates to issues of concern in the communities they serve. As such, the main outcome from these consultations was the identification of current community concerns, community strengths, and support mechanisms being utilized to prevent crime, and development of a process to continue the conversation in the near future. The Delphi consultation process was crucial in advancing and distilling theoretical and empirical findings from the literature review to a manageable and useful set of guidelines and recommendations that can optimize knowledge translation and influence policy and practice at the community level.

5. 3 Steps in the Analysis: Data Sources and Process

5.3.1 Literature Review Analysis

The techniques of the *Cochrane Systematic Review* describe previously in this report were used in the analysis of the literature review. Use of this technique permits the team to synthesize the findings from many studies and identify what significant relationships exist between study characteristics and outcomes. In addition, the research team was able to identify the most effective practices and highlight particular gaps or limitations in the literature that illustrate priorities for future research. The search criteria included: (1) crime prevention intervention strategies and outcomes, (2) newcomers/immigrants/refugees and crime, (3) specific interventions, (3) Somali community and crime/or crime prevention, or Somali Diaspora, or Somali American, Somalis in the EU, and Somali Australians, (4) community-based strategies or frameworks for crime prevention, (5) risk factors and community-based crime prevention strategies, and (6) and the combinations of all the above. The databases included but are not limited to: Youth Justice, Sociological Abstracts, Criminological abstracts, legal abstracts, Medline, PubMed, PsycInfo, SocIndex,Web of Science, Social Work Databases, Academic Search Complete, and Sage Journals Online.

5.3.2 Delphi Consultations Data Analysis

Two Delphi consultation meetings were audio taped with permission from Delphi participants and transcribed verbatim. Tape recordings and field notes were checked alongside original recordings to ensure accuracy and completeness. Data was analyzed by the principal investigator supported by the co-investigator with the involvement of the research assistants through team meetings and direct analytic supervision. Transcripts were be analyzed for themes using a traditional analysis method of pen and paper and in addition to two researchers on the team reading the transcripts and analyzing the data until concept saturation was achieved. McCracken's comprehensive data analysis procedures were used, comprising**:**
(a) line-by-line coding of the data, where each consultation data was analyzed by identifying, categorizing, and describing common processes found throughout the data (e.g., breaking down the data into discrete segments that reflect particular and unique meanings);
(b) examination of the interconnection of emerging codes within the data, whereby the analyses focused on common processes, conditions and consequences relevant to crime prevention from the participant' views such as their own understanding of the literature on crime prevention and how these relate to their communities, intervening conditions and contextual factors by which crime manifests itself within their communities, community-based interactional strategies and culturally specific ways communities use to address crime prevention; and
(c) identification of emergent patterns and themes in terms of factors that lead to the (in)occurrence of crime in their communities; *or* contextual conditions or patterns that intersect to create a set of circumstances that elicit community reactions, actions, interactions particularly after sharing major findings from the literature.

5.4 Literature Search Capacity, Process, Strategies, and Overall Scope

The process of searching relevant literature is complex and according to Hart (2002) requires "appropriate breadth and depth, rigor and consistency, clarity and brevity, and effective analysis and synthesis" (p. 1). From the outset, the task of reviewing and critically synthesizing the literature in this project required a strategy that transcended disciplinary, methodological, and conceptual boundaries. Peer reviewed articles from academic journals as well as community research reports; media publications reports; books, research policy documents, community forums reports, dissertations, and Web sites utilized as data sources reviewed. The timeframe for the search included publications from the 1980s to the present.

This criterion was established to recognize the time frame in which immigration policies in Canada, the United States of America, Australia and most of Europe reformed their immigration criteria to include migrants from the developing South (Engbersen, 2001; Li, 2001, 2003; Palidda, 2011; Razack, 2004, 2006). Initially, the research team identified several general publications on crime prevention, identity, and the settlement/integration process of Somali immigrant communities in "host" countries (i.e., the US, UK, several EU examples, and Canada). Given the limited findings on Somali Diaspora from the initial search, the research team decided to broaden the search.

In fact in our literature searches it became apparent that the studies that "target "specific groups were very limited in that most researchers aggregate minorities into specific "racially ordered categories" of difference such as "black", "African", "Arab" or even "Muslim" to include vast diverse groups of people into a single racial category. In a study conducted by Khalema (2010) between 2003 and 2009 entitled: "*'Race Talk' in Epidemiology and Public Health: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Canadian and Brazilian Texts"* a similar pattern was observed in the field of public health and epidemiology in which groups are lumped together into racialized categories with an attempt to unearth the specificities in experience that each group in the integration and settlement process. To respond to such limiting aspects of the literature search, the team broadened their scope and searched papers that included and were not limited to Somali Diaspora communities to include all migrants. This strategy worked in that in most of these studies the Somali Diaspora was one of many groups investigated and the research team focused on the findings of such studies with a special focus to findings explaining the Somali Diaspora context.

The retrieval of full text articles occurred if the terms included: "crime prevention"; "risk factors"; "protective factors"; "Somali community" (or Somali-Canadian, Somali-American, Somali-Australian, or a hyphenated Somali in each of the European countries); "immigrants and crime"; "ethnic groups and crime"; "migrants and crime"; "refugees and crime"; "'race' and crime"; "minorities and crime", and "racialization and crime". The variations - crime prevention, risk factors, and protective factors yielded almost nothing in Europe, but several articles surfaced in Canada, Australia, and the United States. When terms such as Somali immigrants/refugees or Somali-Canadian, Somali-American, Somali-Australian, or a hyphenated Somali in each of the European countries were inputted, a small number of articles were retrieved.

Sometimes team members reverted to not using the above-mentioned keywords, but looked for other areas that would identify risk factors, such as health or unemployment. This strategy seemed to work as a number of articles on racialization and crime, evaluation reports of community-based research programs, position papers by government bodies, as well as news articles relevant to our topic surfaced. A detailed criterion developed as a result of difficulties in retrieving relevant information is described in Appendix 2. To further capture relevant information to our review, some research team members inputted the terms into Google and only scholarly articles were selected. This strategy also worked better, leading the team to scholarly articles central to our review.

The process to retrieve information included retrieving at least one of the article title, abstract, or keywords that contained such terms or a combination thereof. Due to the specificity of the topic at hand, over two (N=223) articles appearing in refereed journals, non-refereed journals, and books were retrieved and subsequently read, analyzed and synthesized. Due to the magnitude of the information and process of the systemic review, we focused on several articles that forcefully linked crime and racialization, particularly investigating racial and minority strain contextually in the US, EU, Australia, and Canada. The retrieval of full text articles was determined by the abstracts from the citation list and was available either electronically or in print from the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary Libraries. For each article reviewed the following information was recorded: author, date of publication, demographics of the study population, and data sources where the secondary data analyses were performed. Finally, we observed how the findings were reported and how authors discussed subsequent implications of

the data, specifically with regard to *crime prevention initiatives*, policy recommendations, and suggestions for further research. Thus, the articles were chosen because of the evidence-based approach and the level of rigor in the primary analyses.

In addition to referred articles, we reviewed non-referred media and popular culture or media commentaries about crime and racialized/minoritized groups generally in the US, the EU, Australia, and Canada to capture the popular culture discourse in general. An additional layer of analysis was included that focused on the print media discourse about crime and racialized groups in Edmonton. Appendix 9a and 9b lists a plethora of newspaper clippings from local media reports verbatim about criminality and its manifestation within the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton. Including these print media reports was our way of undressing the discourse locally and to be true to our critical discourse analytical method of critically observing the "taken-for-granted" messages from the media as well as to unearth the omissions that such media reports ignore, particularly where racialized and minoritized groups are decorated as both victims of crime and accomplices. The critique of the impact of such a discourse was deemed important to policy and practice prospects for community-based crime prevention initiatives.

6. OVERALL SUMMARIES OF THE LITERATURE SEARCH RESULTS

6.1 Summary of Context from the United States of America

A common perception in the United States of America (US) blames criminal activity on the influx of migrants, including both immigrant and refugee populations. Both the local and national media perpetuate the discourse of migrants and crime through media coverage. This discourse shapes the popular image of immigrant related issues and is therefore the foundation of the common perception of the relationship between migrants and crime for public. The images that are represented in the media create a manufactured ideology among the public that establishes shared beliefs about migrants for a national audience, resulting in a social reaction to the images that are presented.

For example, in the USA, a republican political leader by the name of Sandy Adams has brought the issues of the deportation of criminals to the national forefront (Matthews, 2011). Immigrants that have been convicted of crimes are unable to be deported if their home country does not want to accept deportees (Hing, 2005). Although these cases constitute only a small proportion of the matters that the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement Department handles, stories such as these lead to the impression that immigrants and refugees are dangerous and a source of violent crime; and a pollutant that is an aberration and danger to the general public morally, economically, and physically (Cisneros, 2008). For the general public, this creates a suspicion and distrust of migrants and leads to anti-immigration rhetoric, which spurs crime against the perceived migrant threat.

According to a report done by the UCLA that analyzed anti-immigrant rhetoric on the radio, hate speech has increased, and this may be related to increases in hate crimes (Rojas, 2011). Media outlets reproduce the idea that migrant populations are problems that pose threats to the public, which generates feelings of potential fear and victimization by non-migrants in society

(Constantini, 2011). Moreover, this creates a push for deportation and removal of the public threat, the violent immigrant, from the national populace. This creates an atmosphere of fear, not only for the public, but also for the immigrant and their family, that without the support of social services perpetuates a system that leads to the reduced mobility and opportunity for immigrants and refugees, predisposing them to a cycle of poverty and crime (Hing, 2005).

Compounding this problem is the popular notion that immigrants and refugees are transporters of criminality and will bring the problems from their home country overseas as they resettle; this creates the view that all migrants are suspected of the illicit activities that occur in their home country which are highlighted in world news leaving them subject to criminal conventions and transnational legal action that can bypass their human rights (Pickering, 2007). At the state and federal level these concerns are manifested in proposed changes to legislation and public policy (Dalmia, 2010). Therefore, it is critical to assess the information and perspectives on the relationship between immigration and crime; and as Canadians navigate and select among public policy options that arise from correlations between immigration and crime, we look to the United States to set an example for penal practices in the criminal justice system.

To analyze public concern about a correlation between migrants and crime, specifically for Somali-American migrants, we conducted a systematic literature review using Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) information from the United States Census Bureau and the Office of Refugee Resettlement (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). We were able to identify thirteen cities that are major sites of relocation for Somali-American immigrants and refugees (i.e., Minneapolis, Saint Paul, Washington, Columbus, New York City, Buffalo, Kansas City, San Diego, San Francisco, Maine, Seattle, Phoenix, and Tucson). Using these locations we conducted a literature search to find information regarding links between migrant populations and crime prevention through academic databases (Academic Search Complete, Sage Journals Online, Sociological Abstracts, and SocIndex).

In the search, we discovered trends that indicated that there was no positive correlation between migrant populations and crime in a community; however, there is a positive link between low socioeconomic status and crime. It is important to note that while this research is not exclusively focusing on the Somali-American population in the US, we can identify broad trends for migrant populations and establish patterns that would extend to all immigrant and refugee groups when examining correlations between crime and migrants.

A critical review of the literature has identified prevailing themes that help to shape the academic discourse and common perceptions of refugees and immigrants. Although these themes do not contribute to the relation between migrant peoples and crime, they do contribute to a discussion that is commonly focused on the media, and which frames the public discussion on migrant image. Themes that emerge include broad depictions of migrant mental health, physical health, and low social mobility. Together these themes create a narrative of migrants as maladapted to life in the United States. This image is one that is depicted from a variety of sources and should be critically analyzed as it informs the public mindset, which contributes to relations between migrant population and the communities in which they settle.

6.2 Summary of Context from Canada

Similar to its neighbor to the south, Canadian scholarship on crime prevention and migration is predicated around a larger discussion about immigration and the "challenge" of managing difference. The history of the Canadian immigration policy tells us something about racialization processes at play in the course of the development of the Canadian nation state. Like the US, a hierarchy of exclusionary practices evolved in the making of the Canadian state and as sociologist Richard Day (2000) suggests was "informed by racialist influence of dividing individuals into groupable types, arranging these types hierarchically, distinguishing some types as problematic, and attempting to provide solutions to the constructed problem" (p. 23).

In Canada, colonialism, conquest, and 'miscegenation' of Indigenous peoples pre-confederation provided a historical example of racialized citizenship development (Day, 2000). Day (2000) suggests racialization began with the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in which state policy of imperialism and conquest culminated in the near-total destruction of Indigenous peoples, their political systems, their ability to exercise sovereignty, and to even exist within their own territory. Through state policies of nationalism, individual and/or group relational association to the state usually depends on how the state names that individual and/or group and thus frames the relational capacity. The state, therefore, set normative standards of the relationship and facilitates norms that govern that relationship.

Joyce Green (2004), (quoted from Khalema, 2010) a Canadian Indigenous political scientist, argues that this is a form of state "fundamentalism." She explains that fundamentalism is about the "practice of reinforcing boundaries and prescribing behaviour" (p. 19), and that ethnic or cultural fundamentalism "constructs historically and nationally located identity as legitimate only when a precise set of cultural, ideological and of most concern to the researchers, genetic markers or 'blood quantum' are met" (p. 23). Thus, nationalist fundamentalism "identifies insiders and outsiders and the processes, practices and belief by which the nation is perpetuated. Essential characteristics become idealized, policed, and enforced in defense of the politics and social purity of the nation" (p. 23).

In addition to racializing Indigenous peoples at first contact, Day (2000, p. 8) argues that in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Canada made a point of managing an "explosion of 'racial' subject positions" as Canadian migration patterns increasingly comprised of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The suspicion of southern and eastern Europeans was founded on notions of western European superiority and as Day (2000) puts it, this prompted "the Canadian state to violently displace existing Indigenous populations, while building a Canadian state through assimilationist policies that included recruitment of more 'desirable' person-types […], which led to a proliferation of problematic identities within the category of White itself" (Day, 2000, p. 8).

According to Day (2000), the dissonance that the Canadian government of the time felt as "Italians, Turks, European Jews, Portuguese, Spanish and other southern and eastern Europeans" migrated – prompted the immigration authorities to actively recruit in northern and western

Europe. For instance, according to Day (2000) (quoted in Khalema, 2010) the Western provinces attracted a large number of Europeans who were "not far away from the "Anglo-Saxon stock such as French, Poles, Ukrainians, Dutch, Norwegians, Germans, and Swedes". The new subject position became "the Immigrant, the non-British, non-French, non-Indian internal other" (p. 123).

The new Candianness therefore became an investment in "whiteness." This investment in whiteness was not premised on the notion of equality. In fact, a critical review of Canada's early immigration policy details a racialized system based on hierarchies within the communities we would call "white" (Li, 2001; Day, 2000). Further, an examination of the new immigrant categories in the 19th and early 20th centuries reveals explicit state management of who came in and who did not. This selective immigration policy prompted a hierarchization of immigrants, with some deemed "preferred" and others not. As Day (2000) describes, the new immigrants prompted the government to engage in physical elimination of immigrant bodies such as rejection based on racial criteria and exclusion via "selective immigration" policies. Day (2000) describes this period as being dominated by "a *design theory of identity* that required strict conformity to an Anglo-Canadian model" (Day, 2000, p. 144).

Of particular threat to the British Canadian identity were those immigrants who were not European. In the province of Québec a "*design theory of identity"* took on a much different flavor with French identity taking a central focus. For example, as British Canadian identity was advanced by the Canadian government in policies such as official multiculturalism, challenges to the notion of harmonizing Canadian identity as exclusively adhering to Anglo conformity, particularly in French Québec were generated. Thus, a debate on the competing models of "Canadianness" as "multicultural" and "Québecness" as "intercultural" emerged as a response to affirm and assure the celebration and survival of French Québec as a distinct society. The concept of interculturalism was first introduced in the 1982 Québec Government action plan and later branded as a new model for integration and a solution to some of the anti-immigrant backlash that has accompanied the debate in Québec over the accommodation of minorities (Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, 2008).

The notion of interculturalism takes for granted the centrality of Francophone culture as critical to integration of racialized and minoritized groups immigrating to Québec into a common public culture of French-hood, all while respecting their diversity. Regardless of such a distinction, however, for minoritized and racialized Québécois the concept of interculturalism shares important similarity with multiculturalism (e.g. tolerance for difference). Further, the norm or the dominant group (in this case the French culture/language) is established and stabilized and racialized and minoritized immigrants are required to align, integrate, and to a certain degree assimilate to that norm.

Interculturalism and multiculturalism preceded a number of exclusions that newcomer Canadians and Québecers alike experienced, for example, the exclusion of Jews, East Asians, and Africans in the immigration debate. The Chinese head tax was levied following the *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1885 and public support for exclusion of the Oriental "Other" was signaled in the 1902 *Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*. Conveniently following completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the 1923 *Chinese Immigration Act* severely restricted the

immigration of "undesirables" (Day, 2000; Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 2000). Moreover, within two decades, the Second World War "presented an opportunity to ascribe the mark of 'enemy alien' upon Japanese nationals and 'disloyalty' upon Canadian citizens of Japanese origin" (Oikawa, 2002, p. 77). The historic 1914 *War Measures Act* and various Orders-in-Council were employed as authorization for the dispossession, incarceration, forced displacement, and deportation of 22,000 Japanese Canadians living on the Canadian West coast. Canada modified immigration regulations in 1962 and in 1967, and formally included the changes in the *Immigration Act* of 1976, which legally went into effect in 1978. These regulatory and legislative changes removed national origins as the basis of admissions, substituting family ties, humanitarian concerns, and economic contributions as criteria of admissibility (Boyd & Vickers, 2000; Li, 2001).

The *Immigration Act* of 1976, however, did not change the policy of selective immigration and as Li (2001) and Boyd, Goldman and White (2000) argue, subtle mechanisms were put in place to monitor those deemed "undesirable" and if one was to deviate from the already established regime of citizenry, he/she will be criminalized or vilified as an enemy of the state, an outsider, or a foreigner. People continued to migrate and eventually with a realization of a decrease in population growth trends locally and an increasingly vibrant and determined immigrant push, regulations on which source countries could supply immigrants was relaxed (Boyd, 2000; Boyd & Vickers, 2000). As a result, the color composition of the immigrant population also changed. Prior to regulation changes in the early 1960s, it was extremely difficult for persons from non-European countries to enter Canada. Preference was given to immigrants from the United States and Europe, and annual quotas ranging from 50 to 300 existed for India, Japan, and China (Boyd, Goldman & White, 2000). Not surprisingly, less than three percent of the 1996 immigrant stock who entered Canada before 1960 were persons of color (or "visible minorities").

Further, the political developments during the 1960s paved the way for the eventual demise of assimilation as government policy and the subsequent appearance of multiculturalism as a policy in Canada. For example, pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism, and the increasing resentment of racialized and minoritized groups towards their place in society (Kymlicka, 2003). During the formative years (1971-1981), a shift in the Canadian discourse about inclusion prompted the establishment of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, which dealt with the contribution of other minoritized groups, specifically linguistic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. In its report published in 1970, the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1970) recommended the "integration" (not assimilation) into Canadian society of "non-Charter ethnic groups" with full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure. These recommendations hastened the introduction of an innovative ethno-cultural policy. The key objectives of the policy announced in October 1971 and elaborated upon over the years, were:

- To assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity;
- To assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; (thus, the multiculturalism policy advocated the full involvement and equal participation of ethnic minorities in mainstream institutions, without denying them the right to identify with select elements of their cultural past if they so chose);

- To promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and
- To assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages.

Implementation of these policy objectives depended on government funding and according to the Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada (1992), nearly $200 million was set-aside in the first decade of the policy for special initiatives in language and cultural maintenance. Further, several institutions were created to assist in the implementation of multicultural policies and programs (i.e. A Multicultural Directorate within the Department of Secretary of State was approved in 1972; Ministry of Multiculturalism was created in 1973 to monitor the implementation of multicultural initiatives within government departments; and the government of the time established formal linkages between the state and ethno-cultural organizations to "provide ongoing input into the decision-making process") (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1992).

Furthermore, the architects of the 1971 policy had perceived barriers to social adaptation and economic success largely in linguistic, ethno-cultural, or ethnic terms. The marked increase in the arrival of "visible minority" immigrants whose main concerns were obtaining employment, housing and education, and fighting discrimination, required a shift in policy thinking. Equality through the removal of racially discriminatory barriers became the main focus of multicultural programs, and race relations policies and programs were put in place to uncover, isolate and combat racial discrimination at personal and institutional levels. Particular emphasis was given to encouraging and facilitating the ways in which minoritized and racialized groups could fully participate in Canadian society (Abu Laban & Christina, 2002; Kymlicka, 2003; Li, 2003).

According to Abu Laban and Christina (2002), the 1980s witnessed a growing institutionalization of multicultural policy. Shifts in this policy coincided with a period of difficulties for what policy maker framed as "race relations" in Canada. For example, reacting to diversity primarily in larger cities such as Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver began witnessing the emergence of a few individuals and groups promoting racist ideas. The government first concentrated on promoting institutional change in order to help Canadian institutions adapt to the presence of racialized groups and "protect" them; which were clearly described in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Abu Laban & Christina, 2002). Thus, the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* became the litmus test for which anti-discrimination programs designed to remove social and cultural barriers for marginalized groups would be tested.

In addition to the immigration policy, Canada adopted the concept of multiculturalism[2] by enacting the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1982 as a strategy to manage increased "diversity" as a result of migration. The adoption of the Canadian *Multiculturalism Act* and all its promises of pluralism and respect for diversity cemented a continued idea of human difference based on racialized categories. For example, analysts generally agree that the nature and characteristics of federal multiculturalism have evolved through three developmental phases: incipient (pre-1971), formative (1971-1981), and institutionalization (1982 to the present) (Abu Laban, 1994; Abu-Laban & Christina, 2002; Kymlicka, 2003; 2010).

To summarize, Canada's story of immigration and as it will be shown, crime prevention, was cultivated through state projects of racialization where policies of who is in and who is out were clearly stated since the inception of the Canadian state. Thus, the birth of the Canadian colonial state, the post-confederation discourses advocated for the miscegenation of Indigenous peoples, immigrants, and marginal "others" through adoption of official multiculturalism and other processes of racialization[3].

The Canadian state embarked on a project of "selective immigration" in which hierarchies of citizenry were produced. Such "fundamentalist" normative practices of slotting and sorting citizens by classifying them in terms of prescribed "race" categories required a process and legitimization. To further justify the relational capacity of citizens to the state, the *Multiculturalism Act* and subsequent institutional responses that followed, reproduced and cemented framing conventions applied to social groups and functioned to reinforce policies and practices that uses implicit language to identify particular groups as suitable, "integratable" and in subtle racialized terms as ineligible for citizenship (Li, 2001). Thus, as Li (2001) suggests, Canada's immigration and multiculturalism discourse is laced with "codified language that signifies racial messages" in its "vocabulary, syntax, structure" (p. 78).

6.3 Summary of Context from Australia

Similar to Canada, and the US, Australia is rich in ethnic diversity and has a history of immigration. While Australia has officially instituted multicultural policies to reflect this fact, the Australian public continues to be divided on issues of immigration and refugees. This is not a surprising fact, given the history of institutionalized policies favoring white migrants mainly from Britain and in the form of the 'White Australia' to the later 'Populate or Perish policy' by which government stands on the issue of immigration have changed slightly yet remained in favor of majority groups. During the White Australia period, non-Europeans were perceived as less desirable immigrants than Southern Europeans who were also less desirable than English speaking Europeans.

Since British and Irish immigrants dominated the immigration numbers throughout Australia's history, and remain the dominant ethnic group in Australia, some critics of Australian 'multiculturalism' have critically questioned whether Australia is really multicultural and in effect have dissected the meaning of 'multiculturalism' as a result. Moreover, because immigrants, especially second-generation youth, have been constantly linked to crime by mainstream media there seems to be an unspoken yet popular commonsense belief in Australian society that immigration, migrants, and Australian ethnic groups and crimes are inextricably linked. The review will examine the diversity and history of migrants to Australia, the discourses involved with national, international discourses of criminality and their links to immigration, the role of mainstream media in perpetuating societal inter-ethnic tensions, and finally, risk factors

[3] While drawing attention to the commonalities of oppression, we are in no way attempting to essentialize these experiences and social locations. We acknowledge that there are many subject positions and investments that we all have as a result of the racialization process. Our overall purpose in this discussion is to overtly problematize the role of the Canadian state in "selective immigration".

that are necessary to highlight for prevention of crime in society and clearing misperceptions of immigrant links to crime. Although second generation immigrants in Australia have been associated with crime they are not more likely to commit crime. However these faulty misperceptions have left Australian multiculturalism in a fragile situation since it demonstrates that Australian ethnic diversity has not been fully embraced by 'mainstream,' Indigenous, ethnic or recent immigrant Australians.

6.4. Summary of Context from the European Union

Unlike its Western counterparts, the United States, Canada and Australia, the European Union contains diverse geo-political and socio-cultural landscapes in its disparate countries. Each of the countries within the Union has different histories, policies, and languages. Countries within the EU did not witness non-European or "third-world" immigration until much later within their history as nation-states and eventually even then these countries did not declare the official declaration of ethnic policies such as multiculturalism or melting pot policies. Whether or not the institutionalization of such policies are perceived as lacking, deepening divisions or ignoring historical realities – or praised, for providing ethnic harmony and successfully integrating newcomers to Canada, the US, and Australia – the fact that the state has instituted these policies has illustrated a) that the state has demonstrated a level of empathy towards the migration reality and, b) it is somewhat easier for social policy makers to analyze ethnic relations and racism in these countries. More importantly, scholars argue that such policies allow a more harmonious state of ethnic relations.

Following this line of thinking, a recent migrant is at least explicitly afforded a working knowledge of the values and customs of what they are expected to do with their specific ethno-cultural values, in relation to the majority host country values. In other words multicultural and melting pot policies may serve as a guideline in aiding the norms and behaviors for newcomers. Therefore, migrant scholars have argued that state-level policies dealing with multiculturalism may provide a backdrop or a measuring tool by stating goals and practical realities or expectations for immigrants and government policy makers alike. The same may or may not be said for specific countries within the EU where state level policies have been geared at immigrant-labor force and not necessarily ethnic relations.

Moreover, over the last two decades EU politicians' public "utterances of loathing" directed toward immigrant communities within the European Union is noteworthy within the literature. Europe itself has many former colonizers as well as non-colonizers and may also be divided into the Western and Eastern European countries. Europe has also dealt with the chaos of the World Wars. These distinctions may serve to complicate a unified stance on immigration policy based on historical relations with third world countries and the former Soviet Union. Without an official EU policy on ethnic immigration until the early 1080s, state-media level decision-making on immigrant and migrant issues become more pronounced. As a result, any perceived or real involvement of immigrants in crime whether they be first, or later generation migrants and whether they involve local, national, or international level events are often met with harsh social animosity and state suspicion and manifested in anti-immigrant policies and societal sentiment. Ethnic communities in Europe are thus not as fully integrated within the mainstream and the lack of state-level policies concerning ethnic relations seems to illustrate that that state does not seem

pressured to move towards models in other diverse countries such as the US, Australia, or Canada. Mainstream populations within the EU continue to support right wing policies and politicians with respect to immigrants and immigration linking immigration to crime and thereby causing public fear. The available research regarding the EU immigrant experience therefore illustrates some different trends than those within the North American or Australian contexts.

The review examines overarching trends to grasp an understanding of how the EU has encountered their migrant populations and what societal perceptions the various countries have of them. What historical, political, social, cultural, and economic factors may or may not play a role in immigrant reception? As mentioned EU experience is vast in its diverse political economy of migration, migrants, and criminality. The research will examine eras in which migrants have arrived. The tendency to link immigration to crime will be examined. According to scholars, it is important to contextualize these issues since European mainstream media have too often sensationalized them. Within this discussion, the literature will examine whether or not migrants are actually involved in the crime and what statistics on these crimes report. Because of the mainstream media sensationalization linking immigrants to crimes in EU societies, the interaction between mainstream media discourses and mainstream stereotypes of immigrants within European Union countries will be examined. The review of the EU immigration literature is intended to shed light on areas which require additional research within the area of ethnic minority rights in the European Union as well as bringing to the fore issues which may be of relevance to other industrialized countries with immigrant populations, and large ethnic minority communities.

7. EMERGING THEMES FROM THE LITERATURE

> *'The multiple links between migration and crime raise much broader and very delicate questions about ethnocultural relations, collective versus individual rights, the nature of democracy, and the limits of cultural tolerance…* (Plecas, Evans & Dandurand, 2010: 3).

The trepidation about the predisposition of racialized and minoritized groups to become involved in criminal activities is as ancient as human global migration. In almost all recorded histories of global movements newcomers to lands far and wide were regarded as potential sources of criminals. Recently and reinforced in popular culture and the media, there exist a common, but problematic credence that, immigrants commit more crimes than local citizens, thus determining an overall increase in crime particularly in industrialized countries.

Fuelled by popular media sensetionalization of criminal organizations originating from foreign sources such as the Italian mafia in the US, or Russian mob in contemporary Western Europe, or the Arab terrorist, or the Somali pirate; these popular representations historical or contemporary cements the ideas that through immigration, crime is a probable outcome. For example, within the EU immigration policies have been linked to labor force needs. The discourse and public perception regarding immigration and in turn ethnic minority communities have been linked to crime and crime control. This has in turn had the effect of isolating ethnic minority groups in a

form of ghettoization. Since 9-11 the 'fear' of immigrant communities especially those from developing countries has increased (Bianchi, Buonanno, & Pinotti, 2008; Angel-Ajani, 2003; Lee, Martinez & Rosenfeld, 2001; Plecas, Evans, & Dandurand, 2010; and Rapando, 2005). These factors, in addition to the lack of a coherent multicultural policy throughout Europe and a discourse of a War on Terror have made Muslim communities isolated. Moreover, well-established ethnic minority communities such as the Roma in Europe and Mexicans in the USA have experienced long-standing discrimination (Angel-Ajani, 2003; Koff, H. (2009). A number of studies in Canada, Europe, Australia and the United States of America have however endeavored to understand the link between crime and migration (Albrecht, 2002; Wortley, 2009; Barbagli, 2008; Bianchi *et al.*, 2008; Ngo, 2010; Plecas e*t al.*, 2010; Rossitter & Rossitter, 2009b). Earlier contributions found that crime rates were clearly higher among immigrants, but suffered from severe scientific limitations: for instance they did not control for factors like gender, age and income level and socioeconomic status, which made immigrants more likely to engage in criminal activities.

Some more recent research delivers us much more mixed evidence: in particular, the relative likelihood to commit crimes of newcomers second generation immigrants, and local born citizens seems to be highly variable, across countries and over time. In fact in the research we have reviewed there is strong evidence that immigrants are less involved than native-born in criminal activities, in Canada, US, and Australia (Albrecht, 2002; Lehmann, 2006; Bianchi *et al.*, 2008; Plecas, 2010). Although this conclusion is still contested, it is clear from the review the issue of crime and migration is complex and a more critical approach to examine the list is necessary.

Thus, although researchers cannot establish empirically whether immigrants are more likely than native-born to become involved criminality, there is instead wide consensus on researching the complexity of the issue and locating contextually to understand the factors involved. The next several sections of the review will synthesize common themes in all the four case studies by presenting each case study separately. the first three cases (i.e,. Australia, the USA, and the EU) will generally present research trends that links crime and migration and the discourses that arise from the scholarship. The Canadian case will take a more case study approach looking at research on immigrant integration and crime briefly and then focusing on research on Somali-Canadians. Although this research is limited, particularly in Alberta, reference will be made from other part of Canada and non-academic reports from government and media will be used to contextualize the discussion. It is our observation that with limited critical empirical research in the area on "race", ethnicity, or immigration status and crime in the Canadian context as Wortley (2003) suggest, our discussion will be brief but we will connect the dots as a way to advocate for further research that explains the link between ethnicity, "race" and the discussion of crime in Alberta.

7.1 The Australian Immigrant Experience

Similar to Canada, and the US, Australia is rich in ethnic diversity and has a history of immigration. While Australia has officially instituted multicultural policies to reflect this fact, the Australian public continues to be divided on issues of immigration and refugees. This is not a surprising fact, given the history of institutionalized policies favoring white migrants mainly

from Britain and in the form of the 'White Australia' to the later 'Populate or Perish policy' by which government stands on the issue of immigration have changed slightly yet remained in favor of majority groups. During the White Australia period, non-Europeans were perceived as less desirable immigrants than Southern Europeans who were also less desirable than English speaking Europeans. Since British and Irish immigrants dominated the immigration numbers throughout Australia's history, and remain the dominant ethnic group in Australia, some critics of Australian 'multiculturalism' have critically questioned whether Australia is really multicultural and in effect have dissected the meaning of 'multiculturalism' as a result.

Moreover, because immigrants especially second generation youth have been constantly linked to crime by mainstream media there seems to be an unspoken yet popular commonsense belief in Australian society that immigration, migrants and Australian ethnic groups and crimes are inextricably linked. The following paper will examine the diversity and history of migrants to Australia, the discourses involved with national, international discourses of criminality and their links to immigration, the role of mainstream media in perpetuating societal inter-ethnic tensions, and finally, risk factors that are necessary to highlight for prevention of crime in society and clearing misperceptions of immigrant links to crime. Although second generation immigrants in Australia have been associated with crime they are not more likely to commit crime. However these faulty misperceptions have left Australian multiculturalism in a fragile situation since it demonstrates that Australian ethnic diversity has not been fully embraced by 'mainstream,' indigenous, ethnic or recent immigrant Australians.

7.1.1 The Political Economy of Migration, Migrants, and Criminality

Australia's first inhabitants were the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, who settled the land between 40,000-60,000 years before the arrival of the first European settlers in 1788. By the time Europeans had arrived in Australia it is estimated that approximately 750,000 Indigenous Australians were living throughout most areas of the Australian continent. Indigenous Australians were multicultural in the sense that while they shared a deep reverence for the land they still had diverse lifestyles, cultural traditions, and languages or dialects that differed according to where they lived. According to historians, the Indigenous Australians of this time spoke approximately 700 languages and dialects (Clancy, 2006). At the time of Australian-European settlement, Australian-Indigenous people were mainly hunter-gatherers with a complex oral culture based on the respect for the land and a belief in the Dreamtime in which dreaming is a considered a sacred era during which the Totemic Spirit Beings formed The Creation. When Europeans began settling the land in the late 1780s the dominant idea that Australia belonged to no one was not because the British did not see Aboriginal people living here but instead it was because Aboriginal peoples did not seem to cultivate land or build what was considered 'permanent dwellings' as Europeans did (Clancy, 2006).

Most historians and scholars of immigration trace the first settlers in Australian immigration to the to the late 1700s. Australia's first group of European migrants is said to have arrived in January 1788 (Clancy, 2006). According to Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade over the next two centuries, European explorers and traders continued to chart the coastline of Australia, then known as New Holland (http://www.dfat.gov.au/). In 1688, William Dampier

became the first British explorer to land on the Australian North West coast. It was not until 1770, that another Englishman, Captain James Cook, aboard the Endeavour, extended a scientific voyage to the South Pacific in order to further chart the east coast of Australia and claim it for the British Crown (Clancy, 2006).

Many of the first New Australian migrants approximately 800 convicts who filled two warships, three supply ships and six ships carrying the main group, and Governor Arthur Phillip was in command. Because of the loss of the United States, Britain needed a new 'penal law.' Altogether there were approximately 160,000 convicts shipped from the colonies (). For this reason Australia was known as the 'penal colony.' However, this changed since from the 1790s when free immigrants also began arriving to Australia. This alleviated British colonies from 'overburdened colonial settlements.' The growth of wool in Australia a major industry led to the need for more migrants to the country. Therefore by the 1820s, Australia witnessed a huge demand for labor and this sparked an increase in the need for migration of free people from the United Kingdom. The social upheavals that accompanied Britain's industrialization also resulted in many people emigrating to escape widespread poverty and unemployment (National Communications Branch, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011).

Indeed, much of the migration to Australia was related to the labor force requirements and/or conditions in their homeland. During the 1840s migrants to Australia were primarily Irish coming to Australia to escape conditions of poverty and unemployment, while during the 1860s Australia received laborers from Melanesia who were recruited to work in the Queensland plantations. Between the 1860s and 1920s concerns about gender imbalance in Australia's population led to the attraction of women to Australia. Finally, during the second half of the nineteenth century arrived in Australia's interior and were involved in the construction of railways and telegraphs by Afghani, Pakistani, and Turkish camel handlers. According to historians these migrants played an important role in opening up the continent's interior.

The Commonwealth entitled the Bureau of Census and Statistics established in 1906 to immediately undertake the compilation of Commonwealth statistics of external migration and inter-State migration. It established that there were two types of migrants during the early 1900s and they were: (1) shipmasters engaged in the coastal trade; and (2) railway authorities who, with one exception, are government bodies. According to McPhee's analysis of early 1900 statistics within Australia every person leaving a ship and arriving at the Australian port is considered an immigrant. As McPhee notes however, the majority of immigrants to Australia were British citing that between the two years 1925 and 1926 it would nearly 69 per cent of the permanent arrivals from non-Australian lands came from Great Britain, whereas 4.7 per cent from New Zealand and about finally 9 per cent from other British countries, so that about 83 per cent of the permanent new arrivals were from British countries (McPhee, as cited in Wilcox, ed., 1931). Non-British migrants comprised of Italians who made up 10 per cent of the Australian and other foreign countries immigrants consisted of up to roughly 7 per cent.

The Australian gold rushes occurred hard on the heels of a major worldwide economic depression. Consequently, approximately two per cent of the population of the British Isles emigrated to New South Wales and Victoria during the 1850s. There were also a significant number of continental Europeans, North Americans and Chinese that arrived. About two per cent

of the population of the British Isles emigrated to New South Wales and Victoria during the 1850s.

It is important to consider the internal conflict within Australia during the colonial period. According to Australia's Immigration Heritage Centre (2006), prior to 1900 there was no such country called 'Australia,' instead there were six rival countries within that continent and they were: New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland, and Western Australia. By the late 1890s, Australians had a growing and deep nationalist sentiment and by 1888, 70 per cent of the population was born there. For a long period of time the warring factions did not choose to unite and instead remained divided. The six colonies remained in conflict until in 1901 and after a series of conferences and meetings, they finally agreed to a major consensus reached on the issue of Federation.

Many scholars distinguish between the history of race and slavery within the US in contrast to Australia arguing that within the latter 'race' was not as formidable a factor since socioeconomic class determined opportunities. In the century following European settlement, Australia was a country comprised of convicts, emancipists, and convict descendants. In 1901, Australia passed the Immigration Restriction Act based on the White Australia Policy and prohibited illegal immigration making it permissible for the government to deport people based on whether they are considered to have entered legally or not. Many people were restricted based on socio-economic class and race. As part of the Australian immigration procedures immigrants had to pass a diction test to be written in one of the three main European languages: English, French, or Italian the specific language would be determined by an immigration officer. In 1907, Australia part of the British Empire along with Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand became known as dominions. This meant that while Australians had their own parliament and could make their own laws they could not have their own navy or make treaties with other nations.

During the colonial period in which the *White Australia Policy* dominated, a distinction between emancipists and exclusivists became clear. Those considered emancipists mainly former convicts were native-born Australians who were seen as healthier, stronger, and more independent than those born in Britain. Exclusivists or first colonial elite were more likely to be squatters, landowners, and magistrates or other such professionals (Bonafatti, 2008). Murray and Chesters (2011) suggest that exclusivists were satisfied with Australia being a 'plantation land.' Therefore they wanted to ensure: "…a land full of "…loyal British subjects who would supply their economic needs, support their imperialist ambitions, while simultaneously providing a military bulwark against the French and any other imperialist powers in the South Pacific and go further by providing prisons for their political revolutionaries" (Murray & Chesters, 2011, p. 14). As time wore on, the influence of the British over Australia lessened while that of the exclusivist elite increased. In contrast, the emancipists did not want a plantation economy but rather a modern free market economy with minimal state intervention. Markey as cited in (Murray & Chesters, 2011) cites three main reasons for why many of the poor white in Australia supported the White Australia Policy, first "…the notion of class exploitation through the use of non white labor at substandard wages and conditions, [second] taking jobs away from white men, and

[third] that they were prepared to work for cut wages and conditions thus reducing the standards of work" (p. 18). In other words, the exclusivists wished to maintain a steady stream of cheap labor.

While the *White Australia Policy* continued to be the dominant guide in dealing with immigration throughout World Wars I and II, selective immigration policies in Australia became even more restrictive in a manner coinciding with international events. As Rutland (2006) notes, after a series of vicious attacks on European Jewish communities, many German Jews decided that emigration was their only hope. However Australia was not receptive to Jewish immigrants and not only kept quotas yet Jewish migrants had to answer official questions on immigration questionnaires intended to determine whether there the individual was of Jewish origin. Rutland contends that it was the lack of understanding of the European Jewish plight that led to the refusal of countries to accept them as migrants.

During the same time period i.e. early to mid 1940s, Australia was quite concerned about its national security with World War II and potential invasion by Japan. On December 10, 1941 Australia having just witnessed the fall of Singapore and the loss of power of the British navy and seemed to become increasingly aware of its geographical vulnerability. As a result, immigration policies became more lax reflecting Australia's Labor government minister Calwell's words 'populate or perish'. British migrants were welcomed with open arms as were war brides arriving from Britain. Similarly, non-British migrants, war brides, and Eastern Europeans were also allowed entry (State Library of Western Australia, 2001).

Agreements for indentured and assisted tradesmen or unskilled laborers and their families were soon instituted and included drawing on the large pool of displaced persons from the Baltic States as well as central and eastern European countries. Large-scale immigration from non-English speaking European countries began in 1949 and occurred under the care of the International Refugee Organization. After their arrival, new migrants lived in camps provided by the Australian Commonwealth government where they learned English and received food and shelter. People who were considered displaced found themselves indentured to fill unskilled labor vacancies in essential industries for two years. Most often these locations were saw-mills and the dairy farms of the South-West, pastoral stations of the North, and farms in the Eastern wheat belt. Women worked mainly in the hospitality professions while those with high educational credentials that could not be recognized worked as unskilled laborers.

Reflecting the 'populate or perish' ideal dominant throughout the war WWII years and up until the late sixties early nineties, 50 per cent of settlers arrived from the UK and Ireland while 30 per cent of migrants were from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Germany (State Library of Western Australia, 2001). Despite being seemingly more relaxed, Australian immigrants would be unassimilatable and would most probably accept lower wages thereby decreasing Australia's quality of living. Birrell (1995) states that most of the migrants arriving during the post War years were from rural backgrounds, spoke very little English, and did not have any skills. Therefore many non-British migrants were segregated based on their occupation as well as for social and residential reasons from the majority population. Fruit and vegetable retailing as well as working in assembly lines for General Motors or Ford became known as 'migrant work' during the sixties. These types of occupations were eventually devalued by the majority of

Australian society, as were those who filled them. During the 1950s and 60s therefore the dominant and official settlement policy was strictly assimilationist. Until the 1970s, Australian mainstream societal animosities in addition to the increasing number of migrants in migrant communities with ethnically-run shops, social, religious and cultural clubs paved a fertile environment for the official institutionalization of multicultural policy.

The institution of Official Multicultural Policy by the Australian government notes it was the government's response to the increasing diversity within its boundaries. He contends that in 1966 Australia relaxed its immigration entry requirements to allow non-Europeans entry into Australia as long as immigrants possessed 'skills or professional qualifications'. In 1973 the Australian government prohibited the discrimination of immigrants based on race, color, or nationality. However many of these non-English speaking migrants were seen as needing rehabilitating so as to become more assimilitable.

Birrell (1995) explains how the Australian's Whitlam Labor government 'rediscovered and redefined' migrants as disadvantaged thereby needing rectification. The latter came in the form of providing schools with a higher number of migrants language programs to improve quality of opportunity while incorporating them into the mainstream. The Whitlam government also did away with British immigration preferences in order for non-British immigrants to enter Australia more freely. According to the Australian government's Multicultural Advisory to the Australian government, as a result of the post-war government's new focus, the proportion of the Australian population born overseas rapidly increased from 9.8 per cent in 1947 to around 20 percent in 1971. This number has continued to grow and according to the latest available statistics, just over one quarter (26 percent) of Australia's resident population was born overseas.

Within Australia multicultural policy has meant the acceptance of the fact that there is diversity in Australian society (Birrell, 1995). According to some Australia's Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's Liberal National Country Party coalition government of 1976—1983 instituted multicultural policy with two main political objectives in mind. The first was to attract a substantial portion of the 'migrant' vote from Labor, and the second was to continue reductions in government spending by "…shifting the burden of migrant social welfare away from state agencies and onto the communities themselves" (Jupp, 1997, p. 25). Since the institution of multiculturalism as official Australian policy, Liberal and Labor parties there have debated its economic efficiency. Labor preferred spending money on social welfare programs generally and not on multicultural policies more specifically while Liberal parties prefer to cut money in these areas. Moreover there are issues with how multiculturalism is actually practiced at the grassroots level. Jupp (1997) contends that it is necessary for ethnic minority communities to accept 'Australian core values' while retaining their own.

However Hawthorne (1996) disagrees stating that such arguments are unclear because "…the problem with Australia's current multicultural policy, as formulated in the 1970s, is that it does not provide an explicit model of citizenship and democracy" (p. 3). He argues that citizenship in Australia needs to be redefined since its current definition and practice reflect dominant group values. This is manifested in the way in which national celebrations such as the Bicentenary and

the marking of World War II just two examples whereby Australia as a nation-state excludes its Aboriginal population as well as ethnic minorities. Instead, Hawthorne argues that various policies need to exist such as the inclusion of minorities in public affairs, the decentralization of the democratic on issues of local and sectional importance. There must also be recognition of minorities in the political process and more effective steps to counter racism (Hawthorne, 1996).

With the institutionalization of multicultural policies and increasing minority ethnic groups inter-ethnic tensions remain in Australia. More specifically there has been much fear regarding various minority groups both historically and during the contemporary period regarding crime. Collins (2007) states that with increased immigration, crime and fear of crime have been linked to immigration and that there has been a disproportionate amount of attention placed on ethnic crime especially since September 11, 2001. Al-Rashid (2003) notes that this may as well be considered a normal reaction since even after the White Australia policy was replaced with multiculturalism. This seems to signify the demystification of the: "…symbolic artificiality of national identity and imagined political community" therefore calling into question what defines Australian identity especially among migrant communities (p. 4).

Through the process of socialization Muslim Australians become the 'other' or associated with being "…violent, innately prone to violence, sexual predators, female oppressors, and uneducated, unable to rise above their passion" (as cited in al-Rashid, 2003, p. 3). Indeed, as an Australian newspaper story entitled "fears our crime being imported" reported clearly that "... those born in Somalia, Lebanon and New Zealand had the highest crime-per-population rates in Victoria," (Houlihan, 2008) and also insisted that the crime among these immigrant groups were neither new nor surprising since previous immigrant groups have also shared the trauma of leaving their homelands. Koo and Lee (2005) believe that crimes occur in Asian Australian subcultures as they would in the majority dominant Australian culture the main difference being that Asian victims or criminals are labeled with more fancy titles in newspapers than individuals of the dominant Australian culture.

7.1.2 Discourses of Crime and Fear in Australia

Collins (2003 or 2007) argues that the supposed links between immigrant minorities and criminal behavior is a recurring 'theme' in Australian immigration history and is still a feature of contemporary Australian society. According to Alsbury (2001) strain theorists offer explanations for why minority groups may turn to crime. He notes that within the Australian social context, for example, Indigenous people are able to obtain material wealth through committing crimes than by abiding by them in a society where they are disadvantaged. Furthermore, this disadvantaged position in which indigenous people are placed, is directly related to their offending and their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. Agnew (1992; 2001) has argued that whereas most people are able to deal with stress without resorting to criminal behavior and activity the reason why some people chose to act in a criminal manner lies in the types of strains placed on the individual. Maimon and Gideon (2001) argue that immigration places enormous strain on individuals and most especially on youth not only in society but in school life as well. Maimon and Gideon (2001) argue that immigrant life is so stressful on the youth who experience it, that delinquent and gang behavior is not uncommon. According to their research, native born and immigrant adolescents' negative experiences and events with friends

are likely to result in social isolation, lack of social support, and elevated levels of strain. Victimization and discrimination are most likely to affect immigrant youth. Although conducted within the Israeli context, the general social and psychological factors influencing strain on immigrant families and their youth within Australia is very much the same.

White and Perrone (2001) state that debates regarding the role of 'race' in race riots in Australia have resulted in more harm than good. McDonald and Cook (2003) in his examination of Australian indigenous minority experiences with racism, explains how critical race theory, was developed in the US by scholars of color. They define critical racism as having three main aspects. First, critical race theory works to name and discuss the daily lived experiences with racism and expose how racism continues to privilege whites and disadvantage people of color. Secondly, it legitimates and promotes the voices of ethnic minorities through storytelling to integrate experiential knowledge drawn from a shared history as 'the other' into critiques of dominant social orders.

Thirdly, critical race theory insists on critiquing the notion that meaningful social change can occur without radical change to existing social structures and instead focuses on how current legislation such as affirmative action is not functioning to the benefits of society. McDonald and Cook (2003) argue that the concept of 'race' cannot be separated from the social and historical conditions of a society. They conclude their analysis by stating that Indigenous experiences of racism in Australian society illustrate that critical race theory should be included not only in academia but also in community discourses and public expression. The perception of 'race' and meaning associated with it depends a large part on ethnic visibility and language.

For example, Inglis (2004) contends that while British migrants to Australia lost their migrant status non-English migrants did not. In addition, Inglis (2004) argues how multiculturalism as a policy focuses on non-English speaking people therefore specifically targets certain groups as the ones who need to assimilate specific Australian values. She further argues that Australian like Canadian multiculturalism focuses on ethnicity and ignores other important dimensions such as, gender, and class. While the policy was later extended to all Australians Aborigines have been relegated to an "ethnic group" category that many believes devalues their history and lived experiences as First Nations.

7.1.3 Media, Race and political/public Discourse on Criminality

The link between mainstream media and incidents of racism in Australia as described is not new or surprising. There have been various interactions between media and conflicts on the international level or internal media associations of ethnic groups with war and/or violence. Poynting (2004) maintains that within Australia incidents of racial attacks occurred during the Gulf War in 1991 against those of Middle Eastern appearance and those associated with the Islamic faith due to the conflict. The September 11, 2001 attacks were similarly associated with Muslim women in the US having their *hijab* or veil torn off in public. Poynting (2004) notes that those who were Christian Arabs as well as neither Arab nor Muslim such as Sikhs were also subject to violence in Australia.

Of the 71 per cent of Australians who had experienced racism only 6.5 per cent reported such incidents to the authorities. Under the category of 'social incivility' were mostly name-calling incidents but Poynting (2004) states that there have been much worse attacks in Australia such as those Muslims living with Anglo-Saxon neighbors living within the same neighborhoods, for example, he cites the experiences of one young woman he calls 'Amal,' and her experiences being insulted in public, having her mother hit in public by a young man, and finally having her brother's neck cut as well as her hand. Worse still, Poynting (2004) explained were reports to the police and that sometimes these complaints would end up without response. Many Australians of Arab or Muslim background and those who were neither Arab nor Muslim, but experienced being mistaken for being Arab or Muslim, experienced racism because of these mistaken identities and furthermore stated that many societal institutions were complicity involved in these experiences.

7.1.4 The Language of War-Battle

As discussed and despite the fact that ten years have passed since September 11, 2001, there remains media sensationalization and inaccuracies concerning events and people concerning the Middle East. Such events have been directly tied to 'national security' debates. Poynting and Mason (2007) argue that Arab or Muslim leaders are asked to remain constantly demanded to illustrate allegiance to the Australian nation its laws and its values. These mainstream media reports seem linked to national security fears of terrorism on the global level. These reports are apparently consistent with national concerns of 'Lebanese who are out of control.' Poynting and Mason (2007) call such reports 'media driven cycles of fear' which have the effect of causing fear of Middle Eastern males. Sensationalist headlines such as '70 girls attacked by rape gangs' or 'Women told to beware,' maintained a state of fear driven by media stereotypes to remain. According to Collins (2003): "the issue of crime and its link to immigrants and ethnic groups and ethnic gangs is one of the hottest topics around the globe today" and that "it could be argued that it is… one of the greatest challenges facing the social cohesion of Australia and European Union countries today" (p. 215).

Crime committed by ethnic groups according to Collins is most likely to lead to hot debates in not only countries throughout Europe but the US and Australia and has also led to a resurgence of right wing politics throughout these regions. This has led to the growth in the number of right wing political parties with anti-immigration rhetoric and answers on how right wing parties are capable of fighting illegal immigration. This is in addition to the focus on youth ethnic immigrant crime has led Australian policy makers to popular over-exaggerated concerns that immigrant youth involvement in organized crimes is a societal problem that needs immediate relief. Of particular concern in Australia is crime associated with Lebanese and Middle Eastern males followed by crimes and concerns about crimes committed by Chinese, Vietnamese, Pacific Islanders, and Samoans.

According to Collins (2003) such a link between ethnic background and crime illustrates that crime has been redefined in Australia as interlinked with ethnicity. Collins warns that the danger with such notions is that the: "…criminality of a few becomes the criminality of culture" (p. 32). Collins (2003) contends that if such associations continue to "…reinforce the racialization of

youth crime in discourses, media, police, and governments" then the social cohesion of one of the world's most cosmopolitan cities is put in jeopardy" (p. 33). Instead Collins argues that culturally diverse societies will have culturally diverse crimes and that it is necessary to understand that while some youth of specific ethnic groups may overrepresented in the criminal justice system it is important for societies to consider how transnational organized crimes "…use solidarity as a key leverage of trust" (p. 233).

According to Lehmann (2006) Australian mainstream media may perpetuate tensions between mainstream society and recent migrants and/or refugees. He quotes a newspaper article in *The Australian* that stated that "taking too many refugees from war-torn countries poses risks to our culture" citing the recent increase of immigrants from Sudan and Somalia and continued that in many of these cases these "migrants are so "emotionally and mentally damaged…they have the potential to drag down our culture." Furthermore, one of the teachers interviewed in the piece and from a school with a high number of Somali and Sudanese students, was quoted as saying "refugees from Somalia and Sudan have been brought up in a lawless society" "… they have so little respect for life and death means nothing to them" (Lehmann, 2006). The fact that mainstream newspapers and a teacher in a multicultural society can make such racist statements is indicative that there is a greater need for anti-racist multicultural awareness.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007) reports that ethnic minorities whose parents were not born in Canada and the US have lower victimization reports than individuals from the majority culture. There were no differences in victimization between similar groups non-UK and UK born parents except for those individuals who had a mixed ethnic background who reported higher incidences. The rate of violence for migrants from English speaking countries was half of that experienced by Australian born. For migrants in general non-English speaking there was no difference in rates of violence. The rate of violence experienced by males born in migrant English speaking countries was one third of that experienced by Australian born male migrants. All in all, the report states that statistics regarding the victimization of migrants is difficult to collect since some ethnic groups have very small numbers in certain communities. Additionally, these statistics do not reflect victim's country of birth and there are also very different statistics and methods used in different areas.

7.1.5 Risk Factors and Protective Factors

As described racism within educational and other societal institutions such as media are not uncommon in Australia despite more than four decades of Australian multicultural policy. Some policy makers follow the policy implications of critical race theory whereby they realize the importance of how culture intersects with class and gender. For example Collins (2003) contends that when it comes to policy responses to immigrant crime, a preoccupation with the cultural or ethnic dimensions of crime might lead researchers to overlook aspects such as class. Such a focus Collins warns leads to an emphasis on policies that encourage 'racial' or 'ethnic' profiling and a focus on community or religious leaders in crime prevention whereas there should be more top down policy development. Following this, Collins states that a top-down perspective would lead to qualification recognition, employment creation, local area community development

strategies and away from "…masculinity and adolescence as well as away from policing in a multicultural society" (Collins, 2003, p. 236)

Mulroney (2003) states that Australia implements crime prevention that targets primary, secondary, and tertiary crime prevention programs. Primary prevention techniques that target the community as a whole and introduce values that promote healthy relationships are seen mainly through broad community educational programs. Secondary prevention programs target at-risk youth whereas tertiary programs target individual victims and perpetrators attempting to avoid recidivism. Within Australia, the 'whole of the school' prevention program looks to educate youth in general about crimes. This program examines curriculum programs, teaching practices, learning, organizational practices, and school culture. Boese and Scutella's (2006) research illustrates secondary prevention programs targeting Indigenous youth and minorities. They state that while Aboriginal youth remain among the most disadvantaged: "young refugees face particular challenges regarding their mental health, access to education and pathways into employment" (p. 32).

Tertiary crime programs are aimed at assisting youth in prisons and recently released in re-integrating into society. While they argue that there is a lot of research conducted in the area of crime prevention on all levels that such research remains lacking with regards to the rates and numbers of youth involved. Boese and Scutella (2006) state that in order to arrive at better prevention programs it is necessary to measure immigrant youths' outcomes in education and also come to an understanding of the multiple dimensions of disadvantage (i.e., gender, class, ethnicity, and location). Also migrant communities and immigrant youth must be involved in the prevention programs that will affect them: "…since civic participation increases with access to material resources" Castles and Vasta (2004) contend that Asia's economy is highly interrelated with the global economy Australians still feel threatened by immigration and immigrants. They contend that in an ever-increasing world mono-culturalism and isolation is not an option.

7.2 The United States of America Experience

Based on the literature, there are themes that have been identified as prevailing within the academic literature. These themes help to shape the academic discourse and common perceptions of refugees and immigrants. Although these themes do not contribute to the relation between migrant peoples and crime, they do contribute to a discussion that is commonly focused on the media, and which frames the public discussion on migrant image. Themes that emerge include broad depictions of migrant mental health, physical health, and low social mobility. Together these themes create a narrative of migrants as maladapted to life in the United States. This image is one that is depicted from a variety of sources and should be critically analyzed as it informs the public mindset, which contributes to relations between migrant population and the communities in which they settle in.

7.2.1 Crime and Migration: The Connection

When considering media reports of crime, it becomes clear from the aforementioned examples, that certain types of crime are highlighted in the discourse. Violent crime, in particular, is often mentioned in the public record though it is less frequent than property crime. Crime statistics are recorded in the United States by the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation and

published for public dissemination in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR). When considering statistics from the UCR, it is important to acknowledge related factors that affect the proliferation of crime, such as: population density, geodemographics, socioeconomic status of the population, population diversity, availability of law enforcement and crime reporting practices. According to the national UCR statistics for 2006 (Uniform Crime Reports, 2006), over a quarter of all arrests (not convictions) were of black individuals. With aggregate numbers like these, we should question what the relevance of these statistics are, what kinds of conditions lead to these numbers and how the idea of the dangerous immigrant affects the public.

7.2.2. The Fear of Crime and the Impact of Immigration

As previously mentioned, the idea of the dangerous immigrant is prolific in the media and has led to backlash against migrant populations in the United States. In a community based study conducted in Washington, D.C. research analyzes what effects this anti-migrant sentiment had on immigrant populations (Ackah, 2000). In the study, researchers had respondents complete questionnaires on their perceived risk of victimization of the thirteen most frequent crimes in the area. The questionnaire also gathered information on the gender, age, and income class of the respondents, which showed that the respondents were similar on levels of socioeconomic status and time spent in the country. All of the respondents were Ghanian refugees, and all expressed fear of crime. Urban residents, in comparison to rural did report feelings less fearful because they were familiar with higher crime rates, and those who were aware of the crime in the States prior to their arrival also felt more calm. In a similar study, researchers analyzed whether crime was associated with perceived safety and whether or not that sense was related to a concentration of latino immigrants (Cancino, Varano, & Schafer, 2007).

Using a computer operated interviewing system as well as census data and violent crime reports from the police, researchers collected data from Latino and non-Latino respondents. Both groups of respondents expressed concerns over safety. Respondents living in areas of high crime incidence and immigrant concentration in Chicago reported higher concern of safety. These results were echoed in a study that analyzed the concern of immigrant's concentration in neighbourhoods and perceptions of violence, through data analysis (Chavez & Griffiths, 2009).

This study also utilized police reports of violent data and census records to analyze growth of immigrant populations and data sets from crime, searching for correlations. The study concluded that growth of immigrant populations had no relation to growth in violent trends, and that the two indicators, violent crimes and high immigrant concentration, appear to indicate a negative correlation. Moreover, at points of escalating violent crime rates, there were significant decreases in the newcomer settlement rate. For immigrants, the information gathered in these studies indicate that they suffer a certain level of stigma from perceived belief that migrant individuals are a source of crime, and threaten community safety. All three studies present data that refutes this notion, and the results of which indicate that the concern for safety is more strongly linked to lower socioeconomic status among the respondents.

7.2.3 Youth, Crime and Violence

The experiences of migration can be disconcerting for youth and can have an impact on the lives and future educational achievements. Migrant youth who comes from experiences of living in refugee camps or informal domestic communities, are likely to have witnessed and been subject to a number of traumatic events (Hek, 2007). As well, in their pre-migration experience, they may not have had the opportunity to attend a formal education system, leaving them unfamiliar with the customs of North American education and at a disadvantage for academic success. The educational system is an integral aspect of the foundation for adult life and provides a a sense of normalcy for youth. Also, the educational system is an essential means of socializing for migrant youth, and means by which they can begin to familiarize themselves with the cultural norms and expectations of their new home (McBrien, 2005).

By engaging in maladaptive behaviours, youth forgo these opportunities, which creates circumstances in which they are competitively disadvantaged for the future in comparison to their North American raised counterparts. In this situation, new migrant youth would be more prone to delinquent risk taking behaviour, resulting in a representation of violent adolescent migrants (2010). In a study using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, researchers found that minority youth are more likely to engage in violence, and that this trend is strongly motivated by low socioeconomic status and residence in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009).

Being at a disadvantage may also predispose youth to engaging into more risk prone behaviours. To find a source that provides a greater sense of perceived stability, youth may be prone to being involved or recruited in gang activity, according to the literature (Sivan, Koch, Baier, & Adiga, 1999), in which case, it also suggests that actions must be taken in policy to counter against the possibilities of youth radicalization (Weine, Horgan, Robertson, Loue, Mohamed, & Noor, 2009). The idea of migrant youth as potential cells of violence of vulnerable to gang activity is prevalent in the literature and in the idea of migrant youth within the greater community. This idea serves as a pre-conception that further discriminates against the youth as they struggle to integrate themselves into North American society.

Compounding this issue is the idea that if the youth are deviant or displaying delinquent behaviour then they are results of unfit parenting and must be suffering from abuse, neglect or abandonment at home with causes this behaviour. These notions create a unflattering portrait of a migrant family, where both the youth and the parents are portrayed as deeply troubled, prone to crime, and maladapted to society. This view is corroborated by a study that analyzed the number of immigrant and refugee children that have been put into foster homes and their juvenile court records, to explore the judge's opinions on how to serve the best interests of the youth (Xu, 2005). The study indicates that there were no guidelines for the judges to follow, therefore, their ruling were highly subjective and based on preconceived notions on the operation of the migrant families and personal biases. It becomes clear from the research presented that more social support is needed for migrant adolescents, as well as, standard procedures and training in cultural competency and communication is required for the legal system to allow them to recognize the barriers that are faced not only by the youth, but also by their caregivers.

7.2.4 Economic Disadvantage

Maslow's hierarchy of needs creates a framework that can be used to analyze the prevalence of economic disadvantage in migrant communities and it's correlation with crime. According to the hierarchy, there is a chain of needs that must be satisfied for individuals to take hold of their own agency and become capable of recognizing their own capabilities (Adler, 1977). The first two of the four sets of needs detail necessities that are associated with survival, including basic physiological needs and safety needs such as stability and protection from danger. For migrant individuals, when they are living in areas of economic disadvantage these needs are unsatisfied, and there exists the opportunities for individuals to satisfy those needs through illegitimate means, as the opportunity cost for legitimate methods is beyond their scope (Koff, 2009).

Migrant individuals suffer from reduced social mobility, because their level of mobility is contingent on integration, grasp of English, and previous employment skills, as demonstrated in an analysis of immigrant assimilation overtime (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2005). A study that further demonstrates these outcomes was conducted using a random sampling of resettled refugees in the Minneapolis and St. Paul areas (Potocky-Tripodi, 2003). The findings indicate that a key to successful social and economic mobility for immigrants and refugees is to integrate; integration can be successfully supported best by resettlement programs, specifically interventions that target the critical areas of education and English speaking ability. Similar results were obtained in a study that conducted telephone interviews of resettled refugees to determine the most beneficial services provided to them by the resettlement agency (Sargent, Hohm, & Moser, 1999).

The majority of respondents strongly echoed the statements from the aforementioned study, stating that aid in finding jobs and obtaining a education were the most beneficial and areas of primary concern. In addition, in a study conducted in Austin, Texas, researchers used homicide data collected by the police and national census information to analyze a possible correlation between immigration, socioeconomic status and violent crime (Akins, Rumbaut, & Stansfield, 2009). The results from the study did indicate that demographics that were economically disadvantaged did coincide with higher levels of homicide; it also indicated that there was no link between the level of immigration and the level of crime. During the period analyzed, from 1990-2000, the immigration and resettlement levels in Austin were at a high level of growth, whereas the level of crime had declined.

7.2.5 Researching Crime Trends and Statistics

The idea of the dangerous migrant is a prevalent public image that remains popular in common discourse. As previously identified, migrants have the capacity for integration and isolation. While integration increases their opportunities, isolation decreases them and individuals and/or families with low social mobility are more likely to live in a lower socioeconomic community, have a lower paying job, and possibly have a more tenuous grasp of the ability to speak English. All of these factors put migrants at risk for criminal and delinquent behavior. With this level of risk that has been identified, the question still remains of whether or not there is an existing correlation between the patterns of immigration and the patterns of crime. In an effort to address

this issue, researchers designed a study that analyzed data from the census and the race-disaggregate homicide arrests to determine if there was a link between immigration and homicide in California (Feldmeyer & Steffensmeier, 2009).

The study found that while low rates of employment, graduation and single parent households did show some correlation, overall the link between immigration and homicide levels for White and Latino populations was negligible, and for Black populations, was negatively correlated. In a similar analysis that looked at neighbourhoods in three border cities (Miami, San Diego and El Paso) during the period of 1985-1995 for causation between immigration levels and homicide, similar results were found (Lee, Martinez, & Rosenfeld, 2001). Using census data and criminal homicide reports from the local police force, researchers analyzed the data and determined that there was no relationship of significance between homicide and immigration. Echoing the results of the previous study, the results identified the same risk factors that contribute to the victimization of immigrant in communities.

A comparable investigation of immigration and homicide patterns from 1980 to 2000 revealed data that is the same as the previous research, as well, the analysis from the cross-sectional data revealed that immigration appeared to be negatively related to the urban homicide rate in the neighbourhoods of San Diego that were observed (Martinez, Stowell, & Lee, 2010). The same research team conducted the study over a shorter period of time (1980-1990) in Miami, and specifically sought information regarding five ethnic populations (Martinez, Nielsen, & Lee, 2003). The results of this research provided conclusions that are comparable to those of the previously mentioned studies. In a literature review conducted to analyze crime and immigration found similar results (Nielsen & Martinez, 2011). It also indicated that if an individual was born the United States, they were less likely to have been arrested or incarcerated.

Additionally, the study present a factor that should be considered: the relationship between the immigrant population and the police, and how that affects crime reporting and arrests made, as there may be a bias present in the interactions and detainment of individuals; it did indicate that in comparative cases migrant individuals were more likely to be arrested for assault than for robbery. Comparable trends were detailed in a study that analyzed major metropolitan areas using the Current the Population Survey and Uniform Crime Reports, with similar results that had been documented over time for the cross-sectional analysis (Stowell, Messener, Mcgeever, & Raffalovich, 2009).

Using the literature as a source of information, we can breakdown the discourse presented by the media and popular opinion regarding immigration and crime. It is clear from the aggregate results of the research that there is no correlation or causation between the factors of immigrant populations and crime, and that link that is claimed to exist, is more likely falsely interpreted. Crime is more clearly correlated with the risk factors identified: unemployment, low socioeconomic status, single parent households, education level and relationship with law enforcement bodies.

7.2. 6 Risk factors and Migration Strain: Mental Health issues

In continuing the discussion of the dangerous immigrants and refugees, a different aspect of their public image emerges. With regards to their health, in popular discourse both common and

academic the idea of the unhealthy migrant is perpetuated. This idea creates an image of an individual, who is not only mentally traumatized, which can serve as a rationale for the idea that immigrants and refugees have a proclivity for crime, but also one who is unhealthy physically (Kroll, Yusuf, & Fujiwara, 2011). The notion of being physically unfit upon migration to the United States results in the creation of a metaphor that migrants are maladapted for North America and should not be coming here, unless they are prepared to deal with their own health shortfalls (Xiang, Zhang, Scurlock, Smith, & Stallones, 2007).

This is particularly concerning, when taken in consideration of the healthcare system offered in the States and inability to access it that this idea may result in, through difficulties to procuring private insurance to paying higher premiums for being predisposed to certain health conditions, in comparison to their American born counterparts. It also enforces other stereotypes surrounding the idea of immigrant and refugee behaviour such as engaging in casual drug use and distribution, which contributes to the detriment and negative health affects for the migrant and also to the community who condones the use of drugs and promotes its cultural engagement (Gegax, 2002). Further, the idea of drug use also contributes to the discourse of migrants engaging in criminal and delinquent behaviour and bringing illegal activities from their original country with them as they resettle. The idea of the unhealthy migrant serves to justify further conditions, such as the assumption that all migrants suffer from depression factors and post-traumatic stress disorder (Abu-Ras & Abu-Rader, 2009).

This rationale is also extended to use to explain inequity between gender classes in migrant families, and discuss the prevalence of familial instability and domestic abuse (Xiang *et al.*, 2007). The stigma that these preconceptions results in contribute to the dialogue that disadvantages migrants, and also contributes to the idea of the North American savior who is there to restore stability and safety to the women and children that are threatened (Nilsson, Brown, Russell, & Khamphakdy-Brown, 2008). This perceived threat is one of the contributing factors that leads to the biases of judges in the cases of adolescent deviants resulting in them being moved into the foster care system, and fracturing their family and main source of stability in a new country. The idea of the unhealthy immigrant is one that needs to be critically analyzed and discussed so that the idea that are common to the general public are ones that are substantiated with facts and research, and that accurately depict the conditions of the migrant individuals that they describe.

7.3 The European Union Immigrant Experience

7.3.1 The Political Economy of Migration, Migrants, and Criminality

As most industrialized countries, (i.e., US, Canada, & Australia) the European Union countries did not suddenly find their populations overcome with non-white migrants at within their populations. Rather, the majority of these migrants entered Europe steadily over decades and legally with state permission and within immigrant frameworks. Historical precedents leading up to the cultural diversity within Europe and according to the literature, make the European Union's socio-political and historical conditions distinct from other industrialized and ethnically

diverse countries. While generalizations regarding European Union countries' historical conditions can be made, comparisons regarding internal state policies regarding "tolerance" protection, and/or expectations of immigrants or ethnic minorities cannot. As Hiatt (2002) states, immigration during the latter half of the twentieth century Europe was radically different than that of the first half because of the heralding in of major events namely the end of World War II, the Cold War partitioning of Europe, the fall of Communism and the Soviet Empire, and the formation of an open-border European Union.

Scholars have differed in the ways in which they characterize European countries. Hansen (2003) argues how it is useful to separate the post-War Era Europe (post-1945) into former colonizers and non-former colonizers. As a result, Hansen finds that both colonial and non-colonial seemed coerced in accepting non-white migrants. Hansen argues that while "some scholars might contend that the former colonies willingly accepted these non-white migrants it was rather the case that an inability to secure workers (especially white workers) from Europe meant that policy-makers had little choice but to rely on (or, which was more often the case, to tolerate) colonial migrants" (p. 12).

He divides migration to Europe into two main categories labor and colonial migration. In labor migration countries like Germany recruited migrants from Spain and later Turkey and finally North Africa. The idea behind the guest-worker schemes was that migrant workers would remain so long as there were jobs for them, and would return home once the economy soured. After 1973 there was a practical halt of guest-worker migration to these countries. Both Hansen (2003) and Pallida (2011) note that countries that were the recipients of immigrants began adopting policies to stop it particularly during the 1973 - 1974 oil crisis, however, this continued in some rich countries and was even encouraged in others.

According to Hansen (2003), European colonial countries' dependency on non-white foreign migrants was based on individual countries' attractiveness on a global level to migrants. For the UK, much effort was placed in attracting workers from Eastern Europe. Still, there was a need for more labor. The UK witnessed changes within its national legislation and unrelated to the need for labor. The UK legislation involved in the transformation of British subjects into citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, who would were to enjoy all social, political and economic rights. Through the early to mid- 1950s, the British economy, though unstable, delivered full employment and labor shortages ensued.

Many of the migrants arriving in the UK at this time were individuals from the West Indies, followed by Indians and Pakistanis. Hansen states a major consequence to colonial and guest work migration was the family reunion migration a factor heavily resisted by the majority if not all of the European countries during the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of the 50s and 60s immigration to former colonial and non-colonial European countries went uncontended and therefore illustrated what many European scholars in the migration research in Europe agree upon and that is: as long as the new migrants are willing to work jobs that the non-migrant native Europeans are not willing to do then social conflict will not occur to a great extent. This was true in France and Germany to a much larger extent than it was in the UK but remained a common theme throughout Europe albeit to larger or smaller degrees. Hansen (2003) cautions that while there may be an assumption colonial powers i.e. Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium,

might have tapped into their former colonies for the migrants as a source of unskilled labor it was only because of the inability to find such labor within Europe that they recruited such labor.

Hansen (2003) and Albrecht (2002) seem to concur regarding the tendency of European countries' tendency of EU countries and populations resisting migrants from third world countries despite having had the need for their labor. Albrecht (2002) in his analysis, examines controlling illegal immigration compares Europe to a fortress he states that during the 1980s there was the first sign of a common EU immigration policy but that this did not materialize. The fortress analysis therefore should demonstrate the negative connotations of Europe's resistance against third world migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and the poor and how human rights within Europe and the cornerstone of any free and democratic society should become seemingly nullified.

As briefly discussed within the EU immigration policies have been linked to labor force needs. The discourse and public perception regarding immigration and in turn ethnic minority communities have been linked to crime and crime control. This has in turn had the effect of isolating ethnic minority groups in a form of ghettoization. Since 9-11 the 'fear' of immigrant communities especially those from North Africa has increased. These factors, in addition to the lack of a coherent multicultural policy throughout Europe and a discourse of a War on Terror have made Muslim communities isolated. Moreover, well-established ethnic minority communities such as the Roma have experienced long-standing discrimination. The following sections will examine immigration in the European context.

Within the social context of the EU, Albrecht (2002) makes the important note of distinguishing between genuine asylum seekers and illegal immigrants to Europe. He states that between 60-90 per cent of illegal immigrants are supported by groups brought into Europe and travelling to Europe across European borders. The majority of the illegal immigrants working in Europe are, according, to Albrecht (2002) employed in the construction business, housing, sweatshops, and agriculture. Albrecht (2002) has argued that the control of immigration in Europe has become equated with the control of crime and the creation of stable social conditions such that there exists a social perception that immigrants contribute to instability and violence. Immigrants may do this in one of two ways either directly as offender or passively as provoking victims.

Secondly, "…they tend to exploit host countries by marketing illicit goods and services or by living on social security and property crime" (p. 6). These perceptions are further exacerbated by the high share of unemployment that is twofold of the majority group and low level of achievements in training and education. Like other scholars examining the issues surrounding immigration and migration Albrecht (2002) cautions that it is very critical to consider the time frame within which immigrants arrive and settle since ethnicities, urban vs. rural points of origin, and skill sets change.

According to Albrecht (2002) it is useful to examine the Schengen Accord of 1985, as it is one of the hallmark policies and a European Union response to the so-called illegal immigrant problem. For the purposes of this review it also illustrates one of the European Union approaches

to encountering issues of migrants and immigration. The Schengen Accord was instituted by the EU countries to control immigration into the "Schengen space," as well as criminal offence statutes such as smuggling and the trafficking of immigrants. The Schengen Space from Schengen Luxembourg includes twenty-five member EU states and includes rules regarding each state needs to have its preparedness assessed in four areas: air borders, visas, police, cooperation, and personal data protection (Wikipedia, 2011).

Preventative measures include but were not limited to the permanent exchange of information between EU countries, intensive policing of illegal immigration based on each member state's national laws, and coordinating criminal law to smuggle immigrants in Schengen countries. In 1995, measures were devised to control illegal immigration by making it mandatory for employers to check the immigration status of foreign nationals. A year later, sanctions were introduced on employers hiring foreign nationals. The harmonization of asylum laws in the European Union came with a directive that stated clearly that no more immigration should be permitted to the Union unless "…job vacancies cannot be filled with member state labor force" (p. 11). Thus migration to Europe seems helplessly tied to labor shortages. Albrecht (2002) states that in summary, the policies and developments introduced by the European Union regarding migration and immigration between the decades 1980 -2000 may be considered humanitarian or human rights based in that they respected laws in the field of immigration as well as the 1951 Geneva Convention as it pertains to the status of refugees and asylum seekers.

More recently in November 20, 2011, the European Union unveiled a new immigration policy that would deal with skill shortages while making it easier for immigrants to obtain visas. Entitled the "Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) the policy is aimed at helping match immigrant skills to jobs within the EU. Spearheaded by Home Affairs Commissioner Cecilia Malstrom the policy is aimed at adding value to the EU member states. There are two requirements to the GAMM.

First, mobility partnerships will be formed with Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt and visas and readmission forms will be discussed with the EU and these countries. Second, Migration and Mobility Centers will be established to match job and skills so immigrants will be able to find work easily. Malstrom believes that despite the 9.5 percent unemployment rate in the EU the need for immigrant labor to be due to the aging European labor force and the increasing need for doctors, engineers, and IT specialists (Workpermit.com, 2011).

During colonial, post-colonial eras Europe and the European Union demonstrated limited tolerance towards ethnic migrants its immigration policies were directed mainly at labor force requirements. Much of Europe and the European Union's pride in its so-called 'tolerance' towards accepting those immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities who remained within its boundaries originated from policies surrounding the Geneva Convention. However increasingly during a post-911 globalized era in which all countries are interconnected xenophobic intentions of specific groups within EU countries have become increasingly apparent. A discourse of immigrants and criminality in the literature where the state must regulate, police, and deport immigrants in the EU dominates the discourse and is therefore worthy of examination (Albrecht, 2002; Angel-Asani, 2003; Hiatt, 2007).

Hiatt (2007) sees European immigration debates influenced by the current global era's globalization or the influence or: "… international flow of business, trade, and information,' has the effect of tearing up 'many traditional forms of place-based authority and social control" (p. 22). The state and the agency or power of individuals within it is unprecedented to previous immigration cohorts. According to Hiatt (2007), individuals including immigrants are able to act with more power this in itself erode state power. Despite this decentralization however, Hiatt insists that there remains greater interdependence and interconnectivity between states to coordinate as exemplified by the EU as a body. This ties in well with the fact that when coordinating policies to fight organized crime or terrorism, it becomes necessary to have a well thought out consensus among EU member states and even countries globally. Hiatt (2007) visits three sociological bodies of thought or hypotheses often visited within European mainstream media and public institutional bodies regarding the 'immigrant problem' and why it must be managed properly.

First, immigrants are simply more likely to be criminals. Pallida (2011) concurs asking: "…why promote the stable peaceful and regular integration of immigrants when today, the growth of profits can be obtained via the erosion of workers' rights, their inferiorization, until they are almost reduced to a condition of neo-slavery?" (p. 3). Moreover Hiatt contends that although these types of race-based or eugenics theories and explanations, have been abandoned by policy makers and theorists alike they have been replaced by theories that blame culture and opportunity linked to culture in its place.

A second interrelated reason why immigrants are linked to crimes according to Hiatt, is because immigration and organized crime are linked. Many immigrants from countries such as China, Japan, Sicilian Italians, Japanese, or Russian Mafias are simply "known" for their links to organized crimes. The fact that these groups are stereotyped or "known for their links" is as Hiatt mentions due to characterizations found in American 'popular media' such as the popular shows *The Godfather, Scarface, Goodfellas.*

Third, it is stated that the second generation of immigrants are more likely to be violent. They are less likely to integrate into society than their first generation immigrant parents and are more likely to be represented in criminal statistics than German and Swiss youth. Hiatt concludes his analysis stating that in an era of globalization Europe must adapt more precisely he states, "if the nations of Europe wish to remain relevant in the future, they must reconsider and then abandon, the 'Fortress EU' mentality…. Unless states adapt, tension, violent crime, and even homicide will likely continue to increase" (p. 23).

Pallida (2011), Wacquant (as cited in Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006) expand the state's tendency to criminalize the "other" such as those indigenous natives and working class or racial minorities citing examples within Europe and the US respectively. Pallida (2011), describes how since the start of the 1990s European countries have become more 'dogged' in their persecution of the gypsies, immigrants as well as indigenous people within their countries. Pallida (2011), also states that North African Muslims are an obvious target for security agencies and are therefore targets of anti-terrorism and fundamentalism efforts. In fact, this has led to the denial of such migrants to begin with and the targeting of their countries of origin for entry into Europe.

According to Pallida (2011) Italy is the most neoconservative European country with respect to immigration policies. The 'criminalization of immigrants' has contributed to an increase in crime. Pallida (2011) ironically notes how despite the criminalization of ethnic minorities in Italy police in Italy will 'turn even two blind eyes' when they have to deal with illegals who work for the so-called underground economy who are well-protected from the threat of controls, maybe even working for the police.

Angel-Ajani (2003) earlier research concurs with Pallida's (2011) work in her examination of Nigerian women in Italy stating that immigrants from Italy, in particular those from Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and even non-immigrant communities such as the Roma must combat public perceptions of their communities that they are criminals. According to Angel-Ajani (2003) the media as mentioned earlier, in the discussion of immigrant and criminal behavior or mainstream societal perceptions of such behaviors, similarly plays a critical role in skewing the facts in Italian reality. While the majority of women who are unfortunately involved in prostitution are of Eastern European ethnic heritage, mainstream media in Italy links Nigerian women specifically to prostitution. As a form of 'summary punishment' therefore, Nigerian women have had their long braids cut off by police.

Within a parallel analysis of immigration, diversity, and ethnic tolerance of host societies in the US social context, Wacquant (2001) examines prison populations there and notes how the Black American population is the new underclass continuing the slavery of old time past for example: Jim Crow and the old ghettoization in contrast to the more civilized new ghettos and the reserve army of labor within the prison populations. The reserve army of labor refers to the overrepresentation of Black Americans in jails who upon release or between prison sentences work jobs that are underpaid. He notes that discrimination against Black Americans in US prisons should be considered alarming because they are not 'newcomers' to the US. Unlike the newer immigrant groups African-Americans do not have traditional kin groups of family assets. According to Wacquant, the reason for the replacement of White with Black Americans and the later overrepresentation of Blacks within the prison system may be attributed to conservative policies implemented under the Reagan administration but the consequences of which are manifesting until the present day.

There are five reasons. The first reason is the skyrocketing incarceration of non-violent offences such as drug possession. Second, is the continuous extension of judicial supervision through the expansion of probation and parole systems so that the criminal justice system now oversees the fate of some six million Americans – one in twenty males and one in three young black males. Criminal databases on these individuals are in many cases freely available on the Internet; moreover these males are genetically fingerprinted. The third reason which should cause much alarm at these policies and relates to the tremendous amounts of money devoted to corrections which in turn, has become the country's third largest employer and Wacquant (2001) describes how this is related to the fourth factor, the huge profit making that this industry has created for itself as is listed on the NASDAQ. Finally, the fact that the majority of the incarcerated in prisons within the US are Black does not bode well for the future of the US.

Wacquant (1999) compares the ghettoization of Black Americans to the *banelieu* of France and states that similar to Black American experience is the French working class experience. Within

the latter context, there arose a disconnect between industrial laborers, lower level assembly line clerks, as well as long term recipients of welfare aid, beggars, homeless, criminals, medical and housing rejects and disenchanted are all added to the new immigrants. For Wacquant (1999), the disparate voices in this underclass complicate unification and in fact the underclass or precrariat avoid unification unlike Marx's proletariat who in the long term would unite because the former are always in a state of unfinished or unstable labor. Therefore as Wacquant (1999) says Western Europe will: "…embark on the path of the penal management of poverty and inequality …" to maintain and manage the reserve army of labor (p. 216). The fact that in spite of decades and indeed centuries of human rights laws and developments in both Europe and the North American contexts requires an examination of sociological and race theories on why the continued subjugation of migrant and established ethnic minority, working class groups within democratic societies.

7.3.2 Media, Race, and Political/Public Discourse on Criminality

The previous sections examined state policies, public perceptions, experiences of racism, and theories of racism explaining the immigrant experience in some of the countries within the European Union. What is missing from this discussion is an explanation of how and why the relationship between host and immigrant communities is negative and what drives negative and prejudicial discourses of immigrant behavior. Why is the linkage made between immigrants and crimes and if immigrants do commit the crimes are they skewed as Angel-Asante's (2003) previous analysis of Nigerian women being equated with prostitution illustrated? As seen in the research presented in this paper, the general tendency is for the host societies within the EU to view immigrants as likely to bring about problems, crimes, and that this image has not changed since the post-War period. Many scholars believe it is that a fundamental institution of society such as the media drives and/or reinforces negative public perceptions of immigrants.

Ter Wal (2002) examines media trends in the European Union from 1995 – 2000. She states that within the UK during this time period there were positive improvement in media reporting in that the media reported more on issues relating to immigration and ethnic relations across a full spectrum of media television, print, and radio. Statham (as cited in Ter Wal, 2002) claims that while three-quarters of the newspapers carried anti-racist messages anti-immigrant messages were still dominant. The reason for this, Statham argues, is that most efforts are top down in authority hence efforts to hire minorities are met in vain. According to Hall (as cited in Ter Wal, 2002) prior to the 1995-2000 period much of the racist language and images within British media was seen as reproducing what was already present in British society.

Therefore, British media was not a culprit so to speak but merely reflecting British societal values. Ter Wal (2002) argues that claims that the British media was racist during this time period was considered such a serious offence that it was not even suggested by academic theorists, as there was 'scant evidence' of such allegations. Following this line of thought therefore, Ter Wal (2002) claims that denial that the media was racist means that measures of racism over a longitudinal period of time would be difficult to cement. While today there may be more minorities within the media as reporters and programmers, there are very few minority-run programs.

With respect to news coverage Ter Wal's (2002) research conducted within the UK context, illustrates that public broadcasting paid more attention to minority and immigrant issues than did private broadcasting. Also, Ter Wal (2002) examines the findings of a 'Racist Sentiments' project which examined UK print media content and found that content regarding immigrants and minority varied in the way it was covered depending on whether the newspaper was right-center or left-center wing. For example, center-right wing newspapers would cover issues involving immigrants and foreigners in relation to their treatment under foreign policy law and that this would be a campaign issue. Conversely, centre-left newspapers such as the Guardian focused more attention on issues relating to racist and anti-racist activism in civil society such as racial abuse and anti-Semitism in particular.

Besides the *Daily Mail*, most newspapers covered stories about racial attacks and violence or incidents of racial abuse as a main topic. This was true for more than fifteen per cent of the coverage of all the other newspapers. This indicates that racial attacks, violence, and incidents of racial abuse are treated in such a way that they achieve a prominent place on the news agenda. A major finding of the study however was that: "…almost four-tenths of all coverage of all news items actively exposed racism and racial discrimination, and that this high figure holds across broadcasting and print media, with the popular tabloid press having the highest proportion of coverage that exposed racism" (p. 407). This seemingly points to the fact that at the time of writing of the research report described here mainstream media in the UK was said to be improving in its reporting of issues involving racism.

Van Dijk (2003) argues that in examining media in any society one must understand that it is related to the institutions of society and ultimately power. In his work on critical discourse analysis Van Dijk states that unlike other research, CDA has four main goals. First, it must be 'better' in other words more thorough than other academic research, second it must also be multidisciplinary taking from studies on society, media, politics, religion, and third it must explain discourses in relation to social structures rather than simply 'describe' them. This explains why in the previous section when conducting an overview, Ter Wal's (2002) claims that the UK's mainstream media during the 80-90s decade was racist that research was labeled as 'non-academic.' It is of utmost importance therefore to include CDA in analyses of mainstream media as part and parcel of societal structures since as Van Dijk notes, the fourth main important goal of CDA is that it analyzes: "…the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (p. 353). CDA must therefore be form of social action.

Research by Maneri (as cited in Pallida, 2011) examines media discourses in Italy where the mainstream culture is represented in the media as the 'us' who have a problem with 'them' immigrant populations and the crimes they commit. According to Maneri (2011) whatever the crime that is committed, the tone is always the same "they disembark, they rob, they run people over, they assail our borders" (p. 78). Maneri (2011) states that despite the seemingly negative perceptions within the media there are positive ones and that these are not rare. However, when these positive reports manifest for example - facts or images for example images of second-generation immigrants with successful businesses and who seem well integrated into society - they are not seen as 'news worthy,' important facts, and are relegated to the inside of the

newspapers within cultural sections that do not receive as much attention as the negative headlines. Moreover, such positive incidents are not only considered not 'newsworthy' but they do not guide the speech or behavior of Italian politicians.

According to Maneri (2011) there are a few societal stereotypes easily linked by mainstream media in the stream of Italian collective consciousness when a crime occurs. These are the "illegal immigrant," the 'Islamic fundamentalist,' and 'nomads' or the Roma or Sinti people. Whereas in other countries Manner argues, such stereotypes are regulated to the tabloid news, in Italy, these stereotypes are a common feature of Italian news and are often part of the headline news when moral panic or political debates turns the spotlight on specific groups. A case of an Italian women being murdered by a Romanian male in October 2007 received much of this type of media spectacle and led Italian police forces to then act as saviors. In order for this to happen Maneri (2011) concurs with Van Dijk's (2003) earlier statements regarding critical discourse analysis and the need to analyze media as well as societal institutions needs to occur. Maneri (2011) states that this media representation of migrant groups in Italy demonstrates the privileged relationship between media and politics and that when analyzed closely one will see that the so-called urban decay is intertwined with "…illegal markets, irregular settlements, and a high concentration of immigrants." Similar to Wacquant's reserve army of labor Maneri (2011) states immigrants have replaced Italy's working poor in terms of demonization.

As the discussion regarding media has shown the use of negative stereotypes regarding certain ethnicities and immigrant groups to tie them to crimes or alternatively, the committing of crimes by minorities is linked by the mainstream media to a politicized agenda where politicians and state security represent themselves as the solution to the 'immigrant problem.' This is related to Van Dijk's (2003) discussion of the role of critical discourse analysis in analyzing the consensus among societal institutions in their demonization of minoritized or immigrant groups. Wacquant's discussion earlier had examined how Black Americans in the US who are not recent immigrants are demonized similarly Nicolae (European Roma Information Centre, 2004) discusses the discrimination directed against her people the 'Roma across Europe stating how media has negatively explained stereotyped her people: "if we are poor it is because we do not want to work; if we are rich it is because we steal" (p. 1).

Since World War II, Nicolae (European Roma Information Centre, 2004) argues that while the Jewish people may have been rehabilitated the Roma have not. For Nicolae (European Roma Information Centre, 2004) the linking of Roma to crimes is as serious as conditions pre-World War II which eventually led to the Nazi extermination projects since the propaganda used during this era was strikingly similar to that used today against minority groups across Europe. Accordingly, media racism itself is so criminal that it is responsible for the disasters of the colonial wars, the perpetuation of differences in the name of European countries' national interests and the genocidal behavior of entire nations such as Rwanda and Yugoslavia ((European Roma Information Centre, 2004).

The previous discussion illustrates a few important factors. First, that mainstream discrimination against immigrant groups is widespread across Europe generally and that it links specific immigrant groups to specific stereotypes. Second, immigrants are generally associated with

crimes or negative coverage and when they are associated with positive news, this is underrepresented in mainstream media sources. Third, immigrant groups have seemingly replaced the working class the exception to this is the Roma (who are indigenous to Europe) and who experience negative discrimination on a consistent basis on both individual and structural levels. Fourth, negative mainstream media coverage is as described by critical discourse analysts related to power structures within societies and is therefore often politicized whether due to local, national, or international interests. Connected to this fourth point is the fact that with politicization of issues involving immigrants and minoritized communities racialization of minorities is commonplace.

In line with critical discourse analysis, al-Rashid (2003) describes how the post-911 era within the UK is characterized by politicized asylum policies and debates. This increased politicization has manifested in discriminatory laws and policies directed against asylum seekers generally and Muslim asylum seekers more specifically which could not have occurred without the assistance of mainstream media. Hroub (2003) concurs with al-Rashid stating that Western media has 'deteriorated' to Third World level standards where there is uncritical broadcast of government views. He moreover contends that should such deterioration continue, there would be no need for the undemocratic Arab and Muslim countries to liberalize their media. Moreover, in proportion to the supposed free environments in which Western media find themselves in relation to Arab media scrutiny of the 911 events has been minimal to none (Hroub, 2003). Instead, because of the poor representation of Muslims and 911 within Europe, Muslims will "…increasingly diverge from the mainstream public discourse, in a form of ghettoization" (p. 9). Mesic (2004) states the consequences of mainstream media equating Muslims with violence, is discrimination on various societal levels. Western media according to Mesic (2004): "…continue to use September 11th event to capitalize its political gain" (p. 1). This has affected Muslim identities, societal perceptions, ethnic relations, politicians, and policies.

Hari (2009) examines the mainstream media's stereotypical association of piracy and Somalis. In an article entitled "you are being lied to about pirates," Hari (2009) writes that it is useful to examine the definition of what constitutes a 'pirate' and the history of piracy in order to understand what is being described within mainstream media as Somali piracy. According to Hari (2009), the notion of piracy arose from the years between 1650 and 1730. He states that the pirate was often seen as a ruthless savage and that this image prevalent today is a production of the British government of that time. Instead Hari (2009) argues that the British government's perception contradicted those of the ordinary people who saved pirates from the gallows. If one was unfortunate enough to become a navy sailor under such conditions they were often underfed, starving, and beaten by the ship's captain. If these young men slacked they went unpaid for their labor. Pirates were among the first people to rebel, they were said to share their wealth in the most egalitarian fashion, and they even took in and lived with African slaves.

Similar to the omission of facts at the time when piracy emerged as a way of life and their association with crimes is the current day association of Somalis with piracy. Among the more recent tragedies leading to the Somali-piracy association, Hari (2009) explains since 1991 the Somali government collapsed its population of nine million has been on the edge of starvation. Moreover, the Somali food supply was stolen and nuclear waste dumped on the coast. According to Somali perceptions, the 'real pirates' are those from Western countries who commit such acts.

The fact that Somalis are trying to stop these atrocious events from occurring near their country is no reason for them to be called pirates. Hence the narratives of who is labeling 'who' a pirate and why such labeling occurs are considered critical questions in the debate. Moreo and Lentin (2010) concur arguing that although mainstream media has paid much attention to 'Somali pirates' such arguments must be understood within the larger social context of Somalia's: "…mass starvation, destruction of food supply, and illegal dumping of nuclear waste in Somali waters by western criminal organizations" (p. 3).

7.3.3 The Language of War-Battle

The discussion has thus far illustrated that mainstream media has negatively over-reported and over-associated crimes with minorities not only on local and national levels but international levels as well i.e. Somali piracy, the War on Terror, trafficking of humans, drugs and so forth. Therefore, and because of such mainstream media racism, there is a perceived risk to Western majority groups of civilized societies from both 'within' and from 'without.' Hansen (2003) has stated "that Europe's immigration policy has not only been poorly thought and that European publics did not want immigration at all; European policy-makers did not expect it to be permanent" (p. 13). Razack (2004) goes further analyzing discourse used when examining the War on Terror such as use of the phrase 'axis of evil' and how this invokes internal images of internal colonization of Aboriginal people and external colonization of various countries across the South" (p. 16). Razack (2004) quotes the work of Michael Ignatieff former leader of the Canadian Liberal Party who states that "…instead of leading to a New World Order in which the world was "…moving beyond nationalism, beyond tribalism, beyond the provincial confines of identities conscribed in our passports" instead of such a global fraternity there is "…the disintegration of nation states into ethnic civil war, the key architects of that order are warlords; and the key language of our age is ethnic nationalism" (as cited in Razack, 2004, p. 16).

Razack (2004) attributes the 'policing' of ethnic communities as a result of academic arguments such as Samuel Huntington's thesis on the 'clash of civilizations' which became increasingly popular during the post 9-11 era. Huntington argues that there are irreconcilable differences between the so-called civilized 'Western Christian nations' and the backward Islamic ones with the latter bent on destruction of the former, (Razack, 2004, p. 130). The problem with this thesis is that it ignores the fact that there have been interactions between East and West since colonial times and that there globalization has created hybridity within individual identities thereby nullifying the so-called clash. However, Huntington's thesis has seemingly influenced popular commonsense. According to Des Rosiers and Bittle (2004), what people think of crime and the individuals deemed to be responsible, influences law enforcement practices and penalties (p. 8). Edmunds (2011) concurs with these arguments and states that within a European post-911 context there have been legal mechanisms and popular narratives where despite decolonization, European Muslims have been perceived as having transnational attachments where they refuse to confine their religious identities to the private sphere.

Therefore threats of legal surveillance and imprisonment of suspected terrorists in facilities such as Guantamo Bay are considered hard 'regimes of regulation' in contrast to soft-cases of securitization or regulation such as banning the *hijab.* Canadian researcher, Razack (2004)

argues that since the invasion of Afghanistan post-911 there has been a tendency of Western feminists and leaders of nations to engage in a discourse in which Muslim women are constantly threatened by the violent nature and tendencies of Muslim men. Razack (2004) states the tendency to enact policies banning *hijab,* forced marriage, and female genital mutilation are some of the ways in which the European countries have attempted to 'regulate' their Muslim migrant communities. The clash between civilizations is increasingly occurring within the EU where it is "…neatly crystallized at border crossing points, when the western need for security through surveillance collides with the hijab-wearer's insistence on staying covered" (Razack, 2004, p. 132). Young females within Norway have found themselves at the crossroads between the state and their families because of cultural disinformation regarding their religion.

In 2004, a Human Rights organization in Norway is reported to have pressured several young Muslim females to take part in a documentary regarding forced marriages. The girls later complained that the organization had provided them with scripts on what to say and a Norwegian journalist stated that the girls were also given money to participate (Razack, 2006 p. 133). Although Razack (2006) notes how many Muslim organizations may indeed have been established across Europe it is still incumbent upon European government policy makers to broaden their definition restrictive conceptualizations of religion relative to civil society and citizenship.

As mentioned earlier an overlapping theme that would seem to ease human rights violations against minorities is media bias. An overlapping theme in the literature is the fact that perhaps more ethnic minorities and minority owned media would aid in the reduction of media bias and even outright racism by media. This fact is in addition to some negative findings from a recent report by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) (Muslim Lawyers News, 2009). According to the FRA even when ethnic minorities are themselves the victims of crimes they are often less likely to report these crimes.

The report also revealed that these groups are often much less likely to be represented in official statistics when they are the victims of crime. According to the report 55 percent of migrants and minorities surveyed by the FRA believe discrimination based on ethnic origin is a widespread sentiment in their country. While 37 percent say that they have personally experienced discrimination in the past 12 months of the FRA report only 12 percent personally experienced a racist crime in the past 12 months. However, 80 per cent of these did not report the incident to the police. The FRA additionally reports that such statistical findings "…means that the perpetrators go unpunished, victims do not obtain justice, and policy-makers are unable to take the appropriate action that prevents violations from recurring" (Muslim Lawyers News, 2009). Of the 82 percent of respondents in the study who stated they experienced racism also were less likely to report the incidents to authorities. The main reason for this was the strong belief nothing would be done. According to the FRA study the Roma were overwhelmingly the most likely to experience day-to-day racism. The Roma are also said to 'stand out' as having the lowest educational levels and highest unemployment rates (Muslim Lawyers News, 2009). As Hiatt (2004) suggests while some groups such as immigrants may not be more likely to commit they are more likely to be imprisoned for crimes.

Within the EU, Carrera and Marleno (2009) argue that poor housing, working conditions, media representations and health care dimensions and failure by government to address such dimensions have maintained criminality on both national and EU levels. Hiatt similarly argues that networks of organized crime tend to utilize and victimize a disproportionate number of non-EU immigrants and that it is the failure of host societies to properly integrate its immigrant and especially second generation immigrants who are considered more susceptible to crimes. He also states that because of low birth rates among EU countries immigration will continue to be a reality and therefore must be dealt with in a more positive manner. The following section will examine risk factors, prevention and opportunities for positive development within EU countries.

7.3.4 Risk Factors, Prevention, Positive Development for EU's Migrant Populations

The notion perpetuated by media, EU government policy makers and various societal EU institutions means urgent attention needs to address racism within EU societies. As described earlier, not all immigrants commit crimes in fact the majority do not. The notion that immigrants are afraid to report hate crimes that they are victims of should be an alarm bell for the entire system of policy making within the EU i.e. local and national and this should be considered with international problems and conflicts. The fact that second generation immigrants and youth tend to be involved in criminal activities should also be alarming since it should be considered an internal EU country problem and not one associated with race or country of origin. So far although some positive steps have been made monitoring and evaluating racism within the EU much more needs to be done to prevent societal disintegration within the EU due to unresolved problems involving migrants, immigrants, and ethnic minority communities.

According to a study commissioned by the European Crime Prevention Network (2004) in order to reduce fear of crime while and increasing feelings of security it is necessary to tackle the anti-social behavior which undermine quality of life especially in low income neighborhoods. Among some of the factors identified to undermine quality of life in deprived communities are: noisy, intimidating neighbors, disaffected nuisance youth, abandoned vehicles, graffiti, vandalism, drunkenness and drug abuse or open drug markets. In order to raise awareness of societal fears of crime the ECPN (2004) states that EU countries should raise awareness regarding feelings of insecurity and how this impacts quality of life.

There also remains a need for societal awareness of the quality of life among ethnic minorities, those suffering with illness, and females. As Hiatt (2002) notes the "The societal perception linking immigration to criminality is not new. For more than a century, scientists have attempted to disprove a biological or social link between immigrant status and criminal behavior. Such studies are complicated by a variety of factors and always take place against a highly charged political backdrop" (p. 2). The EPCN (2004) notes that in order to prevent crime several factors need to occur. First, youth between the ages of 14 – 25 need to be made aware of the risks associated with crime. This should be linked to awareness raising in areas where crime is susceptible to happening such as shopping malls, and parks.

Second, the EPCN (2004) recommends that there should be more scientific evidence of domestic violence and its effects on the victim, family, and friends and a link should be made with how

drug and alcohol violence causes in security among societies at large. Third, public safety and security officials should and others charged with providing public services, safety and security should work in partnership with local communities and conduct regular research to establish levels of societal fear and its causes. Finally, communication strategies between local security and communities should be made stronger. The EPCN (2004) recommends that a variety of "…communication styles should be adopted, good news messages, information about crime reduction activity in local areas, raising awareness to prevent crime without raising fear, consistent messages specifically designed and aimed at the relevant identified groups" (p. 4). Local media should be encouraged to participate in these efforts.

Other research on crime prevention has focused on dividing crime prevention into three categories: primary, secondary, and tertiary (Weiss, 1987 as cited in Norris, 2009). Norris (2009) in a report on primary crime prevention focuses on the offence and not the offender. This work would aim at raising awareness among communities and youth as described above. Secondary crime prevention aims at the offenders or those most at risk and attempts to raise awareness of the dangers of crime before the crimes are committed.

This strategy was also described by the EPCN in attempting to target youth, low income neighborhoods and minority groups. Finally, are the tertiary crime prevention strategies aimed at those who are known criminals and who may be likely to re-offend? Hiatt (2002) notes that social services such as those offered in Sweden in terms of medical, housing, free education, and language training ease the process of immigrant integration into Swedish society. As Albrecht notes in his examination of the German social context (as cited in Pallida, 2011) societal institutions must also show a willingness to prevent crimes and that successful integration is the best crime prevention method. Within ethnic communities may lay the best crime prevention mechanisms. Much of the research has shown that immigrant communities need more societal support instead of demonization. It is an uphill challenge for migrants and established immigrant communities within the EU to constantly battle stereotypes regarding their communities while battling internally for their youth not to become involved in criminal activities. Many migrant communities gain strength from their extended family and transnational familial networks and this is a positive force for their adaptation to life in the European Union. Moreover, the fact that many migrants turn to religion or culture for support is factors that should be utilized in the fight against immigrant crime. It is by recognizing that migrants and immigration to Europe has only strengthened it over the decades that Europe will benefit from this cultural diversity.

7.4 The Canadian Immigrant Experience

7. 4.1. Migrant Roots & Routes of Somali Canadians: From Somalia to Edmonton via Ontario

Global migration patterns have indicated that Alberta is Canada's fourth largest immigrant-receiving province and increasing levels of immigration are expected for at least the next ten years, irrespective of the boom or bust in economic forecasts (Alberta Government, 2009). As such, Alberta becomes a destination of choice for most immigrants (internal or external to Canada). With projection so immigration source countries changing in the past twenty years from European sources to continents in the South including Africa, Canada will continue to

receive immigrants from Africa, especially from war-torn countries seeking better lives (Alberta Government, 2009). For example, the 2001 census identified 33,725 Somalis living in Canada, with about half of this size (17,380) residing in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2001). This migration pattern and route is not uncommon amongst most immigrant communities dating back to the Canadian confederation (Li, 2001; Derwing, 2005). In fact the province of Ontario with its major cities of Toronto, Windsor, and Ottawa has had an unchallenged monopoly of migration since the 1940s. It is up until recently when emerging cities such as Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Calgary have attracted more Somali-Canadian migrants.

Before one can fully understand Somali-Canadian migration routes, one must understand the roots of this migration. When you examine patterns of immigration dating back to the 1970s, one sees a trend of Somali immigrants migrating to Canada as refugees fleeing wars in Somalia. The initial exodus of Somali refugees began shortly after Somalia had achieved its independence from Italy in 1960, and as some scholars argue (see Opoku-Dapaah, 1995; Bariagaber, 2006; Duyvesteyn, 2000; Danso, 2001; & Rapando, 2005) had "merged" with the British protectorate of Somaliland to form the modern Somali Republic. Historically, Somalia has been a strategic spot for global powers initially interested in securing coaling stations and, later, oil rights throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Using the *divide and rule* approach, early Western colonizers separated the country into five regions: Northern Somalia (or British Somaliland), Southern Somalia (ruled by Italy), Northern Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti (ruled by the French) (Rapando, 2005).

To strategize their power, colonizing western powers aligned their strategic goals with those of neighboring Ethiopia, which fueled tensions between Ethiopia and Somalia to the point where in 1977, the two countries went to war over the disputed land of Ogden, spurring the first refugee settlement in Canada. Throughout the 1977-1978 Ogaden War, world powers continued to fracture the region (Duyvesteyn, 2000). Conflicts such as the Ogaden war, followed by the fall of the Somali government in the early 1990s, have prompted mass internal and external displacement of Somali people. This pattern continued in the 1980s as insurgent clans (or reformers or freedom fighters depending on what perspective one takes on the issue) in Somalia began to force a regime change by ousting president Said Barre. This regime change process resulted in a hugely costly civil war beginning in the 1990s, which resulted in further displacement of Somalis from their homeland straight to receiving countries such as Canada, USA, Australia, and most European countries.

In fact, 80 percent of Somali immigrants to Canada are refugees from the civil war. In 1991, the United Somali Congress and the Somali Patriotic Movement succeed in ousting president Said Barre. The war left over 8,000 people dead and thousands displaced in their own country, escalating divisions amongst groups or clans. In addition, the former British protectorate of Somaliland declared independence from the rest of Somalia, leaving the country' fragile federalism in shambles. In fact in the early 1990s, Somali because of the only countries in the world without a central government. A lack of governance in Somalia since the early 1990s and regional power struggles between Ethiopia and Eritrea have also contributed to ongoing tensions. As a result of the civil war, major governmental institutions such as healthcare and education were destroyed and Somalia's societal and governmental infrastructure was ruined.

Consequently, destabilization and unsteadiness in Somalia resulted in many Somali resources being shattered, leaving struggling families with severely eroded social, cultural and economic capital.

What followed in Somalia was an influx of Somali refugees wanting to leave the country seeking better opportunities for their families. From the late 1980s to the 1990s, Somali refugees fled to Europe and North America by the thousands because leaders who turned against each other for power and resources controlled the country. Once the civil war spread to the entire country, many Somalis spent years in refugee camps in and around East Africa before relocating to host countries such as Canada (Opoku-Dapaah, 1995).

While Somali immigrants escape the physical threats of War and conflict, as well as the atrocities of refugee camps when they arrive in Canada, a new series of challenges and settlement barriers emerge. Like most racialized and minotitized groups in host countries, Somali-Canadian immigrants and refugees face a number of barriers to settlement and integration. Canadian literature uses the language of risk factors and protective factors to explain the migration strain impacting Somali refugees, immigrants, and second-generation immigrants. Several studies have generally examined immigration barriers as risk factors for crime involvement and how to prevent youth from migrant communities become criminally involved (Ngo, 2010; Rossitter & Rossitter, 2009; Aw-Osman, 2008). In these studies researchers have identified a number of factors at all levels (risk at individual and societal, school, community; and protective at individual, societal, community, and school) that has an impact on youth getting involved in crime, particularly gang activity. In the next section we will discuss the most identified risk and protective factors in the literature, relating these to contextual issues pertaining to Somali Canadian experiences.

7.4.2 Migration Strain and Crime: Risk and Protective Factors

There is a limited, but growing research that analyses specific risk and protective factors for Somali-Canadian communities a it relates to crime, however most empirical research points to a number of stressors at the individual, societal, and community levels. Although parents and adults face a number of barriers, the concentration of studies in the Canadian context has focused on youth. In these studies it has been reported that youth face a multitude of challenges upon arrival to Canada, stakeholders identified a number of factors that can protect these youth from becoming involved in crime and violence (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009b; Ngo, 2010). Family and community supports, including mentors and role models, can have an enormous affirming influence on immigrant and refugee youth (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009b; Yohani, 2010). Programs at school and in the community offer opportunities for the development of relationships with both trusted adults and pro-social peers; these may be invaluable to youth who are struggling to develop a sense of identity and belonging (Khalema & Ishiekwene, in press; Forman, 2001; and Ngo, 2010). Finally, and importantly, participants emphasized the role of individual resilience and the capacity of immigrant and refugee youth to succeed in the face of adversity (Yohani, 2009; Ngo, 2010; and Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009a).

Rossiter & Rossiter (2009a) identify family, individual, peer, school, and community risk factors that were perceived to exert a negative influence on youth to be criminally involved. In this

study, it was reported that: "immigrant parents struggle to provide for and supervise their children, while pursuing educational and employment opportunities of their own, which may leave disadvantaged and unsupervised youth vulnerable to involvement in criminal activities and/or recruitment into gangs" (p. 13). Thus, distressed by pre-migration experiences of untreated trauma and witnessing of violence in their countries of origin, and feeling excluded from the mainstream in terms of employment opportunities, responsive schooling, and opportunities to develop positive peer relations, some immigrant and refugee youth may be further isolated and in isolation find solace in gangs.

According to Rossiter and Rossiter (2009) the combination of pre-migration trauma experience and the psychological damage resulting from "discrimination, victimization, and bullying by peers at school" exacerbate the issue leaving with few options, and leading them to "antisocial peers involved in drugs, crime, and gangs may be perceived as attractive alternatives" (p. 13). For example in a qualitative study involving Somali-Canadian mothers' perception of why most young men are not fully integrated and are involved in street gangs, Aw-Osman (2008) reported several barriers identified by mothers with regard to limited opportunities for young men in to be involved in sports and recreation, find employment opportunities; succeed in school. The mother also reported barriers with role models, coupled with family disintegration issues (i.e., one parent-headed household); and other socially excluding experiences (i.e., racism, Islamaphobia).

According to Aw-Osman (2008) most young males have no alternative but engage criminal activities such as drug trafficking and gang involvement. For a substantial number of immigrants and refugees, Canada is regarded as a safe haven for their families. During Aw-Osman' (2008) discussions mothers, they talked about their fear of losing their sons to gangs and religious extremists who are trying to use their sons for their own benefit. In response to the gang-activity and violence encountered in Canada, many mothers become distressed, describing feelings of powerlessness. They dreaded the repercussions of losing their children to street gangs or extreme religious movements that recruit youth for the purpose of strengthening *jihad* and religious bases in Eastern Africa

Another strand of research emerging in Alberta has examined the causes and outcomes of immigrant family disintegration during the settlement process as a possible contributor to youth crime. In this research, some researchers have focused on the mental health and psychological stress of migration (Kroll *et al*., 2011; Bhui, *et al.,* 2006; Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader, 2009; and Nilsson *et al.,* 2008). Other studies have attempted to understand and explain the resurgence of refugee and immigrants in care (Khalema & Ishiekwene, in press; Mirchandani & Chan, 2005; Wolfe, 2010). Preliminary research into immigrant families' experiences of child protection investigations revealed caseworkers' lack of knowledge of their immigration status, cultural misunderstanding, and language barriers as central issues (Wolfe, 2010). Immigrant families have attributed child welfare intervention to a range of stressors that erode their capacities to cope – that is, their resources for resilience – and increase their vulnerability. Stressors include loneliness, betrayal, hopelessness, and financial and language barriers (Danso, 2001; Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009b).

Even though there are no definitive causal explanations for resurgence of refugee and immigrant children and Canadian-born children of immigrants, in the child welfare system, researchers have suggested that pathways to an increased overrepresentation of Immigrant and refugee children in care include the disproportionate risks and inequalities they face in the settlement and integration process (Khalema & Ishiekwene, *in press*; Yohani, 2009; and Ngo, 2009). Similar studies have found the pathways similar to those of Aboriginal children in care, suggesting that immigrant and Aboriginal children and youth increasingly face similar intertwined barriers that render families vulnerable to experiencing chronic hardship.

This suggests that now immigrant; families are disproportionately represented among Canadian families facing extreme poverty and exclusion, meaning that increasingly children from these families are more likely to be apprehended. If parents of these children are dealing with migration strain expressed through variety of ways such as alcohol overuse, family violence, of child abuse; then some immigrant parents with such inclinations are more likely to be neglectful of their children; who by default of being left unsupervised, may fall prey to criminal activity.

Unemployment and underemployment were also identified as a risk factors explaining youth crime. Of course youth unemployment and underemployment is determined by complex interactions between structural/systemic factors, social and economic integration factors (i.e., the Edmonton labor market climate), socio-cultural, and individual factors. Among the social and economic factors, the cost and availability of housing, the labor market situation and the extent of social support services (Krahn, *et al.*, 2000; Derwing *et al.*, 2005; Cortese, 2006; Statistics Canada, 2001) are key contributors to the risk of unemployment and underemployment. A number of cultural and societal factors, such as labor market racism, discrimination and marginalization, also play a part in high unemployment and underemployment rates amongst immigrant and refugee communities (Khalema, 2005). For example, several studies have shown that many new immigrants in Edmonton, in particular visible minorities experience unemployment and underemployment and occupy underpaid positions that do not reflect their education or credentials (Canadian Council on Social Development, 2006).

One influential study was conducted by researchers at the Prairie Metropolis Centre on what attracts immigrants to Edmonton. According to Derwing *et al.* (2005), there are two primary reasons for attracting more immigrants to Edmonton. The first has to do with the economic prosperity of the region. Many companies are already at the point where labour shortages are seriously hurting business, in part because the oil patch is pulling workers out of other industries. However, there is a group of potential workers who are underemployed, namely, immigrants. According to the federal government's longitudinal survey of immigrants to Canada (LSIC), the majority of immigrants who intended to work are working after two years in this country. Fully seventeen percent of those who want to work aren't working. Only a small percentage of immigrants are working in their intended occupation: credential recognition is a major stumbling block to employment. However, both the provincial and federal governments are working with stakeholders to start removing these and other barriers. The other reason for wanting more immigrants in Edmonton is the clear connection between the overall vibrancy of a city and its immigrant population (Derwing *et al.*, 2005).

In Drewing *et al.*'s (2005) study, several barriers to employment were identified. These include: the role immigration plays in meeting the labor market shortage is not really understood by most Canadians, the amount and accuracy of information available to people before immigrating is poor, Canadians are often not welcoming, minimum wage is low, employment specific language training is not readily available, bridging to work programs are not used enough, there is no central location for potential and future immigrants to get information, employers are not engaged in the immigration process, there is a lack of affordable housing, there is a lack of access to early supports (e.g., transitional housing), and there are delays in both the recognition and approval of previous education and experience and in acquiring new training.

In a similar study by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2001), specific barriers identified include: a lack of access to sustainable employment opportunities for ethnocultural immigrants and refugees. Most newcomers want to live in the big cities, refugees are often assigned to places where they lack employment opportunities, ethnic communities, feel the quality of life is lacking, or lack appropriate settlement services. Another study by Frenette and Morisette (2003) identified wage gap between Canadian-born and immigrants as a barrier to full participation in the labour force. Frenette and Morisette (2003) suggested that there were a number causes for the existence of this wage gap. As new entrants to the Canadian work environment, immigrants are most vulnerable to business cycle fluctuations (Frenette & Morisette, 2003). Economic downturns disproportionately affect those on the periphery of the employment market, meaning new immigrants will have more difficulty keeping a job and finding employment. Thus, indicating that the gap is largely a function of policy and systemic issues. Another issue identified in the research is getting employers and professional associations to acknowledge overseas experience (Krahn *et al*., 2005; Khalema, 2005; and Derwing *et al.*, 2005). At the forefront are the difficulties associated with recognizing the foreign credentials of immigrants. In spite of higher levels of education compared to Canadian-born residents, immigrants are often not initially employed in their fields of training.

Within the Somali community, similar studies have been conducted with similar general findings (Reitsma, 2001; SCERDO, 2008; Gariba, 2009; Scott, 2001; Siad, 1991; Ighoodaro, 1997; Hopkins, 2006). For Example, in a needs assessment study conducted by the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization (SCERDO) has reported barriers to economic integration faced by members of the Edmonton Somali-Canadian community. In this study, SCERDO' (2008) interviewed a number of Somali-Canadian families about their post-migration experiences, and 83 percent of the interviewees were Canadian reported that in spite of research on immigration; most of their participants reported being Canadian citizens (83%), with 15 percent reporting permanent residents, and 6 percent refugee claimants (SCERDO, 2008). This distinction was very important to show that the majority of Somali-Canadians are not "recent" nor "emerging" communities and thus their issues are far different than settlement.

In this report, it was revealed that most of the families migrated from Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia because of employment opportunities (85%), or to join their families (65%) in Alberta. Others mentioned that their reason for relocation was because of the Somali community that was already living in Alberta (SCERDO, 2008). Respondents from this research, however, indicated that they remain in "survival mode" because they have not been able to profit from the

Alberta economy since many Somali-Canadian internal migrants face similar challenges of underemployment and unemployment as reported previously in this report. This result was also recorded by Khalema (2005) and Khalema (2009), which these two separate studies both in rural and urban centers a number of African-born professional reported underemployed and unemployed despite higher qualifications, a wealth of experience, and a booming and vibrant Alberta economy during these periods. Securing employment opportunities was identified in the SCERDO (2008) study as one of the major barriers facing the integration of Somali-Canadian sample in this study.

Various studies have shown that when newcomers first arrive, they often have to accept employment at a level below that of their education level or skills as a survival mechanism (Derwing *et al.*, 2005; Krahn *et al.*, 2000; & Li, 2000). Exacerbating this was also been a struggle to keep employment, even when most Somali-Canadian professionals hold both educational and professional credentials from Canada as well as internationally. For the Somali-Canadian professionals, the barrier of employment security is also compounded by how they perceive society see them, particularly when other markers of difference are at play such as gender and religion.

In a study by Gariba (2009) that examined employment experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth in Toronto, Gariba (2009) reports that ethnicity and race played a significant factor in the labour market access and employment security of immigrants. In Gariba's (2009) study, a majority of the participants came from large immigrant households with incomes below the poverty line. The chronic unemployment and underemployment was greater in men, particularity highly educated and skilled Somali men. A Somali male respondent in Gariba's (2009) study wrote: " I think high youth unemployment has something to do with our color. Employers don't tell you directly but you know it" (quoted in Gariba 2009: 225). Moreover, being Muslim appears to pose as an additional challenge for Somali male. Another respondent wrote "having a Muslim name and being a Black does not help you in finding a job... I think since 9/11 getting a job is becoming harder for Muslims" (quoted in Gariba 2009: 226).

Thus, indirectly chronic underemployment in these communities has had an impact on how youth perceive success and progress. According to the SCERDO (2008) study, many of the Somali youth that were interviewed stayed home and did not work nor did they go to school Some of the youth did not see a point of going to school and achieving success academically and be rejected like their parents with no employment. Thus, as the SCERDO (2008) study, some of the youth dropped out of high school even before completing their diploma. For those that did complete their high school diploma, they did not earn the grades they needed in order to apply for post-secondary education and thus were left with little opportunity upon graduating. As a result, youth became prey to criminal activities that are associated with youth violence.

7.4.3 Somali Migration and Crime: Discourses in Print Media

Another strand of Canadian literature focuses on popular print and news media representation of crime particularly for depicting the growing number of violence (real or perceived) within immigrant communities. As shown in other examples discussed in this review from the USA, Australia, and several EU countries, discourses that link crime and immigration/migrants

dominates media circles even though empirical evidence is limited. Further, the sensetionalization of tragedies are too often the norm in reporting crime committed by racialized and minoritized others as seen in examples we discussed from the United States earlier in this report. In our review, we were unsuccessful in locating local analyses of media reports linking crime and migration, particularly reports about certain groups who have been on the media (i.e., the Somali-Canadian community). In this section we review the discourses emerging from a short textual analysis of non-academic articles (newspaper), written to inform the public about crime, crime prevention efforts in Edmonton specifically examining recent Somali-Canadian youth murders in Edmonton.

We are conducting this brief analysis not only to react to limited empirical research, but also to foreground important issues central to our methodology of CDA. Thus, in our attempt to understand circulating discourses linking crime and Somali-Canadians in post migration, we have observed similar trends in the reporting of crime and migrant communities in Edmonton that are similar to those we discussed in our analysis of the EU, USA, and Australia. Thus, this is our attempt to fill the gap and began a conversation about the importance of research examining media discourses in framing and naming the connection between crime and migration experiences of Somali-Canadians. This section therefore is an attempt to give a preview of what we hope to contribute in the future about media reports connecting crime and the Somali-community in Edmonton. We hope to do further analyses utilizing CDA in future studies.

We begin by introducing the issue that has crippled and devastated the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton: the murders of 35 young men in a small period of time through violence and the reaction from the community, authorities, and policy makers. It is clear that levels of support for groups who are racialized and minoritized as black and Muslim, particularly in the dawn of 911 and its policy implications therein. Somali Diaspora communities face similar scrutiny in Canada particularly media scrutiny of being associated with crime (see reports by CBC, 2010; CBC, 2011; Brunschot, 2011).

Analysis of perceptions indicates a large sector of the public in these areas perceives there to be links between racilaized and minoritized communities and crime involvement. In the local example of Edmonton, as seen in media reports that connect crime and Somali-Canadians (see Appendix 9a), generally the discourse adheres to a belief that "there is something wrong with the 'Somali' community" without even qualifying "who" is the "Somali" community. As we have heard from the reaction from the community leaders, painting the Somali-Canadian community in one brush as "Somalis" without recognizing that criminality, Canadians, whose parents, commit particularly violence or grant parents happen to be born in the geographic region called Somalia. Appendix 9a lists a plethora of newspaper clippings (N= 22) from local media reports verbatim about criminality and its manifestation within the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton. The headlines of these newspaper articles present the message of the authors fully: there is a problem in the Somali community. Figure 1 below lists selected headlines of the news reports.

Figure 1: Headlines of News Clips

"Somali men who died violently in Northern Alberta 2006 – 2011" (*Edmonton Journal*)

Killings of young Somali men a complex story. The Edmonton Sun. Retrieved July 2011. Hanon, A. (2011).

What is Wrong with Somalis In Edmonton? (*Edmonton Sun*, Nov 15, 2009)

"Edmonton police say Somali gangs work a circuit across Canada" (*Edmonton Journal*-July 30, 2011)

Edmonton: Killings of young Somali men a multifaceted story **(January 30, 2011)**

Silence puts case at standstill (Roth, 2011).

Edmonton Somali community searches for answers after wave of deaths (Bruce Edwards/Postmedia News)

Another Somali-Canadian killed in Edmonton: Somali-Canadian ID'd as latest homicide victim Monday, July 18, 2011

A Somali guy is killed in a bar in front of many Somalis on new years' eve and no witnesses are willing to come forward to help the police catch the killer(s)(June 15, 2011)

Programs for Somali children and teens aim to create confidence and cultural pride-July 30, 2011

Unveiling the faces of the Canadian Somali Community
03-Feb-2010 Edmonton Police Services (2010).

Edmonton: Clan and drug violence responsible for so many Somali "kids" in body bags
February 1, 2011

Somali man from Toronto killed in Alberta City. *Toronto Star*. (Ogilvie, 2010).

Poster campaign targets at-risk youth in Edmonton's Somali community. Edmonton Journal (Ibrahim, 2011).

Alberta to spend $1.9M to help Somali youth resist drug trade. *Toronto Star*: The Canadian Press. Retrieved from Bennett, 2010, May 11).

In these headlines it is clear that the responsibility lies solely on what the authors call the "Somali" community. One article even asks, "what was wrong with the Somali community", suggesting that the murders of the youth was a Somali not a Canadian social issue. The Somali community is also depicted as non- participants to the process of finding solutions to the problem. Most newspaper clips name the names of the slain and details the crime scene, insinuating that people should speak out and inform the authorities. In fact in most of these mews paper clippings a narrative is performed in that due to reasons known to them, the Somali-Canadian community does not want to cooperate with law enforcement, a claim that is incorrect.

In a open letter to the Edmonton police chief, Somali-Canadian leaders Mr. Mohammed Accord & Mr. Hussein Ahmed (2011) cautioned authorities not to undermine the efforts of the community in trying to find solutions to what has pained the community, but rather they encouraged the EPS to work side by side with the community to solve problems (the letter is included in Appendix 9b).

The aftermath of the deaths for young Somali-Canadian men has ushered a very unsafe environment for family members who do not have answers to the calamities, something the research or reporting fails to point out that the community is victimized every time of theirs is killed. In Edmonton, community leaders as well as victim' families have demanded justice to know how this could be prevented. Particular voices that have been silenced are those of mothers ho have tragically lost their sons and have demanded an open and honest forum to understand what fuels this internal migration phenomenon to Alberta over the past years to create such a violent atmosphere for some youth. Forums have been held and community leaders such as Mohamed Accord and Ahmed Hussen have advocated for victims families in the media, providing context and background of the Somali-Canadian experience in Canada generally, and in Edmonton specifically.

Of all the cases of the murdered Somali-Canadian young men in Edmonton and Alberta who have been murdered, very limited coverage of these young men as victims of crime have been paid by the mainstream media. The newspaper articles have all pointed to the inability of the community to control their youth; with a subtext of the violence as being a cultural/community problem that has nothing to do with Canada. In fact the victims are most often named Somali or refugees, or immigrants rather than Somali-Canadian youth who in most cases are Canadian-born. An additional observation is also that when examining the tone of the media reports about the deaths of these young men, some of the media stories are not documented correctly, names are constantly misspelled, facts such as timelines are incorrect and references and headlines are frequently misleading.

Thus, it is clear to us after reviewing this short media texts that the Edmonton media that reports such calamities most often give a preconceived notion of the issues affecting the young Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton, where both the audiences and creators interpret and attach meaning. Going back to our CDA method, reality is named, framed and discussion is tamed to advance a certain worldview about the other. When the general populace reads such damming headlines about Somali-Canadian youth and their "criminal or violent" tendencies, fear of such youth becomes ingrained in their minds and as headlines after headlines about Somali-Canadians youth constantly associated with criminal activities, the general public attitudes of the Somali-Canadians inevitably become negative. Including these print media reports was our way of undressing the discourse locally and to be true to our critical discourse analytical method of critically observing the "taken-for-granted" messages from the media as well as to unearth the omissions that such media reports ignore, particularly where racialized and minoritized groups are decorated as both victims of crime and accomplices. The critique of the impact of such a discourse was deemed important to policy and practice prospects for community-based crime prevention initiatives.

Tertiary reactions to youth violence are met with more government funding to preventative programs, which in a long run will assist communities and agencies to deal with issues impacting the community. As Appendix 5 illustrates, the Alberta provincial government has recognized the problem and has invested $1.9 million (Bennet, 2010) and more in a variety of youth crime prevention projects supporting a variety of organizations. In addition, the Alberta government has spent an additional $400,000 on mentoring programs and $202,000 to offer educational support and after-school programs for Somali-Canadian youth (see discussion by Iltan, 2010a & Iltan, 2010b). These projects have proposed culturally responsive ways of preventing crime within the Somali-Canadian communities that would first include an understanding of community context reflected in culture, religion, and language. Corroborating what has been reported as best practices in terms of crime prevention approaches, most government funded projects in ranged from strategies that build community capacity to prevent crime, or that built individual and societal competencies, or that are designed to empower youth through skills training, those that also recognize community challenges and strengths, that those that focus or the environment (built or otherwise) that perpetuate crime.

Appendix 8 summarizes the possible crime prevention approaches identified in the literature, particularly highlighted by White and Sutton (1995) in Australia, Muller-Cheng, (2009) in Canada, and the National Crime Prevention Centre's (NCPC) in Canada has a list of promising and effective ways to prevent and to reduce crime by addressing risk factors in high-risk populations and places. The NCPC (2008) list concentrates on two core activities: firstly, it supports targeted crime prevention practices that have been proven to be effective, and secondly it builds and shares practical knowledge from communities and advocates for hybrid models that could be adapted contextually. The idea is to be aware of the community's history and culture if there is a problem with crime in addition to an in-depth knowledge of the history, cultural practices, problem solving mechanisms embedded in the culture in order to intervene effectively.

The Australian crime prevention scholarship is by far more informative and proactive. On Appendix 8a we give a synopsis of approaches used in the Australian crime prevention context and on Appendix 8b we summarize theoretical approaches to crime prevention by Australian authors that will be of benefit to media discourses about the Somali-Canadian community we just analyzed in the previous section. As discussed throughout the analysis, the link between migrant, ethnic communities and, immigrants in Canada, USA, the EU and Australia has been 'sensationalized' in mainstream media. In fact as mentioned previously ethnic/racialized minorities have been wrongly associated with such criminality and this seems is directly associated with mainstream media disinformation leading to inter-ethnic tensions. In fact and according to the research, Australian minorities have been wrongly associated with such criminality and this seems directly associated with mainstream media disinformation leading to inter-ethnic tensions. Hazelhurst's 1990 analysis of crime prevention within the Australian context illustrated that biased media reporting of closed knit migrant ethnic communities depicted a gloomy picture, which indeed contradicted official facts such as prison statistics in which persons who were born overseas are actually underrepresented in the prison population. She cautions however that this does not mean that members of ethnic minority communities in Australia do not fall victims to crime. The *Australian Institute of Criminology* (2011) concurs with Hazelhurt's research stating that while mainstream societal perceptions seem to perceive

immigrants as likely to offend and commit crimes the data and research suggest the opposite of this. Collins(2003b) argues that sensationalism related to media linking crime to ethnicity and consequent policies in response to this are likely to fail. Instead he argues that the correct path for Australian policy makers should be prevention strategies, which target socio-economic disadvantage.

Research conducted by Bartel (2011) with the Australian Institute of Criminology (2011) describes a program known as Crime Prevention for 'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Communities or CALD. The Institute of Criminology reports that it is essential to approach prevention of crime with culturally and linguistically diverse minority communities with the knowledge that they are diverse and therefore keeping in mind that a homogenous approach contains risks to crime prevention and should therefore be avoided. Among some of the criminal justice issues included in the analysis include: analyzing difficulties with police, such as perceptions and incidents of racism, bias and over-policing certain groups, a belief that of the existence of 'racially motivated' attacks mainly by strangers that could be considered 'hate crime'; disproportionately high rates of fear of crime often in the considered hate crime; and a lack of awareness of the law especially relation to driving and domestic violence as well as the understanding of how the criminal justice system works. Bartel (2011) states that the Office of Multicultural Policy Interests in 2009 found that 'freedom from discrimination, and feelings of safety in the community serve as protective factors from the likelihood of involvement in criminal behavior.

As a result ethnic and racialized groups within Australia have taken initiatives to establish their own community groups to support members of their community. Bartel (2011) describes the 'Pasifika Support Services' where local police and at-risk youth from the Pasifika community undertake needs assesments, education, employment, and training, there are also health and family support initiatives. Between 2005 and 2009 the program assisted more than 250 young Pacific people who were working with staff across 13 areas. Independent consultants confirmed that 65 percent of the youth had not re-offended within 12 months of the program. There was also an outreach for Afghan youth known as Police and Afghan Youth Camp a 3 day camp which introduced Afghans to young people's rights, driving without a license and its consequences, interacting with police, and discussing crime and consequences. The camp resulted in ongoing friendships and increased awareness of the police. Other projects included in Bartel's analysis of Australian minority crime prevention include Vietnamese Transitions Project, African All Stars, Sudanese Cross Cultural Training for Police, Sudanese Dads and Kids Programs.

As a result of analyzing the risk factors the Institute of Criminology has established crime prevention initiatives upon which various crime prevention programs throughout Australia and that ethnic communities have incorporated. The main principles throughout the ethnic community organizations include promoting a more comprehensive understanding of the Australian legal and criminal justice system. According to the Australian Institute of Criminology there still remains a critical need for police engagement and programs that seek to foster better relationships between CALD groups and police. These programs include cross-cultural training for police as well as justice agencies. The approaches illustrate that within the

Australian context the crime prevention techniques have been both bottom-up and top-down. Bartel concludes by stating that after examining ethnic community organizations and practices to prevent crime with the cooperation of government, police, non-government organizations it may be helpful to conduct more participatory action research. This kind of research should preferably be qualitative with words rather than numbers and with the informants actively involved in the research process itself. A critical reflection on the outcomes of the research should be considered part and parcel of the research process.

The Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton has also responded to how it has been perceived and has reached out to the mainstream in a number of ways. For example, when a call to attend the Delphi consultation for the purpose of this current research project was announce, most community leaders attended the consultation to inform the review. Furthermore, the community has attended forums on crime prevention (i.e., the Injera project facilitated by the Multicultural coalition on Equity in Health and Wellbeing) and has engaged with law enforcement authorities and government officials to speak about these cases and the challenges of the Somali community. It is obvious that even with such varied efforts from the community leaders and in responding to negative media characterization of non-involvement and complacency as it has been revealed in our analysis of newspaper articles, the Somali community cannot speak with one voice due to their unique differences (i.e., migration patterns, dynamics if family orientation, gender roles, and youth experiences, etc.), efforts are being made within the community to address the issues facing the community.

8. COMMUNITY RESPONSE/REACTION TO THE LITERATURE IN THE DELPHI PROCESS: THEMES AND IMPLICATIONS EMERGING

The Delphi consultations were undertaken to share the results of the literature review with members of the Somali-Canadian Community in Edmonton and to identify where there is and is not consensus among experts about what is known and what is happening in their communities around crime prevention, and thereby contributes to the evidence base in this area. Overall, the two Delphi consultations have produced a detailed synthesis of views, with a high level of concordance between the themes extracted from the literature and the current concerns facing the Somali-Canadian community. In each consultation Delphi respondents were asked to comment on the literature themes identified by the researchers and suggest the approach or worldview to look at the literature.

Analysis in the first Delphi identified several reactions about the research process, the approach, and issues impacting their community as it pertains to crime prevention. This summary synthesizes some aspects of the initial analysis of the two Delphi consultations. It is based on all the responses shared by the participants. In presenting the findings, we aimed to incorporate all perspectives by merging and summarizing positions/statements that seemed to express the same concept/ideas only in different words. To keep this summary succinct, four themes were identified and summarized below.

8.1 On Framing Calamities and Labeling

There was a strong caution by participants in one Delphi consultation toward the kinds of labels used when referring to Somalis in Canada and to the use of the word Newcomer in the title of this research project. Some participants felt that we should not be using this term because there is a distinction that must be made.

> *"… if you focus on newcomers then its Somalis period. But if you focus on the Somali's community, then its Somali-Canadians, it depends on the focus you are using."*

Others felt that there should be only one term used.

> *"… Whether you use Somali or Somali-Canadians. I think that we are in a multicultural society and when I hear Italians, they are Italian-Canadian, or Irish-Canadian, or Polish-Canadians. Why Somali is being used, just as Somali? I think it should be applied to everyone as Somali-Canadian.*

There were also two types of responses to the issue of which group was more likely to be involved in crime: one was that the crimes tended to be committed by youth who had recently arrived in Canada, felt excluded, and joined the groups who accepted them.

> *"Because they want to fit in, they want to be in the culture, they want to know the culture. I feel like they are more likely to join those [crime-oriented] groups because they feel like they are accepted."*

> *"And that is where we always see crime and youth at early ages, because they go 'That guy is going to accept me because I don't speak English, he's an Afghan, and we will go rob some people together and he's my homey'…. and I have seen it happen with my own cousins and he has only been here 3 years and he has already been in jail like 4 times already."*

The other perspective, which was emphasized more strongly, was that the newcomers were closely tied to their Somali cultural and religious values, and those who had been here for many years were more likely to be involved in crime because they were alienated from both Somali Culture and Canadian Culture. This phenomenon is supported by the literature from Europe, which indicates second, or third generation immigrants are more involved in crime.

> *"The new people, they are going after their life, they want to see how they can change their life and become a better person and have a future." (Delphi 1, participant 2)*

> *"… the ones who have been here for like ten years or more, those are the ones who are starting to lose their culture. And they are not sure how much of them is Somali, how much of them is Canadian, and because they are sitting between the two, they say 'OK I am just going to sit in this little box, I am going to be this, I am going to be like the*

classic Black gangster, that is what I am going to do. I am going to do this and I am going to forget everything else'." (Delphi 1, participant 1)

"For me… the youth who have been dying violently, I look at them, all of them came when they were either one year old or were born here." (Delphi 1, participant 6)

8.2 On Social Exclusion and Migration Strain

A number of Delphi participants (particularly youth participants) noted that schooling in Canada is totally different than schooling in Somalia. Participants felt that there were problems in schools with teachers not understanding differences in culture and not understanding the huge challenges of coming to a new place with a new language and culture. Some felt that teachers assumed that Somali youth would bring problems to school or that the mothers would consume alcohol and children would not be normal as a result.

"… if you walk into a high school everybody is different and there is only a few but you don't know if those people are going to accept you… and that is really tough and that is a really deep struggle and I can imagine kids having a really rough time at school. Not knowing, like, how do you even communicate with somebody (laugh) and you can't even speak your mind and I think that's really hard."

"Back home, the teachers use different methods to deal with kids in school, here its different. So I would like to focus more on the solution, and the education and the way that parents don't get a chance to participate and attend the school and get a idea of culturally how do they do it."

8.3 On the Literature and Research Process

Participants expressed the need for research specific to educational experiences for Somali-Canadian children and youth in Edmonton. There were a group of comments in one focus group that expressed displeasure in there being excessive focus in the literature on risk-factors and that this would portray the Somali community as ridden with problems. There was a suggestion made that traditional or Indigenous crime prevention methods and approaches ought to be explored in future research projects. There was a high level of frustration expressed over the perception that community was frequently not consulted in research projects.

"Those people who make research, they never come to the community, they never ask what is going on."

"In Edmonton I can say, the challenges for us is two sided for who see us, the mainstream government and how they see us, and the non-profit organization who is help us and how they see us. Those are the ones who determine who we are, we never determine who we are."

There was a preference expressed for community-based research. Gratitude was expressed to the researchers for inviting the community to participate.

"All the points you touched on needs to be studied. And first of all I would like to say, thank you for inviting us and asking our opinion to add something to this. And secondly, as previous people mentioned, this is the beginning. And I think you can keep in touch with the different organizations who specialize in different fields and try to work with them."

There was considerable frustration in one focus group that the title given implied the research was only on Somali-Canadians in Edmonton, but it was actually much broader.

"I know that this research is not clear, not specific, too broad, also the second, the title is not matching the review. So it looks like now, it's too broad, and we need to talk more specifically about the Somali community…"

8.4 On Crime Prevention Strategies

There was discussion in both focus groups about the need for programs that help new Somali-Canadians integrate into Canadian society. Language training for youth and adults was seen as absolutely essential.

- ✓ **Need for Youth Programs**

Most participants in one group expressed the need for youth need to be kept busy by having them involved in as much extracurricular programs as possible. Youth also needed to increase their awareness of the Canadian beliefs, lifestyle, and culture. A number of participants in one focus group believed there were sufficient programs, but that Somalis were not aware of them, especially the mothers.

"… because we recently did a program for girls, last summer, umm and we went out of our way to try to communicate with these girls, try to communicate with their mothers. I think that is what a lot of these programs should do and need to do in order for them to be successful."

- ✓ **Maintain Home Culture and Religion**

Expressed by participants in both Delphi groups was the importance of all Somalis to attend religious and cultural activities because this was a source of strength. This would help avoid the state of not belonging to either Somali or Canadian culture and produce the feeling of acceptance.

"Because they [newcomers] want to fit in, they want to be in the culture, they want to know the culture. I feel like they are more likely to join those [crime] groups because they feel like they are accepted. Because other than those groups they have at school, all they have is the family, which is at its very early stages, is very everybody on their own type thing."

"And we forget how much language can connect a group of people. When you walk in somewhere and you feel naturally more comfortable because everyone is talking Somali and you have that connection immediately."

- ✓ **Promote Integration**

Integration strain is experienced by most newcomers from Somalia.

"*They are very strong and … they have their traditional values with them, and I think it's difficult for them to integrate."*

Adults need opportunities to develop language and career-based skills. One participant felt strongly that:

"Edmonton is better than Toronto because there you just collect welfare but here you have to work for it, you have to go to some sort of school to upgrade, they will put you into a program like a health care aide or some sort of nurse, or like social work or whatever you want to do. And they pay for your school."

There was much discussion in one Delphi consultation that parents (in particular mothers) needed more support and knowledge on how to parent in two cultures. They needed the opportunity to become aware of the challenges that their children face, to learn ways to understand this new, Canadian culture, and develop skills to help their children cope in strong and positive ways. Participants felt that single mothers led the vast majority of Somali-Canadian families, and there tended to be many children in the families. There was a strong feeling of empathy for the mothers who bore an immense load of responsibility. One participant expressed:

"When you come here [to Canada], you are expected to find a job. You and your kids all have to learn English, everyone has their own bedroom, and this and all that kind of stuff and its, that's what keeps boys out of their house, and leaves their kids outside on the block and not in their house because 90% of Somalia[ns], their houses are single mothers. And when Mom is supposed to be at school and she comes home and she has to cook for everybody and OK so the oldest girl, she has to watch all the kids and 'Oh he ran and he went outside here' and that's how we lose sight of our kids. And that's how they end up dead in the streets and committing crimes and stuff and stuff."

Some participants noted that the transition from Somali to Canadian culture was a significant challenge to the mothers:

"… we expect Somali women when they come here to jump right into it. But like Somalia, for anyone who has ever been there it is like your community raises your children. These type of your daughter is going to wander out in the street and get snatched, or your son's going to get shot, those aren't concerns that we have on a daily basis."

Participants suggested that more accessible daycare would help the mothers to attend language training, academic upgrading, and career-related education. Some participants identified that the

Somali community in Edmonton is not unified and that this presented a barrier to building strong resilient communities. There was a perception that there were too many different Somali organizations, that it would be better if they worked together, and that there was competition between the groups for programs and funds to support programs.

> *"Because my uncle opened up a new one and it was kind of like I knew everyone but it was awkward, right, because when you kind of go somewhere you kind of hope that there is…"*

> *"Diversity" "Yeah, like meeting some people you don't know instead of seeing the same people you see everywhere."*

8.5 Conclusion, Summary, and Limitations of the Delphi Process

Discussion in the Delphi groups delved into the risk factors faced by and protective factors needed for the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton, and recommendations for future research. Risk factors revolve around problems integrating into mainstream Canada: difficulties learning English, exclusion at school, the importance of maintaining Somali-Canadian culture while also integrating well into Canadian culture, and the situation in many Somali-Canadian families where single mothers were raising many children. First, crime prevention strategy suggestions were ways that protective factors could be built. Developing and publicizing programs for youth were important to support them while adjusting to life in Canada and developing skills to deal with the risk factors. Second, programs for Somali-Canadian mothers were crucial to help them develop understanding of the risk factors their children were facing and ways to best help the children develop good skills in dealing with their issues. Third, steps need to be made to bring together the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton through a facilitated process.

The Delphi sessions illuminated many perspectives regarding perceptions about the Somali-Canadian community utilized in practical, media and research settings. First, participants highlighted that Somali-Canadian children within schools are dually marginalized due to the Muslim religion and identification as Black-America. This perceived double marginalization, in their view, manifests itself negatively for Somali-Canadian children in schools. Second, participants made a distinction about how researchers and the media label and frame issues particularly if crime is involved. A suggestion was made that the Somali-Canadian community like all other communities is diverse and that there is a difference in new immigrant population just arriving, and older established populations that have migrated at different eras of the Somali exodus. A suggestion was also made to change the name of the project so that if is more inclusive of all Somali-Canadians rather than "newcomers". As a result of this consultation the name of the project was changed to reflect the feedback from the Delphi consultants.

Participants suggested that future research investigate migration strain issues specific to the Somali-Canadian community in Canada, generally and locally in Edmonton. It was identified that some groups in Edmonton have begun the process of documenting and profiling community

needs through needs assessments and research reports. The research team was encouraged to read and synthesize these into future research projects that could be jointly facilitated between the university researchers, CRC, and several community organizations from the Somali-Canadian community.

It should be noted that the consultation was carried out on a very tight timetable, within a strictly limited availability time. This probably adversely affected the cancellation of one more Delphi consultation. We however feel that the quality of our Delphi can be considered good in the circumstances and adequate for the analysis presented here. It also meant that it was not possible to consider more than two rounds as was earlier planned. Given the complexity of the issues addressed (and the breadth of the consultation), it is perhaps not surprising that many areas were not addressed. In agreement with the Delphi participants, it was proposed that the conversations and facilitated dialogues (Delphi) should continue to inform future studies particularly around migrant strain, media representation, risk/protective factors, and crime prevention strategies.

9. CONTRIBUTION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO FURTHER DISCUSIONS ABOUT CRIME AND MIGRANTS

First, our review points to the cementation of dominant discourses about the link between criminality and migration. Even though the studies reviewed in the EU, Canada, and Australia (with the exception of the US) report a weak, or no link, between immigrants of racialized backgrounds and criminality as compared to dominant groups in those countries; researchers subsume the link as a non-debatable reality; coupled with the intense affect that popular media sources make about there being a strong link. The discourse of migrants as offenders of crime has had an impact on possible crime prevention efforts in that it has perpetuated an "us" and "them" divide, stifling the debate about possible collaborative crime prevention efforts between the community and police. This has also added to the cycle that builds more barriers for migrants in the cases reviewed and in fact increases the possibility that they will resort to crime as the ST suggests. It is clear from the information gathered in the US, Canada, several EU countries, and Australia that nation states have set up systems (or policies) designed to keep migrant communities weak and on the margins.

A *second* contribution of this review includes a clearer understanding of ways in which the material conditions of migrants (protective or risk factors) in host countries are seen as determinants of criminality. The review has expanded the focus of the discussion on risk and protective factors to include a discussion on the link between crime and migration. This was illustrated by our discussion of government crime prevention initiatives as well our critique of media discourses about crime and migration. Foregrounding the strain of losing something migrants value (i.e. status, income, respect and dignity) or discussing how they feel they are treated (i.e. experiencing subtle and overt discrimination), or sharing their frustrations about their inability to achieve goals they have set pre-migration, or having difficulties in: accessing services, employment, a living wage, autonomy, or social mobility in the host country highlights the importance of material conditions related to crime. Thus, the recognition of macro-structural conditions which affect the susceptibility of underserved communities to crime might shed some light on the cumulative effect of adverse socio-economic conditions and their relation to marginality," and why and how crime relates to that marginalization.

Third, it's clear that the literature contributes to the discourse on the relationship between levels of immigration and crime in several contexts (i.e., Canada, EU, Australia, and the US). With the popular focus of immigration levels, especially during times of economic hardship, there always exists the perception that newcomers bring with them levels of change that can threaten the levels of safety within society. The discourse of "home security" and safety although in most cases are credible policy and practice reactions to global "terrorism", are laced with xenophobic, Islamophobic, and racist tendencies, often marginalizing and "othering" minoritized and racialized communities as "aliens", "terrorists", "anarchists", "pirates", and the offenders of crime. These perceptions are images that serve as conceptual tools, not only for the general public through the media, but also for researchers as they advance knowledge through research. Furthermore, these images are the tools or scripts society uses to establish interactions with migrant communities and for the government as they evaluate and create public safety policies.

A *fourth* and final contribution of this review is that we provided a glimpse of country-specific contexts and how the debate around crime and migration circulates in a variety of contexts was illuminated. Comparisons of crime rates among immigrants and the dominant population when reporting crime statistics becomes complicated and problematic especially when countries with substantial proportions of unregistered migrants (i.e., EU and the US), but nonetheless factually resident migrant populations, leads to serious overestimates of crime among resident (official) foreign citizens. A similar problem is related to the fact that, in some countries (i.e., the Canada & Australia), migrants are naturalized once they have resided there over a number of years, whereas in others, a number of migrants remain non-citizens for most of their lives (to some extent in the USA), and many countries in the EU where even second and third generations of migrants are still referred to as migrants.

Overall, this illustrates a lack of, or limited, official government integration policies aimed at fully welcoming newcomers in host countries with a clear path to citizenry. Of course there are varied responses from various governments examined in this review, each with differing approaches, historical context, and challenges; regardless integration of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in host countries is an important determinant of crime involvement. For instance, within the EU context there are very few official government level multicultural or for that matter even melting pot-type policies, whereas in the US, Canada, and Australia there are. The path to citizenry and all the benefits citizenship bestows upon an individual differs dramatically in each context reviewed and as such, crime prevention efforts at the community level will also differ depending on the level of integration and conditions in host countries. For example, the review indicates that immigrants perceive themselves more or less an 'unwanted' within host countries with the level of self perceived social exclusion depending on host country integration capital. For example in most EU countries migrant communities might feel more excluded relatively than in Canada, or US, or Australia; yet in these same counties they might feel somewhat ghettoized in terms of employment opportunities, or social mobility. There remains a need to conduct more research to examine the influence social exclusion (perceived or real) on criminality. Such a research could help establish a missing link between the level of social cohesion, migration strain, and crime.

10. CONTRIBUTION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO POLICY DIRECTIVES

Given that socioeconomics has been demonstrated to be a primary risk factor associated with immigrants and levels of deviance, this review can direct public policy to addressing the concern of isolated communities living on the margins of society. As these communities become isolated from the greater society, the research has shown that they consequently experience heightened levels of fear and safety concerns. Canadian immigration policy could be more proactive in investing in good integration programs as early as possible and with dollars attached. Crime prevention programs need to be primary prevention and begun as early as possible after arrival and in life.

Investment in much better quality education for newcomers is crucial because it is here that they experience exclusion that leads them to look for a place they feel welcome and too often that is a criminal group. Moreover, as they are isolated they tend to lack communicative influence to shape the policies, which are imposed upon them (due to factors such as language barriers, citizenship status, and economic instability) and therefore must resort to illegitimate means to secure a basic level of safety for themselves. In compensating for the shortfall of government and public support, community organizations carry the weight of the responsibility of aiding these populations in successful integration.

Further, there is a need for better practices within mainstream media and government since the linking of migration to crime is problematic perpetuated by mainstream media disinformation. It is also clear from our analysis that the media produces a powerful discourse about crime and its relation to migrants and the power of the discourse lies in the continuation of the conceptualization of certain groups as susceptible to crime or criminality because of their "history of violence" or "cultures", or "religions", pointing to the "othering" impact of the discourse, constructed and reified by media sources.

It is clear from the information analyzed in Canada, particular local media reports about violence in Edmonton, that the Somali-Canadian residents were put on the defensive to deal with "their" problem of crime. Such discourses advanced by media sources infer specific messages about certain communities and complicate efforts of dealing with what one of the Delphi consultants as "home grown" and "home bred" Canadian problem. The fact that media reports in Edmonton report the violent outbursts in recent years as a "Somali" problem not a "Somali-Canadian" or a Canadian issue negates the fact that most of the youth who found themselves at the crossroads of criminality are Canadian-born youth.

This disinformation acts as a blockage to successful integration. According to the literature, for mostly second-generation migrants, crime is then more likely to occur. The literature states that simply hiring more minoritized voices would alleviate the 'racism' perpetuated in the media, however, this is not necessarily true. As our CDA illustrates, mainstream media does not act alone but rather in tandem with other societal institutions. Therefore there needs to be more critical discourse analysis and cooperation between mainstream society and minority groups on the mainstream media practices, as well as other societal institutions which have discriminatory practices in order to develop ways to eliminate them. The governments of the EU, US, Canada, and Australia should also work with one another, their local communities and mainstream

media/societal institutions (educational, religious, cultural) on better more comprehensive culturally responsive crime prevention policies that would be fully embraced and implemented.

11. CONTRIBUTION THE LITERATURE REVIEW TO COMMUNITY PRACTICE

This literature review points to possibilities of communities finding strength through knowledge about what is possible to build in their communities. Our Delphi consultations brought together diverse community leaders both formal and informal to advise the research team on the best approach in dealing with community issues. The purpose of the Delphi consultations was to increase the commitment and engagement of community leaders and to offer an exchange of ideas about contextual issues, lessons to be learned and the development of an initial stage of a process to dialogue and find solutions. From an organizational point of view, the organizational partner of this research project, Centre for Race and Culture (CRC) is in its third year of facilitating a crime prevention program entitled: Bamboo Shield.

The primary goal of Bamboo Shield is to reduce criminal behaviors (violence, theft, and substance abuse) between high-risk refugee and immigrant youth in three junior high schools in Edmonton. The CRC' intervention program facilitates weekly discussion sessions with youth and their teachers during the school day. Youth mentors are trained to assist with one-on-one and small group meetings with the youth; and community elders and facilitators provide teachings to the students. Edmonton City Police School Resource Officers work with the youth twice per month. A large proportion of the youth are from the Somali-Canadian refugee community in Edmonton. Through the Delphi consultation participants were able to identify risk factors and protective factors and prioritized youth intervention initiatives

The Delphi process not only facilitated such discussions, but also placed the community as producers of knowledge but also as experts to explain their own context. Decision makers must support community-initiated dialogues as a way to give the community a voice. As illustrated in the data from the youth Delphi consultation, good educational and preventative programs for youth to develop leadership skills and tenacity to face a world that is at most times hostile to them, but also deal with family disintegration issues that are a direct result of the settlement and integration process.

Furthermore, with partnerships already developed with other organizations serving the Somali-Canadian community and through the process of the Delphi consultations, the process of this review gives the CRC an opportunity to work collaboratively with Somali-Canadian organizations in strategizing about aspects of the literature review findings that could assist in the development of community-based and culturally responsive crime prevention initiatives. The Delphi process also implicitly facilitated a process where community leaders and youth offered their recommendations about how lessen risk factors and increase protective factors.

12. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Having outlined the ways in which this literature review has contributed to knowledge, this section outlines suggested areas for future research arising out of our analysis. The results of the review have several implications for future research. The first recommendation is for future criminological studies infusing the method CDA. Our CDA has revealed the power of the discourse and it's discursive (re) production, normalization, and legitimization. For us, understanding how knowledge is produced involves not only paying attention to "what is said" or "how it is said"; but also the manner in which the discourse becomes cemented in theory and practice. Thus, the Foucauldian concern with the ways in which power and knowledge come together in discourse is very critical to propose a further study that extends our brief analysis of media discourses about the link between crime and migration. Our current methodological approach was crafted with appropriate reflection of the research aim and was reproductive in approach; as such, it provided both an analysis of the discourse of crime and migration as a discursive practice, and the exploration of major analytical themes that emerged from of this analysis.

Future research could expand the methodological approach of CDA to allow the analysis of the impact of such discourses on groups or individuals experiencing migration strain. It's been established that the country of origin has a negligible effect on the likelihood for an immigrant or refugee to commit crime. What has been clearly identified is the level of economic, social and employment mobility - specifically low levels - having a correlation with crime. More research should be done to investigate the socioeconomic roots of crime. Further research could compare cross-national socioeconomic roots of crime as a way to address migration strain as well as increase community capacity to address barriers to integration. In our review we offered an overview of studies that link socioeconomic roots of crime; yet we did not offer a deeper analysis of each case. We feel that in-depth cross-national comparisons of two (dis) similar cases (i.e., Canada and France or Canada and Australia) can provide analyses that are more critical and in-depth than studies that focus on single cases as case studies.

Future studies could be extended to carry out various analyses of media discourses about crime, criminality and new emerging communities. A study that would be more beneficial to the cultural communities in Edmonton could extend what this current review has began in our textual analysis of media reports and look more into the process that nourishes media production of the discourse linking crime to racialized and minoritized migrants. A cross sectional study that compares recent migrants and second generation Canadians from specific ethnocultural groups and how the media has responded/framed the debate regarding reports of youth violence overtime in different groups (i.e. Cambodian-Canadian; Vietnamese-Canadian, Jamaican-Canadian, Aboriginal/Indigenous Canadian; and Somali-Canadian) would be ideal in that it would contextualize the debate of criminality, youth, and migrant strain from a variety of contexts. Nonetheless, the present work has demonstrated that critical discourse analysis has the potential to become a major analytical framework in criminological studies of crime and racialization and this research represents a productive commendation of it.

Related to that, more in-depth research could be done regarding the detainment and arrest of immigrants and refugees, and correlate that with images of migrants in the media. Factors that

affect the perception of migrants in relation to crime have already been determined to include socioeconomic status unemployment and perception of law enforcement. To establish standards for law enforcement and establish best practices when working with cross-cultural individuals and communication, it would be worthwhile to investigate current cross-cultural training programs for all levels of law enforcement. Naturally within the Edmonton context it would be ideal to deeply and systematically understand how the Somali-Canadian community has responded to increased media portrayal linking some members of the community to crime and insinuating that the community is not taking responsibility for "their" crime problem as illustrated in the textual analysis of media print reports. The current review has revealed such controversies and in turn offers an opportunity to have a more honest debate about what can we do as a society to alleviate such strains, beyond and above simple one-shot-fits-all crime-prevention initiatives. This is something that the Delphi participants vehemently echoed in our discussions.

13. CONCLUSION

This report has presented a summary of a systematic review of literature that addresses factors and crime prevention approaches targeted at refugee and immigrant communities in general from a global angle to inform the Somali-Canadian community of Edmonton about the discourses emerging in the literature and how these perspectives impact local crime prevention initiatives. This systematic literature review covered both theoretical and empirical studies on risk factors, protective factors, and crime prevention approaches targeted at refugee and immigrant communities that have been conducted in Canada, the United States, Australia, and several European Union countries.

The review also offered a CDA of the discourse around crime and migration, utilizing the findings from the review to inform policy, research, and practice on ways to strategize and mobilize community solutions to crime. The study also gained an understanding of general discourses circulating about the connection between crimes and minoritized and racialized groups in Canada, US, some EU countries, and Australia. A community-based participatory research approach was used which involved two Delphi consultations with Somali-Canadian leaders and youth advising the research team about the context in Edmonton. Reacting to the environmental scan of the academic and non-academic discourse linking racialized and minoritized communities and crime, the Delphi consultants were able to highlight several issues impacting their communities and offered recommendations for the research team on how to proceed.

Through a Delphi process, the review provided an opportunity for community leaders at the local level (in Edmonton) to react to the academic discourse linking crime and immigrants, thus contextualizing the review. Understanding what is already known about crime and migration in diverse contexts and how to prevent it was understood as an important first step by the research team to addressing the situation in Edmonton. Using this literature, our hope was that community leaders, crime prevention practitioners, and researchers could identify the important steps to developing effective crime prevention initiatives.

The findings identified in the systematic review of literature points to a general awareness of the discourses surrounding crime and migrants. Rooted in the political economy of migration, and informed and regurgitated by the media, the discourse of crime-equals-to-migrants prevails in all contexts reviewed. The discourses of "homeland security" or "protecting the home base" particularly after the terrible 9/11 terrorist attacks has ushered a new world order whereby certain groups are put under a microscope. As seen in the review, Somali Diaspora communities have experienced this gaze. In addition, the media has played a big role in framing and even shaming the community as seen in the Edmonton case presented. Somalis, like other minoritized groups are framed as the usual suspects, aliens, terrorists, anarchists, or for that matter, pirates.

A number of risk factors that for crime involvement were identified by the Delphi consultants. Some are embedded in cultural/religious beliefs or are linked to socio-cultural activities. A lack of social cohesion and inclusion as evidenced in migration strain, unemployment, underemployment, and language barriers in host countries arose as protective factors. Lack of understanding of the Somali Diasporic community also hindered the uptake of preventative measures as culture and religion was identified as a barrier for some to engage with the community. Several avenues through which culturally appropriate strategies targeted at minimizing the risk for crime involvement, particularly for youth, ensuring effective intervention rooted in the Somali-Canadian culture were identified. These are captured in the recommendations arising from the study, which identify the need for a more proactive approach by members of the community and agencies supporting immigrant communities to raising awareness of risk factors and dealing with protective factors for crime prevention. The review although limited in scope, offers a glimpse of how Canada, the US, Australia, and several European Union countries responds both at the policy, research, and practice levels.

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Appendix 1: Literature Review Frame

I. Introduction

a. Describe the overall topic that you have been investigating, why it is important to the field, and why you are interested in the topic.
b. Identify themes and trends in research questions, methodology, and findings. Give a "big picture" of the literature.

II. Theme A

a. Overview of characteristics of the theme (commonalities, differences, nuances)
b. Sub-theme – narrow but grouped findings related to the theme
    i. Study 1 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
    ii. Study 2 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
    iii. Study 3 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
c. Sub-theme – narrow but grouped findings related to the theme
    i. Study 4 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
    ii. Study 5 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
    iii. Study 6 (Research question(s), Methods/Participants, Related Findings)
d. Etc., etc., etc. with other findings that fit Theme A; studies can be repeated if there are multiple findings that fit under more than one theme. However, no need to re-write methods/participants in detail (just enough to remind the reader about the study).

III. **Theme B** – follow a, b, c, and so on from above

IV. Keep repeating with themes

V. Conclusion: ***An evaluation/critique of the existing literature. Write several paragraphs.***

a. What are the contributions of this literature to the field?
b. What are the overall strengths?
c. What are the overall weaknesses?
d. What might be missing?
e. What are some next steps for research? The next steps should explicitly address how to "correct" for strengths, weaknesses, and gaps.

Use APA level headings 1, 3, & 4.

- ☐ Review of the Literature on Crime Prevention, Integration and Immigrant Communities: A Case of Somali Diaspora Communities in Canada, USA, Australia, and the EU (Level 1
- ☐ Representation in Media, Popular Culture, and Academic Literature(Level 3)
- ☐ Overview of the Media and Popular Culture Discourse. (Level 4)
- ☐ Overview of Immigrant Integration & (Re) settlement Discourse: International Perspectives, National Perspectives, Local Perspectives. (Level 4)
- ☐ Crime Prevention Strategies (Institutional and Community-based Processes (Level 4)
- ☐ Community Strategies: Resistance as strategic, (Level 4)

Appendix 2: Article Asssessment Form[4]

1. **Reference (APA format)** _____
2. **Authors:** _____
3. **Journal/book/publication**_____
4. **BASIC FEATURES** (circle if answer is **true**, circle only one):
   - ✓ did NOT address human data
   - ✓ did NOT address "immigrant integration", "crime prevention", "migrants", Somalians in the diaspora", "risk factors", "protective factors", "crime and racialized/minoritized communities", "immigrant/refugee youth" Somali-Canadians" "Somali Americans", "Somali Diaspora in Europe", and "Somali Diaspora in Australia"
   - ✓ Did NOT report data on crime and (ethnic/racial) minorities
   - ✓ Excluded Canadian, American, EU region, Australian data
   - ✓ NO original data analyses
   - ✓ Did NOT include all components of the articles: Abstract, Introduction, Research Question/Problem, Literature Review, Methodology, Findings, Conclusions, and Discussion

IF ANY OF THE ABOVE ITEMS IS CIRCLED -- STOP

5. Are these terms above (4) used as a variables or discussion issues?..... ❑Yes.....No
6. Is ethnicity, skin color, minority status, culture, ancestry, indigeniety, nationality, and tribe used to describe the sample population to talk about crime, criminality and prevention?.....❑Yes ..... No

IF THERE IS NO RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5, 6, then-STOP, REJECT ARTICLE

7. **Type of article: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY**

   - ✓ **Theoretical/Practice** –draws on existing research to advance theory, method, or analytical framework (i.e. critical race theory, critical discourseanalysis, critical theories–feminism, strain theory, postmodernism, or structuration theory) ❑
   - ✓ **Review** – reviews the results of studies published on a particular area in crime prevention and minoritized/racialized communities in Canada, the EU, USA, and Australia.

     ❑
   - ✓ **Research** – reports of specific research investigation around crime prevention strategies, crime statistics and immigrants, criminality and "race" statistics, risk factors for crime involvement, protective factors in response to crime, discourses of crime involvement for racialized and minoritized communities (victims,

[4]This article assessment tool was designed by Dr. Ernest Khalema for the purpose of this study and was adapted from the work already published by Dr. Khalema. The author reserves the rights to this tool and it should not be used, adapted, or refined without the authors' permission. For further correspondence please email ekhalema@ualberta.ca.

perpetrators, prosecutions, witnessing, etc).❑

- ✓ **Meta-analysis**- statistically combines the results of several studies that address a shared research hypothesis (crime, race, minority groups, risk factors, protective factors, Somalian Diaspora, crime prevention strategies, community approaches) ❑

8. Were racialized groups (i.e. immigrants, migrants, Somali Diaspora communities in the EU, Canada, USA, and Australia) described or talked about or used in the:

a. Abstract ❑Yes.....No
b. Introduction ❑Yes.....No
c. Research Question/Problem ❑Yes.....No
d. Literature Review ❑Yes.....No
e. Methodology ❑Yes.....No
f. Findings ❑Yes.....No
g. Conclusions ❑Yes.....No
h. Discussion ❑Yes.....No

9. STUDY DESIGN (METHODOLOGY): (Circle the one letter listed below that describes the study design.)

a. Case-control
b. Randomized trial
c. Non-randomized controlled trial
d. Cohort
e. Cross-sectional
f. Clinical series
g. Other (specify type)__

*10a. If cohort or case-control, what was type of control? (circle response)		
a	b	c
Concurrent	Historical	Can't tell
*10b Were controls matched? (circle response)		
a	b	c
Yes	No	Can’t tell
*10c Was the choice of control group reasonable? (circle response)		
a	b	c
Yes	No	Can’t tell

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

10. Was the population from which study sample drawn described?

a. adequate (population was described and population specified)
b. fair (one or more of these NOT reported OR poor descriptions)
c. inadequate (not specified)
d. not applicable

11. Were detailed sample inclusion/exclusion criteria provided, so as to allow replication if in a quantitative study?

a. adequate (detailed description of specific inclusion and exclusion criteria OR statement that all consecutive respondents participating)
b. fair (some description but would be difficult to replicate based on information provided)
c. inadequate (minimal description or none at all)
d. not applicable

12. Was there information racialized/minoritized groups excluded/not participating provided?

a. adequate (all reasons for exclusion AND number excluded or no exclusions)
b. fair (only one of above criteria specified or information not quite sufficient to allow replication in a quantitative study)
c. inadequate (none of above criteria specified)
d. not applicable

13. Does the study describe the respondent's demographics and context?

a. good (it included something about racialized/minoritized groups or immigrant populations (refugees, immigrants, migrants etc), particularly the Somali Diaspora in Canada, the EU, Australia and the USA) in terms of crime prevention, risk factors, protective factors, community approaches/strategies to crime prevention)
b. adequate (at least one of the above in (a) and a discussion of risk factors/protective factors)
c. fair (at least one of the above in (a) in the context of immigration, integration, and crime prevention)
d. inadequate
e. not applicable.

14. Describe exclusion criteria, if provided in report/article/book

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

DESCRIPTION OF THE DISCOURSES OF CRIMINALITY, "RACE"&CRIME PREVENTION

15. Describe the manner in which identification (i.e. ethnicity, skin color, minority status, culture, ancestry, indigeniety, nationality, and tribe were used as proxies to link crime and racialized/minoritized communities?

_____

_____

_____

16. Were there any differences in the way "identification" (in terms of ethnicity, skin color, Minority status, culture, ancestry, indigeniety, nationality, and tribe)is used in the articles, books, or reports?

a. no differences (essentially the same)
b. minor differences (minor differences in protocols)
c. major differences or differences not discussed
d. can't tell
e. not applicable

OUTCOMES, RESEULTS AND FOLLOW-UP

a. Describe the findings results and study outcomes reported by the articles about discourses of criminality and minoritized/ racialized communities, crime prevention strategies, risk factors, protective factors in general and specific issues faced by the Somali Diaspora Communities in Canada, USA, Australia, and the EU in particular.

b. What are the contributions of this literature to the field?

c. What are the overall strengths?

d. What are the overall weaknesses?

e. What might be missing?

f. What are some next steps for research? The next steps should explicitly address how to "correct" for strengths, weaknesses, and gaps.

_____

Appendix 3: Letter of Invitation to a Delphi Consultation Meeting with Community Leaders

The *Centre for Race and Culture* (CRC) in partnership with Dr. Ernest Khalema, Assistant Professor of Social Work at the University of Calgary in Edmonton campus is conducting a research project entitled: "***A Review of Risk Factors and Community-based Crime Prevention Strategies for Somali-Canadians in Alberta"*** funded by the Centre for Criminology and Justice Research at Mount Royal University**.** It is mainly a literature review of the issue for Australia, Europe, the United States, and Canada, to find out what the risk factors and prevention strategies are in all of these Western countries. We are narrowing down to the Somali community in order to make the research useful for your organization, your community, our organization, and the wider community. We now want to host a community consultation preferably with women, men, and youth participating from the Somali-Canadian community about what we are finding in our review to get a response from the community. At these sessions we want to present a summary of the literature review findings to you, get your reaction to what has been written around the world, ask you some questions to help us connect what we have read to what is actually happening in the local community in Edmonton, and answer any questions you may have.

We invite you to participate in the consultation we are planning in both November and December 2011. An honorarium of $50 will be presented by CRC on behalf of the team to thank you for your time and we will serve dinner during the meeting. We are hoping to have approximately 8 to 10 individuals at this session and if more people come we will conduct concurrent sessions if it is your wish. The conversations at this session (or sessions) will be sound-recorded to capture fully your comments and for clarity. We will of course request for your informed permission to tape record. Further, your identity will remain completely confidential – your name will not appear anywhere in the report, nor will any information that will connect you with what you have said. We will ask you to sign a form giving us permission to use the knowledge you have to inform the comprehensive literature review. Your comments will be transcribed and the recording and any print documents will be placed in a locked cabinet for protection. Information complied will also be used to inform policy, programs, or interventions in a series of information sharing activities including community gatherings, conferences, academic and community publications, or websites.

Please let us know if you will be able to join us for this consultation meeting.

Sincerely,

Research Team
Charlene Hay, MEd [Executive Director (CRC)]
Ernest Khalema, PhD [Assistant Professor (FSW-U of C)]
Samantha Joseph

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL WORK
Edmonton Division
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Telephone: (780) 492-5567
Fax: (780) 492-5774
Email: ekhalema@ucalgary.ca

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet &Consent Form

TITLE:A Review of Crime Risk Factors and Community-based Prevention Strategies for Somali-Canadians in Edmonton, Alberta
SPONSOR: Center for Criminology and Justice Research (Mount Royal university)
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Ernest Khalema, PhD
RESEARCHERS & COLLABORATORS: Charlene Hay, MEd; and Jenny Wannas, PhD
RESEARCH ASSISTANT: Samantha Joseph
PROJECT ASSISTANT: Rosslyn Zulla, MEd

This consent form is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about anything mentioned here or information not included here, please ask. Take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information. You will receive a copy of this form.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The aim of this study is to conduct a comprehensive systematic review of the literature that addresses risk factors, protective factors, and crime prevention approaches of immigrants and refugees on an international, national, and local level with an ultimate focus on the Somali refugee/immigrant community in Edmonton, Alberta. The purpose of this focus group is to learn from you about your reaction of the research we have conducted and give feedback of your observations. We have conducted a literature review of **current research** information both at the **practice and empirical** levels **on crime prevention and newcomer settlement/integration processes** at **local, national and international contexts**. Your contribution is to help us to critically understand how the information relates to your context in Edmonton. Particularly a critical analysis of **studies on best practice approaches to crime prevention** with particular **focus** on **factors associated with crime involvement and current intervention strategies** in the Somali communities of Edmonton to contextualize the review. We hope to develop a **community practice models** aimed at **developing a framework** on how to better intervene at the individual **and community level**s.
Further, it is the intention of this proposed project to develop and utilize a critical review of the literature that can then be used as a base to provide direction for the research and/or to inform the project of potential issues or areas of concern that may emerge. The literature review will closely follow the format: The review will start with a background and details of the given problem. The objective will be clearly stated;

- A brief description of the main elements such as the types of studies, participants, interventions and measures will be included;
- The search strategy will be explicitly outlined and will identify the inclusion/exclusion criteria including the research terms and databases used. The methods will identify how papers were chosen for review, and how the data was extracted from the studies;
- A description of the studies chosen will be provided;

- A detailed results section will outline the findings of the studies;
- The review will conclude with a discussion of the interpretation and assessment of the results, as well as implications that have been identified for future research.

WHAT WOULD I HAVE TO DO?

Share your thoughts about the literature and give feedback. There may be a follow-up interview to clarify any information obtained from the initial focus group. You will be audio-recorded for what you say for accuracy. Recordings will be transcribed. All personal information will be removed. These transcripts will be analyzed with those of other participants. This will ensure that we have accurately heard what you and other participants have conveyed.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS?

We do not expect you will be harmed if you participate in this study. If you are upset by the questions asked, the interviewer will be available. In the event that you experience distress from the interviewer, the following are agencies that can provide you counseling,

1) Insight Psychological Inc.
9148 23 Avenue NW
Edmonton, AB T6N 1H9
(780) 461-1717

2) Student Counselling Services, University of Alberta
2nd Floor, 2-600 Students` Union Building
Edmonton AB T6G 2J7
(780) 492-5205

Please note that these services are not free. Please contact the organizations for any fee requirements.

WILL I BENEFIT IF I TAKE PART?

We cannot promise any benefits to you from your participation in this study. Still, you may find it helpful to share your experiences and make suggestions. We expect that practice and research will benefit from knowledge generated by this study.

DO I HAVE TO PARTICIPATE?

Participation in this study is voluntary. You will participate in a focus group with other members of your community. It will take approximately 1 hour and several minutes of discussions. It is your choice to take part in this study. You can stop at any time. If you wish to stop participating please inform the interviewer. You do not have to answer any questions that you don't feel comfortable answering.

Your signing this consent form does not interfere with your legal rights in any way. The staff of the study and the University of Calgary is still responsible, legally and professionally, for what they do.

WILL I BE PAID FOR PARTICIPATING, OR DO I HAVE TO PAY FOR ANYTHING?

We do not expect that you will have any costs resulting from participation in the study.
Therefore, no payment is being offered.

WILL MY RECORDS BE KEPT PRIVATE?

Your identity will be kept private if you take part in the study. Only the researchers and the research staff will know that you took part in this study. Participation, non-participation or withdrawal will have no effect on any services received from the agency through which you may have been recruited.

We will respect your privacy. No information about who you are will be given to anyone or be published without your permission, unless required by law. Threats of harm to a child must be reported to the appropriate legal authorities. No service agencies will be informed as to the specific participation of that individual.

Study research staff may see your study file. We will give you a copy of this consent form. We will remove your name from the typed records (transcripts) relating to this research. We will replace your name with a code number that is known only to the researchers. Your code will be kept in a secure and locked file cabinet or in a computer that can only be entered through a password. The data will be kept in a secure locked storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed or erased. Researchers will discard any data collected up to the point of participant withdrawal unless data analysis has begun. The results of the study may be printed in a newspaper or journal, but you will not be identified. The results from this study may be used in future research and for teaching purposes but your rights will be protected in the future as they are now. The study sponsor, Prairie Metropolis and our partnering agencies will receive a summary of research findings from this study.

SIGNATURES

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in the research project and agree to participate as a participant. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. If you have further questions, concerning matters related to this research, please contact Ms Charlene Hay or Dr. Ernest Khalema.

You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation

I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: ___ No: ___
I grant permission to be available for future follow-up interviews: Yes: ___ No: ___
Participant's Name: (please print) _____
Participant's Signature _____Date: _____
Researcher's Name: (please print) _____
Researcher's Signature: _____Date: _____

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact Senior Ethics Research Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 220-3782; email: rburrows@ucalgary.ca

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

A signed copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Appendix 5: Summary of Selected Projects in Edmonton around Crime Prevention Targeting the Somali-Canadian Community 2006-2011

Facilitated by the Somali-Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization (SCERDO)

- **Somali Youth Outreach** project funded by Service Canada. The two-phase project started in March, 2010 and will continue until the end of Phase II in October 2010. The outreach project will help 400 youth facing barriers to employment, develop life and job skills to ease their transition to work or return to school.

- **Affordable Housing** project, funded by Canadian Home Mortgage Corporation (CHMC) started April 2009 and still underway. The project goal is to build ten affordable, homeowner housing units for ten families in the Somali community in Edmonton, Alberta.

- **Youth Mentorship Development** project - September, 2009. The project paired 15 Somali youth between the ages of 15 and 18 with Somali first-year University and college youth (20 - 25 years of age). Project objective is to build the leadership skills of both mentors and mentorees through this process.

- **Stand Up and Lead** - January, 2009. SCERDO delivered Life Plan and Mentorship training to youth. The project goal was to provide youth with informative and motivating leaders, and interactive discussion in pursuit of developing their individualized Life plans, with the aim of increasing personal empowerment.

- **Pre-Operational** research - May, 2009. A needs assessment research for Somali youth in Edmonton funded by Service Canada. The project aim was to assess issues and barriers facing the Somali youth in Edmonton.

- **Youth Action for Fostering Multiculturalism, Leadership and Community Growth Project** - January 2008. SCERDO started its 3 year youth project called The Youth Action for Fostering Multiculturalism, Leadership and Community Growth. Project aim was to respond to particular issues and challenges facing Somali youth at risk and their ability to effectively engage and integrate into Canadian society. The project was completed on June, 2010 and consisted of 6 phrases including Plan and Development, Community Capacity and Understanding, Empowerment, Public Education, Institutional Engagement and Practices and Strategies for change.

- **Be Part of the World** - February 2008. SCERDO implemented this project for 18th anniversary for International Development Day sponsored by ACGC through CIDA funding. The aim of the seminar is to engage Somali Canadian community in Edmonton on issues and trends of international development. Emphasis is being placed on the role of Canadian NGOs in the third world countries particularly in Somalia. The magnetizing of Somali Canadian professionals to international development has also been discussed.

- **Needs Assessment Research** – January, 2007. SCERDO implemented Needs Assessment Research for Somali community in Edmonton funded by Community Enhancement Fund.

The purpose of this research is to determine the needs (social, educational, health, etc) of Somali people who have recently moved into the Edmonton, Alberta from other provinces as well as from Somalia.

- **Community Mapping** – 2006. SCERDO conducted a "community mapping" of Somali Canadian Diaspora in the City of Edmonton. This helped to determine the needs (social, educational, health, etc) of Somali people who have recently moved into the City from Somalia.

Facilitated by Alberta Somali Community Centre

- **Bamboo Shield**: $1.4 million to the Edmonton City Centre Church Corporation and the Alberta Somali Community Centre, to support at-risk Somali Canadian and immigrant youth in four junior high schools.

Facilitated by Somali Canadian Cultural Society of Edmonton

- **Keeping Somali Youth out of Street Gangs and Drugs- SCIF Funding (**$202,740 over three years) **:** This project aims at reducing and preventing crime in the Somali community through quality afterschool programming and academic support.

Facilitated by the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers

- **Reducing Crime by Enhancing Resilience and Capacity Among Immigrant Families and Youth**: $1.3 million to the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers to provide wrap-around programming that includes addressing the barriers to community integration faced by new Canadians

Facilitated by Big Brothers Big Sisters of Edmonton and Area

- **Immigrant and Refugee Mentoring Programs**: $400,000 to **Big Brothers Big Sisters of Edmonton and Are**a to use mentoring as a way to reduce high-risk behaviours such as drug trafficking and gang activity. This project is also being funded with $195,000 from TransCanada.

Appendix 6: Definition of Terms

The terminology used in this literature review is predicated on the notion that such definitions are not fixed and that these terms evolve due to the process of theory construction. Each definition is contingent upon context, socio-historical constructs, political/policy climate, disciplinary protocols, and philosophical orientations. For our purposes in this research project we adopt the following definitions:

Buufis is a Somali word initially and commonly used in refugee camps in Kenya to describe a person's dream of or longing for resettlement, conveying the idea of comparison between one's life in the camp and others' lives elsewhere. Other, closely related meanings of the word have come to be used: "resettlement itself, the people who long to go overseas, and the madness that at times occurs when the dream of going overseas is shattered" (Horst, 2006).

Crime prevention generally refers to preventing crime and anti-social behaviour before occurs. (Crime Prevention Victoria, 2002) p.10) defines crime prevention as "any public or privately based initiative or policy aimed at reducing or eliminating criminal behaviour, violence and fear of crime or violence in the community". There are two broad approaches to crime prevention: opportunity reduction and social prevention (McMillan & Murray, 2002).

Eugenics: the study of or belief in the possibility of improving the qualities of the human species or a human population, especially by such means as discouraging reproduction by persons having genetic defects or presumed to have inheritable undesirable traits **(negative eugenics)** or encouraging by persons presumed to have inheritable desirable traits **(positive eugenics).**

European Union: An economic and political union established in 1993 after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty by members of the European Community and since expanded to include numerous Central and Eastern European nations. The establishment of the European Union expanded the political scope of the European Economic Community, especially in the area of foreign and security policy, and provided for the creation of a central European bank and the adoption of a common currency, the euro.

Ghettoization: to confine or restrict to a particular area, activity, or category: *to ghettoize a minority group such as black people within a neighborhood*

Globalization: the act of globalizing, or extending to other or all parts of the world: the globalization of manufacturing or worldwide integration and development: Globablization is said to have resulted in the loss of some individual cultural identities.

Inferiorization: refers to the process of imposing a stigmatized or inferiorized identity on a group of people**.**

Institutionalization: to make into, or treat as an institution, put into as policy *the danger of institutionalizing racism or racist policies.*

Racialized: to impose a racial interpretation on; place in a racial context.
to perceive, view, or experience in a racial context.
to categorize or differentiate on the basis of race.

Sensationalization: producing or designed to produce a startling effect, strong reaction, in intense interest, etc., especially by exaggerated, superficial, or lurid elements

Socio-political: of pertaining to, or signifying the combination or interaction of social and political factors.

Third World: defined as
the widespread poverty.underdeveloped nations of the world, especially thoseThe group of develop ing nations, especially of Asia andAfrica, that do not align themselves with the policies of either the U.S. or the former Soviet Unionthe minority groups within a nation or predominant cultu re

Crime/Criminal activity refers to behaviour deemed to be an "offence" by the Criminal Code of Canada (see "Criminal Code," 1985).

Immigrant refers to those who were born outside of Canada. For the purpose of this study, the term also covers refugees who arrived in Canada and were granted refugee status on humanitarian grounds. However, the study uses the phrase "immigrant youth with a refugee background" to highlight the unique circumstances experienced by refugee youth.

Immigrant youth refers to young individuals between the ages of 12 and 17 years who were born outside of Canada.

Somali-Canadians hyphenated identification that refers to the Canadian-born individuals with at least one parent/guardian born outside of Canada, with ancestry in the geographic country of Somalia. Note: that the parent/guardian might have roots in the geographic country of Somalia, but might not have been born in the geographic area of Somalia.

Youth refers to individuals between 12 and 17 years of age inclusively. The selected age group is consistent with the definition of youth, as outlined in the Youth Criminal Justice Act (see "Youth Criminal Justice Act," 2002).

Appendix 7: Delphi Consultations Questions

General Questions about the Review

- What are your initial thoughts about the literature we have just reviewed and shared?

- As community leaders are issues presented in this review relevant particularly when applied to the Edmonton context? Is this something that the community in Edmonton deals with?

- Are there specific parts of the review that caught your eye and what aspects intrigued you? If so why?

- Is there anything missing from what we have shared that is important to the communities you are part of?

- What would you have liked to see in the review, what ought to be omitted, clarified, elaborated upon?

General Questions about Crime Prevention Strategies

- Do you feel like the government is doing enough to support your community, particularly in the area of crime prevention?

- What are the limitations of what is already happening?

- What would you want to see, particularly around crime prevention and building healthy communities?

- What are the community responsibilities in ensuring that this happens?

Appendix 8a: List of Crime Prevention Approaches

APPROACH	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
Crime Prevention through Social Development (CPSD)	Involves a number of different strategies, including community development, school-based prevention, public education campaigns, and developmental prevention	Early childhood interventions Positive youth development
Situational Prevention	Involves increasing the risks and reducing the rewards of committing specific crimes.	Making crime intolerable in the community. Ensuring that the message is clear about the being involved with crime.
Community Watch	Programs are a type of situational crime prevention aimed at increasing the risks of criminal activity	Neighborhood associations like the Alberta Community Crime Prevention Association Neighborhood surveillance, participating in crime prevention awareness programs, and facilitating communication between residents and the police
Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED	Designing and constructing buildings and public spaces with an eye to preventing crime	Installing motion sensor lighting

Appendix 8b: Crime Prevention Theory and Practice in Australia

White (1996) states that within crime prevention strategies are certain core assumptions and political choices and that "if we are to make sense of existing and potential conflicts within the field, and evaluate the impact of particular approaches as adopted by criminal justice authorities" we must understand these cores assumptions and political choices (p. 2). According to White there are three main approaches to crime prevention the conservative, liberal and, radical. These three models have different theoretical approaches and therefore different practices regarding crime prevention.

Conservative approaches to crime prevention assume that the basic issue is one of crime control and that individual responsibility is key in crime prevention. Therefore, the practical approaches for conservatives are surveillance on streets and community prevention of crime. Communities are considered the eyes and ears of the police and therefore when crime occurs the police should be able to receive reliable information from the community. According to White (1996) the Conservative model has its disadvantages. He argues that the Conservative approach ignores material differences, which play a big role in individual and group behavior. Moreover, the Conservative approach creates and reinforces a climate of fear and suspicion of others and finally, it privileges those who have access to surveillance while putting those who do not at a disadvantage. For ethnic communities under suspicion by government authorities there may be no cooperation whatsoever with police authorities regardless of the crime committed.

Similar to the Conservative approach, the Liberal approach also perceives that crime is a problem that lies within the individual deficits and group disadvantages. In contrast to the Conservative approach the Liberal approach does not focus on crime control. The main focus of the Liberal approach is on "at risk" individuals and groups. This may be related to problems such as drug addiction and other mental health problems. In the case of migrants the focus would be on literacy programs. Strain theory is used to explain individual problems. According to White (1996) the community is seen as an asset that can work together with police officers and social workers to further the minority community and prevent criminal activity. According to White this model also has its disadvantages since it deals only with conventional crime and does not critically question why there is inequality to begin with. Another problem with the Liberal approach is that it tends to deal with local initiatives and therefore White argues it is limited in helping transform the life chances of peoples and communities who need it. White states that within Australia approaches to crime prevention using a Liberal model have focused on developmental types of programs for young people. He states that such approaches openly acknowledge the disadvantage of state and/or non-government intervention in the lives of young people. Instead, Liberal approaches urge institutional reform and better resource allocation.

The final approach theoretical approach described by White (1996) is the Radical approach. The Radical approach is most closely associated with Marxist criminological theory. For the Radical approaches crime and criminality is best understood by examining social inequalities in society. Therefore this theory intersects with feminist criminological theory as well as examining intersections of gender, ethnicity, class, and sexuality. The key concept according to Radical theorists is fundamental social change directed towards "…enhancing the material well-being, social rights and decision-making power of the majority in society" (p. 104).

For Radical theorists and practitioners the key crime in Australian society as in other societies is social inequality and economic marginalization. The goal for Radical theorist and activists is social justice. In order to achieve social justice it is necessary to address why there are social imbalances and inequalities to begin with. Therefore there must be a reallocation of wealth by nationalization and taxation. Addressing issues of crime would include intervening on issues of political and economic importance as well as organizing community members to act on issues of social justice. The Radical approach takes into consideration that many community members do not have the same beliefs and values regarding social justice and therefore they do believe that a shared consciousness on these issues must be forged in a long-term political process. In practice and on a political stage, the Radical approach is against 'law and order' approach as a means of crime control. Instead, their main focus of the problem is capitalism that perpetuates a cycle of crime due to economic inequality. Therefore the state is seen as a core problem in maintaining the status quo and in effect the crime cycle.

Reference

White, R. (1996). *Situating crime prevention: Models, methods, and political perspectives.*

Appendix 9: Newspaper Clips about the Somali-Canadian Community and Crime in Edmonton

9a. Discourses of Criminality, Victimology, and Community Disintegration

What is Wrong with Somalis In Edmonton?
Sun Nov 15, 2009 3:23 pm
"Sometimes, young people struggle and then fail academically," he said. "That's one of the ways they can get attracted to gangs. There's the lure of easy money, a sense of identity. They don't realize that later on, they pay the price. We try to give them alternatives."

Here's a list of the previous victims.
-21-year-old Abdulaziz Osman Isse was found Thursday

- Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, 24, shot and killed outside the River Cree Resort and Casino on Aug. 24, 2008.

- Nasir Mohamed Said, 22, shot to death behind Balwin School on Sept. 16, 2008.

- Abas Akubar, 21, shot and found Oct. 31 in a park near 140 Avenue and 92 Street

- Daniel Asarfo-Adjei, 17, was shot dead in Fort McMurray on Nov. 9

- Abdul Kadir Mohamoud, 23, shot and left in a field in Grand Truck Park on Dec. 2, 2008

- Ahmed Mohammed Abdirahman, 21, was also killed Dec. 2 by a bullet in a parking lot near 148 Avenue and 88A Street

- Mohamad Farah Khalif, 20, was shot to death on April 26, 2009, in Hermitage Park.

Somali men who died violently in Northern Alberta 2006 - 2011

edmontonjournal.comJuly 30, 2011

Police investigate the death of Abdi Ali Mohamud.

2006

Omar Mohamad Abdalla, 19, was shot to death on February 12, 2006, at his apartment building at 10835 115th Street. A cousin said Abdalla had moved to Edmonton from Ottawa to find work five months before he was killed. Abdalla arrived in Canada from Somalia when he was about 10 years old.

2007

Farhan Hassan, 27, and Kasim Mohamed, 28, were gunned down on September 2, 2007, outside the Fulton Place Community Hall during an after-hours party. Hassan was a Calgary resident and arrived in Canada in 1993. Mohamed arrived in 1997. Neither man was believed to have drug or gang ties.

2008

Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, 24, was shot to death on August 30, 2008, outside the River Cree Casino. Ibrahim had an outstanding warrant after failing to appear in an Edmonton court on July 9. He faced a charge of failing to comply with conditions, court records revealed. About 14 months before his killing, he had moved to Edmonton from Toronto where a robbery charge against him had been withdrawn in March 2007 when he accepted the conditions of a peace bond. Adam Michael Brown, 23, and Alexander Edward Colin Reid, 22, were found guilty of second-degree murder and in December 2010 were sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 17 years.

Nasir Mohamed Said, 22, was found shot to death on September 16, 2008, at Balwin School, at 132nd Avenue and 70th Street. Said, a Toronto resident, was not known to Edmonton police, but was wanted on several warrants in Ontario. He had been a short-term resident of Fort McMurray and was wanted by RCMP for outstanding drug-related charges.

Abas Abukar, 21, was found dead on October 31, 2008 in a playground at 140th Avenue and 92nd Street. The former student at Humber College in Toronto had moved to Edmonton in June 2008 to find work, his family said.

Ahmed Mohammed Abdirahman, 21, was found shot to death on December 2, 2008, in a parking lot outside a townhouse complex near 148th Avenue and 89th Street.

Abdul Kadir Mohamoud, 23, was found shot to death on December 2, 2008, in Grand Trunk Park near 109th Street and 130th Avenue. He had moved to Edmonton from Toronto about two years before his killing.

2009

Mohamed Farah Khalif, 20, was found shot to death on April 26, 2009, on the north side of Hermitage Park in the east end. Khalif, who was born in Somalia, moved to Canada in 2003 after spending more than 10 years in refugee camps and settled one year later in Hamilton, Ont. with his mother and three brothers. A friend said he moved to Edmonton two years before his death to find work.

Abdulaziz Osman Isse, 21, was found shot to death on November 12, 2009, behind the Beth Israel Synagogue on Wolf Willow Road. Isse was from Toronto and was known to Fort McMurray RCMP. It wasn't clear how long Isse had been in Edmonton before his killing.

Robleh Ali Mohamed, 23, was found on November 29, 2009, shot in the head in the driver's seat of a car behind the African Safari restaurant near 106th Avenue and 105th Street. Mohamed grew up in Ottawa with three older sisters and his parents. His family said he moved to Calgary for work when he was 19, then moved to Edmonton about a year before his killing. He was known to Edmonton police.

2010

Saed Adad, 22, and Idiris Abess, 23, were found dead in a Fort McMurray apartment on February 17, 2010. Their cause of death was never released. The men were cousins, originally from Toronto, and both were known to police. Adad had previous convictions for firearms offences.

Abdinasir Abdulkadir Dirie, 19, was found dead in a Fort McMurray apartment on April 21, 2010. He had charged in a drug bust in January 2010 for possession of cocaine for the purpose of trafficking. Originally from Toronto, Dirie had taken a year off after graduating high school to find work in Alberta, his family said.

2011

Mohamed Mohamoud Jama, 23, was shot and killed on January 1, 2011, at the Papyrus Restaurant and Lounge at 107th Avenue and 112th Street. Jama had family in Edmonton and he and his wife were expecting a child. He had lived in the city for many years, community leaders said. He was known to police.

Yusuf Abdirahim, 20, was found unconscious, suffering from a head injury, after an altercation near 149th Avenue and 70th Street on May 19, 2011. He died in hospital two days later. He immigrated to Canada from Somalia with his family in 1999. They lived in Edmonton briefly before resettling in Etobicoke. His mother said Abdirahim came back to Edmonton to find work. In June, city police said they would not press charges against another male involved in the fight because Abdirahim was the aggressor.

Abdi Ali Mohamud, 43, was shot to death on Friday, June 3, 2011 in an alley near 86th Street and 106 A Avenue. Mohamud was married with a two-year-old daughter. He was not known to police, who said he was killed in a case of mistaken identity.

Ahmed Ismail-Sheikh, 25, was found on July 15, 2011, suffering from injuries he sustained in a fight near 112th Avenue and 124th Street, and later died in hospital. Originally from Toronto, Ismail-Sheikh had lived in Edmonton for about two years before his killing. Five days after Ismail-Sheikh's death, Edmonton police announced they had charged another Somali man, 22-year-old Arab Mursal Sugule, with second-degree murder in connection with the killing.

– compiled by Mariam Ibrahim, Journal Staff Writer

Edmonton police say Somali gangs work a circuit across Canada

By Sheila Pratt, edmontonjournal.com July 30, 2011

Tarik Accord with the new posters that the community will post in hopes tipsters will come forward to aid he Alberta Somali Community Center in preventing crime, empowering at risk youth to make better life choices and assisting police with the outstanding 13 Edmonton Somali homicide cases.
Photograph by: Shaughn Butts, edmontonjournal.com

EDMONTON - Somali drug gangs appear to be highly mobile and loosely organized without the hierarchy of traditional criminal gangs, says Staff Sgt. Jim Peebles of Edmonton city police.

These gang members work a circuit — Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary to Fort McMurray and Ottawa, Peebles said in a recent interview, moving cocaine and guns around the country.

"The group is in Edmonton one day, then they turn up in Ft. McMurray and next week we see them in Toronto or Ottawa," he said.

Police forces across the country, especially in Ontario and Alberta, worked closely together in the last couple of years to identity core gang members, uncover their movements and follow the shifting leadership, said Peebles, who works with the Alberta Law Enforcement Team, a special unit of RCMP and municipal police forces set up in 2006 to combat drug gangs and organized crime.

Police here believe gang guns are imported from Minneapolis and Columbus, Ohio.

Unlike most criminal organizations, Somali gangs also don't have strict territories they protect. The activity is "all commodity based," he said. The fight is over selling more drugs or conflicts between new operators and established groups. Also, unlike street gangs that identify publicly with gang colours and membership rules, Somali gangs keep a low profile. Membership is not

about establishing group identity but rather about getting fast cash, he said. “This is all driven by money.”

“There will be little pocket groups within the criminal organization fighting each other for a bigger piece of the pie,” he said.

Police estimate they are dealing with about 2,000 people across the country and more than 100 “strong targets” with criminal backgrounds in Edmonton and Ft. McMurray, says Peebles. The exact number is hard to determine, given the leadership shifts and the gangs are very transient, he added.

In traditional criminal gangs, the bosses take a long time to work their way to the top and maintain a strict hierarchy to safeguard their positions. So when you take out the leadership, the gang is damaged.

That’s not the case with east African gangs, especially Somali gangs.

The key to dealing with this these gangs is the close co-operation between police in all cities to track the movements of the key players, Peebles said.

“So you keep track of the known criminals in each city. When you get one in a car, the people with him are the new recruits,” said Peebles.

Three of the 18 murders of Somali men in Edmonton and northern Alberta over the past five years have been resolved and Peebles said police are making some headway in getting help from the community.

By 2010, the Edmonton Police Commission had offered $40,000 in rewards for information leading to arrests in 11 unsolved homicides tied to the Somali community.

“They are a very proud community and don’t want to bring a sense of trouble to the community.”

Andy Knight, a University of Alberta professor who works with refugee groups, says he has some sympathy for the difficulties police face in getting contacts in the community.

In war-ravaged Somalia, people are often reluctant to talk to anyone in a uniform and that fear came with the community to Canada.

“They don’t always see police as protectors, that’s part of the baggage they carry around,” says Knight. There is not often a good understanding of the Canadian justice system, making it more difficult to get co-operation, he added.

The U.S. city of Minneapolis experienced a sudden increase in the Somali population similar to Edmonton’s early in the decade and a similar spate of gun violence, said Officer Jeanine Brudunell, the Minneapolis police department’s liaison officer for East Africa communities.

But things improved after the police put a lot of effort into community outreach, says Brudunell, who has monthly meetings with the community.

Police also at first had difficulty making arrests after crimes, she said. In one case, a star witness was murdered before the trial. But that prompted a change.

“After that, we’ve had some good resolution of cases.”

As for guns, “it’s possible” guns move across the border to Canada from Minneapolis. Three guns stores were recently robbed by Somalis and only a few of the guns have turned up.

The Somali community is mobile, moving to where there are jobs, good public assistance, housing and an openness to immigrants, she said. A group is now moving to the smaller community of Lewiston, Ohio, for instance, she said.

In the last few years, Edmonton city police have had several meetings with Somali community leaders, including a 2008 meeting attended by more than 100 people in the community.

Peebles says sees some parallels between Somali gangs and the Vietnamese gangs that operated in Edmonton in the 1990s. He worked in the drug squad on 107 Avenue in the 1990s when those gangs were operating.
"For the Vietnamese, it just took time and they've moved on," he said. Perhaps that will be the same for the Somalis, he added.
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Edmonton: Killings of young Somali men a multifaceted story

January 30, 2011 CIReport.ca No comments

Killings of young Somali men a complex story
By ANDREW HANON, Edmonton Sun
Last Updated: January 29, 2011 7:45pm
Ahmed Abdullahi stands in the hall of Queen Elizabeth High School in Edmonton on January 25, 2011. Abdullahi helps immigrant youth in the area. (PERRY MAH/EDMONTON SUN)
When 23-year-old Mohammed Jama was shot to death in front of horrified onlookers at a restaurant on New Year's Eve, he became the 11th young man from Edmonton's Somali community to die in a hail of gunfire in less than 30 months.
Cops say that most of the victims had some kind of tie to the drug trade. Many moved here from Toronto within the last few years.
The body count has horrified the city and sent ripples of fear, dread and anger through the city's rapidly-growing Somali community. Its 14,000 members make up the largest Somali-Canadian community outside of southern Ontario and the largest African community in Edmonton.
A youth worker who helps immigrant teens fears more young Somalis will end up in body bags if more isn't done to keep some young men from "falling through the cracks."
"First off," says Ahmed Abdullahi, who is also Somali, "I want to stress that the vast majority of Somali kids do well. They get good marks in school and they'll go on to university or a career and contribute to society."
But there is small group of kids, he says, who feel "disconnected with their community but haven't connected with mainstream society."
Abduallahi says typically, these boys grow up without a father. Divorce is rare in the Somali community, but whenever it happens, the father vanishes to another city, remarries and starts a new family. The ex-wife and children never hear from him again.
The mother, often with little education and poor English, becomes overwhelmed.
"You can see it coming," says Abdullahi. "These teens kids start getting disillusioned. Their school attendance drops dramatically, their marks fall. They're very defiant and angry."
They become easy pickings for drug dealers looking for foot soldiers.
"Suddenly they're bringing money home. Their mother is just happy to see some more income and she believes him when he says he's got a job," he says. "And they have a group to identify with, a place to belong."

One such case was Abdinasir Dirie, a 19-year-old who came West looking for work to make some money so he could study computer science at the University of Toronto.
According to his family, he quit his job in an Edmonton restaurant in August, 2010, and went north looking for a better paying oilsands work. His family lost all contact, but by January he was arrested on drug trafficking charges.
Four months later he contacted his family in Toronto to say he wanted to come home.
The following day Dirie's body was found in a Fort McMurray apartment. He'd been shot.
So far, the story could apply to any immigrant group to Canada.
But it's even more complex for struggling new Somali families, Abdullahi says, because to often the parents bring their homeland's clan rivalries with them.
"People from one group have nothing to do with another," he says.
Abdullahi says there are at least five different Somali cultural associations in the city and they're all rivals.
"Some are better than others at being inclusive, but if there's funding for any special programming, they all compete for it instead of working together," he said.
He added that the marginalized kids refuse to have anything to do with these community groups, which are run by traditional men with a traditional mindset.
"These men need to move over and start let the younger, educated adults start having a say," he said. "Only then will these rivalries be put aside and we can do a better job of helping these kids."
Follow me on Twitter:
Twitter.com/andrewhanon
*Homicide victims from Edmonton's Somali community
Aug. 24, 2008: Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, 24, gunned down outside the River Cree Resort and Casino on the city's western edge. Charges laid.
Sept. 1, 2008: Farhan Hassan, 27, of Calgary is gunned down outside a party at Fulton Place community hall on Fulton Road and 62 Street.
Sept. 1, 2008: Kassim Mohamed, 31, of Edmonton is also shot to death outside the same party.
Sept. 16, 2008: Nasir Mohamed Said, 22, shot to death behind Balwin School, 7055 132 Avenue.
Oct. 31, 2008: Abas Akubar, 20, found in park near 140 Avenue and 92 Street. He had been shot to death.
Dec. 2, 2008: Abdul Kadir Mohammoud, 23, shot dead and left in a field in Grand Trunk Park near 132 Avenue and 109 Street.
Dec. 2, 2008: Ahmed Mohammed Abdirahman, 21, shot to death in a parking lot near 148 Avenue and 88A Avenue.
April 26, 2009: Mohamad Farah Khalif, 20, shot to death in Hermitage Park. Two men charged.
Nov. 12, 2009: Adulaziz Osman Isse was found behind a dumpster at Beth Israel Synagogue, 131 Wolf Willow Rd. He had been shot.
April 21, 2010: 19-year-old Abdinasir Abdulkadir Dirie, who had moved from Edmonton to Fort McMurray, was found shot to death in an apartment in the northern city.
Jan. 2, 2011: Mohammed Jama, 23, is gunned down in front of dozens of New Year's Eve revelers in the Papyrus Restaurant and Lounge, 11124 107 Avenue.

Edmonton Somali community searches for answers after wave of deaths

Bruce Edwards/Postmedia News
The funeral for Edmonton homicide victim Abdi Ali Mohamud at the Al-Rashid mosque in Edmonton, Alberta

Abdi Ali Mohamud, a 43-year-old father, was shot and killed in an alley on Friday. Two weeks earlier, Yusuf Abdirahim, 20, was beaten to death. They are two of three Somali men killed this year in Edmonton, 14 in the city in three years, with arrests made in only one. It's not just Edmonton: Across Alberta, the torrent of violence has claimed 34 young Somali-Canadian men since 2006.

"The frequency of these killings is crazy. It is very, very scary," said Ahmed Hussen, national president of the Canadian Somali Congress, after members of Alberta's Somali community carried yet another casket draped in a green-and-gold embroidered prayer rug from Edmonton's Al-Rashid Mosque.

Various Somali groups are organizing two town hall meetings in Edmonton for June 26 and 28 in a search for answers.

"As a Somali community we have to do something," Sheikh Osman Barre, who has prepared many of the city's dead for burial, told the CBC this week. "We have to wake up. We can't complain [to] someone else all the time. We have to do something."

The violence started in earnest in 2005 when many young men, born in Ontario to women who fled war-torn Somalia, dropped out of school to move west with dreams of lucrative jobs in the oil patch. When the jobs didn't materialize or they were laid off during the recession, they were drawn to the money promised in the drug trade.

“The majority of them were good kids from good families who, overnight, fell into a swift current they couldn’t escape,” said Abdirahman Duale, executive director of Somali-Canadian Cultural Society of Edmonton.

With so few arrests in the slayings, knowing precisely who is doing the killing is difficult. Some are falling to other Somalis. Some to established drug players who do not appreciate competition; others are killed in the related violence that erupts when hot-headed youths have access to guns, community members said.

The latest victim seems to be the inevitable collateral victim. Police say he had no known criminal involvement. On Thursday, Edmonton Police Detective Dan Jones said Mr. Mohamud’s murder was a case of mistaken identity, describing the attack as “organized” and “thought out.”

The carnage sparks both debate and distress as the community looks for answers.

“They are wannabe gangsters who want to live the glorified glamour of gang life. Sometimes they pay with their lives,” said Mr. Hussen. “The influence of guns and gangs on these kids is not from Somalia, it’s from the United States in gang movies and in rap videos.”

As with any situation such as this — in any city, with any community — the roots of the trouble are deep.

Community activists point to the disengagement between immigrant parents and their Westernized children, who sometimes speak different languages and maintain divergent cultural values and interests. The war in Somalia, which brought many to Canada as refugees, means higher rates of single-parent homes.

The demographics of Somali-Canadians shows a community that is exceptionally young, with 80% being under the age of 30. The average household has seven children and the median household income falls well below average. The Somali community is about 13,000 strong in Edmonton.

When the young men move to Alberta, they are usually without supervision.

“They were floating around Alberta but their parents are still in Ontario,” said Mr. Hussen. “The parents don’t know what their boys are up to. They only find out when they are called and told to come to Edmonton to collect their son’s body. When you speak to these parents, they say ‘I thought my son was working at Tim Hortons’ or ‘He told me he was a bus driver.’”

Rod Knecht, Edmonton’s new chief of police, said his force is reaching out to the Somali community.

“As a police service, we have to be aware of the changing community and respond to that,” he said. “I think the Edmonton Police Service has to reflect the diversity of the community, both in our makeup and our response to the needs.”

Mahamad Accord, president of the Alberta Somali Community Centre, said the young men are neither integrated into the Somali community or mainstream society, leaving them particularly disenfranchised. He wants to see additional resources and efforts by police to solve past crimes to help prevent further killings.

“The people who are dying are the young ones and they have no connection or involvement in our community. The only contact police have with them is when they put them in jail,” he said.

National Post
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Posted in:Canada, PostedTags:Abdi Ali Mohamud, Alberta, Alberta Somali Community Centre, Edmonton, Edmonton Police Service, Edmonton Somali Community, Mahamad Accord, Rod Knecht, Somali, Somali Community, Somalia, Yusuf Abdirahi

JEFF CUMMINGS, EDMONTON SUN

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A Grant MacEwan University criminologist says the city's Somalian groups needs to step-up in helping police solve a rash of homicides that involved young men from the community.

Criminologist Bill Pitt said an apology from acting Police Chief Dave Korol to Edmonton's Somalian community on Friday wasn't warranted since many witnesses haven't fully cooperated with homicide detectives.

That includes the New Year's Day slaying of Mohamud Jama, 23, at the Papyrus Lounge near 111 Street and 107 Avenue.

"This was unnecessary," said Pitt.

"The apology smacks of political pandering. If anything, the Somalian community should apologize to the City of Edmonton for its lack of cooperation in all of these murders."

Korol gave to city Somali-Canadian cultural organizations a letter expressing regrets over the interpretation of public remarks made by veteran homicide Det. Bill Clark following Jama's death.

A visibly frustrated Clark told reporters that he was fed up over the lack of cooperation from key witnesses at the bar the night Jama was slain, including a 26-year-old-man who was also shot, but survived.

It's believed Jama was gunned down in front of dozens of people celebrating the New Year.

Korol said the apology is on behalf of the Edmonton Police Service, not on behalf of Clark who "will be focusing his efforts on solving this homicide."

"It was not the role of the police to go cap in hand on bent knee and apologize to this community," said Pitt.

"It's up to that community to step up. That community needs to stop projecting on to the police that it's their fault on what's going on in their community."

During a news conference on Friday, Korol unveiled a poster highlighting 12 slayings of the Somali-Canadians in Edmonton since 2006 -- it's message in bold reads "somebody out there knows."

The posters will be distributed throughout various African organizations in city.

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Monday, July 18, 2011

Another Somali-Canadian killed in Edmonton: Somali-Canadian ID'd as latest homicide victim

Edmonton's latest homicide victim was a member of the Somali-Canadian community, the president of the Canadian Somali Congress has confirmed.

Ahmed Ismail-Sheikh, 25, was found unconscious outside an apartment building northwest of downtown, near 112th Avenue and 124th Street, Friday morning. He died in hospital due to injuries police believe were sustained in a fight.

In a written statement released Sunday, police confirmed the death has been ruled a homicide. Canadian Somali Congress President Ahmed Hussen, who knows Ismail-Sheikh's father, said the young man studied at a Toronto area university for at least three years before moving to Edmonton for work.

"Any death within our community is problematic but the frequency and absolute numbers per capita against all the other numbers in Edmonton is quite shocking," he said.

Hussen said the growing death toll is of great concern Somali community. "There doesn't seem to be an established pattern to the killing of Somali Canadians in Edmonton," he said.

"So we don't have enough information to talk about patterns but we are concerned about absolute numbers. It's a very tragic figure and the fact that it is still going on is of great concern to the community." Hussen recognized the work of the Edmonton Police Service in trying to stop the violence, but said the city "needs to show more leadership."

"When sort of dealing with the subject, we become the subject," he said. "So instead of micro-managing the Canadian Somali Organization they should treat us as Canadians who are part and parcel of Edmonton and integral to the future and safety of that city."

Investigators are looking to speak with anyone who saw or heard anything unusual in the area between 9 p.m. MT Thursday and 2 a.m. Friday.

Source: CBC News

A somali guy is killed in a bar infront of many somalis on new years's eve and no wittnesses are willing to come forward to help the police catch the killer(s).

Detective Bill Clark was absolutely right to tell news media on Jan 2 police were getting “absolutely no co-operation” from witnesses.“You can’t tell me 50 people in the bar hear guns being fired inside, they all don’t look?” Clark asked. Also, he is correct in stating that the somali community knows all the somali criminals within their own communities and are silent to inform the police of their criminal activities, why will the police dept in Edmonton issue an apology to somalis, when infact somalis are refusing to cooperate with the cops in solving the deaths of so many young somalis? why is this silence from somalis to solve the deaths of young somalis in canada?

Why? it is embedded within the anarchical tribal somali culture laced with what somalis preach in sermons. let us deal here with facts.

1) The somali tribal culture is structured in such a way that responbility of the collective outweighs or supercedes in a negative way than the responsibility of the individual. For example, if an individual commits a serious crime such as murder or rape, then, it becomes the family's duty to compensate the victims family with 100 camels or any other means. In the majority of rape cases, the victim's family demand the rapist to marry his victim since she is no longer a "virgin" and may carry his child as a result of rape. Imagine being forced to marry such a person. What happens when these cultural alternatives are not available in canada or in the west? the families of the criminals and the community at large resorts to smuggling the perpetrators out of the country.

2) Also, there is this strong code of silence (like the mafiosi clans)among somalis when it comes to cooperating with the cops in solving crimes. This stems from the fact that many imaams lecture during sermons in the mosques that all muslims are brothers and sisters and they should avoid by means necessary snitching their fellow muslim to the "infidels" non-believers. Reporting a muslim committing a crime is seen as snitching a muslim.

3) The tribal loyalty is worshipped to the extent that families (tribe) will smuggle their sons out of the country, if he is accused or charged with heinous crimes such as rape or murder even if committed against other (tribes) somalis and muslims. If the victim is a non muslim, it will become a role and duty for the whole community to smuggle him out and send him back to somalia.

It is sad to say, the murder rates among young somalis in Canada is higher than any other westren country that somalis reside? Most of these young people are known to police and are involved in drug trade. It is time for somalis to learn personal responsibility and assisst law enforcement agencies in solving these crimes. How would the somalis feel if their daughters were raped and their children killed by non-muslims and (non-somalis-muslims) wittnesses refuse to come forward to assist the cops?

I think there was need for an apology from Edmonton police and Detective Bill Clark was absolutely right. This is only the tip of the iceberg and the apology is political correctness gone haywire.

Twenty Somali “kids” killed in Edmonton, Canada in recent years

Posted by acorcoran on June 15, 2011

We’ve written about this “problem” in Canada previously—-drugs and gang violence in western Canada (Edmonton is the capital of Alberta, **here**).

From the ***Edmonton Journal***:

Osman Barre has buried 20 young Somali men in Edmonton in the past four years.

The Somali sheikh is responsible for the Islamic ritual of washing and preparing the bodies of his community’s dead.

[....]

Too many times, the bodies before him have been victims of homicide, all of them men.

[....]

Young Somali men have been coming to oilrich Alberta from southern Ontario over the past decade, some to find lucrative jobs, others tempted by the opportunity to make fast cash selling drugs.

[....]

Across the province, community leaders say as many as 32 men have been killed. Not all were involved in drugs or gangs, but many were known to police when they died.

[....]

Unofficial estimates peg the Somali population across Canada at 150,000 to 200,000.

Mohamed Abdi, communications co-ordinator for the Somali Canadian Cultural Society of Edmonton, estimated the city’s population numbers between 10,000 and 15,000.

[....]

The recent string of killings has created a poor image of Somalis in the city, he said, when the vast majority are law-abiding and work hard to build lives for themselves and their families.

They just need stuff—programs($), community centers($), activities($) for the kids, that’s all!

Programs for Somali children and teens aim to create confidence and cultural pride

By Mariam Ibrahim and Sheila Pratt, edmontonjournal.com July 30, 2011

Aurelia Uarsama, left, director with the Global Enrichment Foundation stands next to Sahra Kaahiye as they speak during a meeting with a group of young Somali girls who are taking part in a leadership and youth empowerment workshop at the Somali-Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization.

Photograph by: Walter Tychnowicz, edmontonjournal.com

EDMONTON - Amal Issa and Sahra Kaahiye grew up in Edmonton during a time when there were only a few hundred Somali families in the city and everyone knew everyone else.

"We were raised here and raised in this community and it did everything for us," said 21-year-old Kaahiye, a recent graduate of the respiratory therapy program at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology.

"It was very tight-knit," said Issa, 22, a recent University of Alberta graduate and youth support worker.

Now Kaahiye and Issa help run an empowerment workshop for Somali teenage girls in the city.

“As we grew up, we took over the leadership roles,” Kaahiye said. “Now we want to do something for the community.”

Earlier this summer, Issa, Kaahiye and another woman, Aurelia Uarsama, got together to begin brainstorming about initiatives they could launch for Somali youth in Edmonton.

The women realized there was a void that needed to be filled for young girls in Edmonton.

“The girls started talking about their experiences in high school, and they said they had no leaders and mentorship programs to enrich their lives,” Uarsama, 40, explained. “It just came up so naturally. We never thought that we would go so far with it. It was really a success.”

Uarsama, Kaahiye and Issa, developed the workshop in June, putting in hours of unpaid, unfunded efforts to get the project off the ground. By July they had identified about a dozen girls between the ages of 12 and 16 for the one-month workshop that met twice a week. The acronym for their initiative, Individual Distinctive Youth Leadership Program, IDYL, carries another meaning in Somali — complete, or whole.

“The junior-high aged girls, it’s a really critical time in their development. It’s when they form their identity and their values. It’s a way of starting really early and not only dealing with the effects of the choices they make, but trying to influence them to make positive choices from the very beginning,” Issa said.

Over the month, the women watched the girls come out of their shells. Most of the girls hadn’t met one another before the program. A first workshop was filled with icebreaker activities designed to get the girls to open up. By the end of the month, the barriers were down, many girls forging new friendships and becoming more vocal.

The community can be isolated and marginalized, Uarsama said, which is why reaching out to young people is so crucial. Often, young Somalis only interact with other Somalis, and much of the programming available isn’t specifically for girls.

“What we wanted to do with this program is really tell them, ‘Hey, you’re part of this social fabric. You’re 100-per-cent Canadian. You need to be aware of your civil role and the civic entitlement that you have,’ ” said Uarsama, a U of A Masters student whose research focuses on what it means to be a Somali woman in higher education.

“We talk about being Canadian because a lot of the community can be marginalized.”

During one Thursday night session, they were tasked with learning about their names — what it means and who they were named for.

“My name is Intisar and it means successful,” said one girl, clad in a long flowing head scarf. Her mother told her she was named for her grandmother, she said.

Uarsama showed the girls photographs of Somali women going back more than 100 years. The intention was to relay to the girls the important role women play in Somali society.

“We wanted to show them that they come from a strong African, Somali background. And with that, they need to feel privileged about having immigrated here,” she said. “We want them to fulfil their role in education and make something for themselves, to be able to help their society here and the country back home.”

Throughout the seven workshops the girls also learned life skills like budget balancing and goal setting. They talked about stereotypes and empathy, using skits to mirror real-life situations they might face over the next few years.

“We wanted them to know they wouldn’t have to put themselves in one role and accept it,” Kaahiye said. “We didn’t want them to put themselves in a box.”

They’re hoping funding will be renewed.

Their workshop is just one of several programs in the city designed for at-risk or immigrant youth. Some are grassroots. Others are run by Edmonton Public Schools, the City of Edmonton and social assistance agencies such as the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers.

At Balwin School, for instance, in the city's northeast, a summer camp gives youth, many of them Somali, a safe place during summer break. The camp, with a sports program and academic help, is run by Edmonton Public Schools with the support of a handful of city agencies.

"A large number of kids who attend are from ethno-cultural communities in the area and there are lots of Somalis living in the neighbourhood," said Ann Nicolai, community co-ordinator for the Schools as Hubs program.

"Many of the families here are working pretty hard for their needs. If you're working all the time you may not have the resources to enrol your children in another program."

About 80 kids from Kindergarten to Grade 9 arrive at Balwin daily. On a late July afternoon, kids from Kindergarten to Grade 3 screeched while playing games in the school gym while other, older students bedazzled clothing using feathers and beads. The smell of fresh Bannock wafted from the school's kitchen and a group of children played soccer outside.

The summer camp is an extension of an after-school program at Balwin and Boyle McCauley schools also implemented by Edmonton public school board.

After meeting with Somali parents worried about their children's education, the board started a five day a week after-school program, says spokesperson Karen Bardy. The program combines homework help, recreation and language training. Also, "cultural coaches" — two young Somali-speaking men — are brought into the schools as mentors.

Many students have had their education interrupted at some point in their lives and need extra help.

"If you've been living in a refugee camp ... getting ongoing education can be a real challenge for families," said Nicolai

The idea, she explained, is for the school to become a natural destination, a place students will look forward to attending daily. "If you have a really good program where kids are being engaged, kids like to come to school," she said.

Having Somali role models and mentors is crucial, says Uarsama.

"We tried to use a very holistic approach, because they need Somali people telling them they are important," Uarsama said.

"It's very important to know where you come from. They've realized they come from a strong society and they've become more confident," she said. "It's like they found what they are looking for."

The City of Edmonton is also about to launch a new program to target the younger set, kids 12 to 18, says Harry Oswin, who works in community building in the city's community services department.

The program will focus on four fronts, teaching kids life skills and getting kids involved in sports and recreation facilities. That also means getting more sports aimed at girls, he said. The program will include leadership training and career development, including public speaking, interview skills.

A fourth aspect will involve setting up a " community corps" to get Somali and other immigrant kids involved in volunteer projects, from helping at the food bank to Habitat for Humanity, said Oswin.

"Often children of immigrants don't know the opportunities out there," he said.

Oswin says he's impressed with the vibrancy of the Somali community and it's important to remember that the vast majority are not touched by crime, he says.
"I see a lot of young people who want to make a difference, who want to get along," said Oswin.
Mana Ali, a community spokesperson, says the community is very grateful for the city's support for these initiatives that will help vulnerable youth.
"We are very grateful to Mayor Stephen Mandel who has taken so much interest," she added.
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The King of Kush reigns in Edmonton's vibrant 'Little Mogadishu'

Somali Community

Minister Faust / ministerfaust@vueweekly.com
| Commenting on this story is closed.
He's five-foot-middling, mild mannered, a restaurateur, a social-entrepreneur, a community activist and a decades-long crusader for international development. His name is Mohammed Maie. To me, he's the King of Kush.

Back in 1994, I began observing with awe the transformation of 107th Avenue into the city's Ethiopian, Eritrean, Sudanese and Somali neighbourhood. Riffing on Biblical geo-names, I baptised the area "Kush," plastering it all over the screenplay I was writing which later became my first published novel, The Coyote Kings of the Space-Age Bachelor Pad. Now it's Greater Kush, jumping north and then winding like the Nile from 112th Avenue up 95th Street and down 118th. The leading community in this league of nations is, without doubt, the Somali-Canadians. It's a long, long way from the inverted David-and-Goliath lies of Blackhawk Down. And it's as unassuming and beautiful as the girl next door.
According to Maie, there are more than 10 000 Somali-Canadians here already, although with typical family kid-counts at around seven, the bulk of the Somali community hasn't yet been glimpsed by average E-Towners. As those children enter school and the work force over the next decade and a half, E-Town will seem like a different place, and the heart of Kush just might become known as Little Mogadishu.
Maie spent most of his 20 years in Canada in Ontario, and ran for city council in 2007; he's currently standing as a Green candidate provincially. In 1988, he co-founded a group called African Experience along with African-Canadian leaders in Ontario dealing with immigration, poverty, and homelessness. He points out that the hopeful tale of immigration is different from the harrowing story of escaping national collapse. "We are the refugees," he says.
Maie is particularly proud of how Somalis have improved 118th Avenue, an area whose previous rep was synonymous with misery. "If you came to the area at seven o'clock, it was almost like a ghost-house," he says. "Now you can see it's vibrant until 11 o'clock, sometimes 12 o'clock. You can walk ... it's becoming safe. So we are helping the safety of the neighbourhood. We are trying to bring a new menu, both culturally as well as food. We are making contributions, but not headlines as other groups such as Chinese Canadians or Italian Canadians are."

In the hyper-yellow walls of 118th Avenue's Camel Boys Café, Maie's Somali-Canadian customers sip cups of sweet milk-brewed tea while sharing conversation and chow. The co-ed crowd munches on sambusas—the Somali cousin to or possibly ancestor of the samosa. The co-ed part is noteworthy because, in my years of eating at Somali restaurants, only Maie's current café and his (being relocated) restaurant, Sharifa's Sambusa House, have teamed with women. Not in the sense of a singles' bar; hijabs and pick-up lines, in my experience, are distant cousins who don't even call on birthdays.

From what I can tell, it's Maie's commitment to family and community that helps his countrymen and countrywomen move beyond the gender separation I've seen in other Somali joints, where (apparently) single men gather to feast on succulent roasted goat meat and sabayat (chapatti) while watching CNN or Al-Jazeera ("politics is the passion of the people," says Maie, in answer to why music is so rare at any Somali dining spot). Instead at Camel Boys, men and women gather breezily, sharing laughter and food while Maie tells me of his and his community's epic of survival and success.

While Canadians over 30 probably remember Somalia more for a Canadian military murder scandal there and for Ridley Scott's Pentagon-approved "true story," Somalis would prefer people knew the real history of their ancient nation. The capital city Moghadishu has a lineage echoing back over 2000 years. Fourteenth-century historian Ibn Battuta wrote of the country's marvels just before Somalia's trade with China began. When Portugese and Omanis invaded, they obliterated many of the country's great trading cities. Somalia has produced award-winning writers such as Nurrudin Farah, and it's no surprise; scholar Ali Mazrui noted in his landmark series The Africans: A Triple Heritage that Somalis love poetry so much that candidates for public office often addressed their constituents in verse. From personal experience, I've never know anyone so capable and so willing to recite poetry as a friend of mine, a daughter of Somalia's long-ago ambassador to Libya.

According to Maie, Somali culture is also highly entrepreneurial. In Edmonton, the nascent Somali community has already birthed at least six restaurants; then there are boutiques, corner stores, money exchanges, butcher shops, barber shops, CD shops, a newspaper, and, of course, the transport industry, i.e., taxis, not to mention grocers, computer techs, accountants and artists. Elsewhere Somalis have exercised their money-skills across Kenya and Tanzania, and own shopping malls in Toronto, Columbus, Ohio, and Minneapolis, the hub of North American Somaliland. Maie says it's the nomadic aspects of Somali culture that produce risk-comfortable adventurers who are always flexible enough to move to wherever the literal or metaphorical water flows sweetest. On a recent trip to Grand Prairie, Maie's coterie of Rwandese and Senegalese youth looked for jobs in the land of opportunity; it was the Somali youth who noticed there was no Somali restaurant and vowed to open one.

Despite their capitalistic strengths, Edmonton's Somalis still face poverty; according to Maie, $15 000 to $20 000 annually is typical for typically large Somali families, and $40 000 would be considered rich. Then there are the youth who see their often well-educated parents behind taxi wheels, mops or stoves, like Chef Ghal at Xamareey Restaurant who was a commercial pilot (and who's found that a Muslim-sounding name is a great interview-blocker at Canada's airlines); teens of such parents often wonder why their parents languish, despite Canada's multicultural claims, and turn away from education and legal employment in despair.

Still, Maie is optimistic. "Looking back from the last 20 years," he says, "I can see there is a growing acceptance [of Somali-Canadians], because we never threw away our values. We're

telling everyone, this is who we are; please accept us. Especially in Canada where everyone is trying to showcase their culture, so it's good for us to display our culture, rather than to melt within the system." V

Somalis flee Edmonton over killings

Murders of young men result in families moving back to Toronto area

By Mariam Ibrahim, edmontonjournal.comJuly 19, 2011

The funeral for Edmonton homicide victim Abdi Ali Mohaud at the Al-Rashid mosque in Edmonton on June 7, 2011.

Photograph by: Bruce Edwards, Bruce Edwards

EDMONTON — Tired of losing a growing number of young men to homicide, some families in Edmonton's Somali community have moved back to the Toronto area.

For the fourth time this year, Edmonton's Somali-Canadian community Monday buried another victim of homicide. Ahmed Ismail-Sheikh, 25, died after an altercation early Friday in the Inglewood neighbourhood.

Ismail-Sheikh moved to Edmonton two years ago to find work. He had a brother and cousin living here. His mother and father flew to Edmonton from Toronto over the weekend for their son's funeral.

"Every month we're back here for a funeral," said Mohamed Abdirahman, who didn't know Ismail-Sheikh, but, like many others, attended the funeral because the victim was a member of the city's Somali-Canadian community. "It's like a killing field. It's a lot of funerals."

Abdirahman said many families in the community have begun to move to the Toronto area because they are worried for the safety of their teenage children living here.

"Every month there are people going back to Toronto. People came here with their kids to find a better life and this happens. People ask themselves, 'What if the next time it's my kids?' Something has to be done. Someone out there knows something."

Mourners packed the Al Rashid Mosque on the city's north side Monday afternoon for Ismail-Sheikh's funeral.

Local Somali-Canadian community and spiritual leaders helped with Ismail-Sheikh's funeral arrangements, as they do when any member of the community dies.

"The community always stands by their members and help their families with funeral arrangements," said Mohamed Abdi, program co-ordinator for the Somali-Canadian Cultural Society of Edmonton.

The latest killing has the community, which numbers between 10,000 and 15,000, on edge, he added.

"It's getting scarier now. There's too much trouble in town now. Everyone has to turn up to work on minimizing or eradicating these crimes. We're all worried. It's not only the Somali community."

Ahmed Hussen, national president of the Canadian Somali Congress, said the perception among Somali families in the Toronto area is that Alberta isn't a safe place for young men.

"I've been with mothers in different situations and they've been making phone calls and saying, 'Maybe you should come back to Toronto.'

The perception is only limited to young males. No one is worried about the older guys or the young women," Hussen said from Toronto.

"They're fixated on the young men. The perception has set in for the community that Alberta is not safe for young Canadian-Somali males. Each killing just reinforces that. This year hasn't been a good year."

The homicide rate of Somali-Canadians in Toronto, where the community population is about 80,000, is much lower than in Edmonton, Hussen said.

"It tends to be young men who left their parents in Ontario, telling them, 'I'm going to get a job in booming Alberta.' So you have young men with no parental supervision and the community isn't really connected to them," he said.

"In Toronto ... the only reason people are connected is because their families are there. So it's harder for the person to get into a situation where they're untethered from their family."

Edmonton's Police Chief Rod Knecht and Mayor Stephen Mandel met recently to discuss Edmonton's high homicide rate for the year and spent some time focusing on the Somali community.

"We talked about ways in which we might try to get in front of the problem, but the issue was there doesn't seem to be any trends. But maybe in the Somali community there might be more trends than others," Mandel said Monday.

He said to address the disproportionately high number of homicides within the Somali community, police need to clearly define the specific issues that community faces.

"The reality is we're always concerned when any community is represented in four homicides and want to find out what's going on in that community that is creating a more violent atmosphere," he said. He had asked police for background information on the three previous homicides.

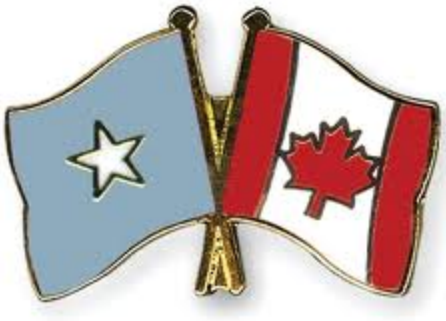
The mayor hinted at forthcoming initiatives, but didn't elaborate.

“We think we are going to be putting into place some interesting things out of our office in co-operation with the chief’s office. This is very disconcerting for all of us to see this happen in one particular community. We need to take some proactive steps but we need to get a bit more background information on what’s happened.”
Ismail-Sheikh’s death was the city’s 29th homicide of 2011.
mibrahim@edmontonjournal.com

Somalis mourn too many young men

Edmonton police say Somali gangs work a circuit across Canada

Webmaster / July 30, 2011 / No Comment



EDMONTON – Somali drug gangs appear to be highly mobile and loosely organized without the hierarchy of traditional criminal gangs, says Staff Sgt. Jim Peebles of Edmonton city police.
These gang members work a circuit — Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary to Fort McMurray and Ottawa, Peebles said in a recent interview, moving cocaine and guns around the country.
“The group is in Edmonton one day, then they turn up in Ft. McMurray and next week we see them in Toronto or Ottawa,” he said.
Police forces across the country, especially in Ontario and Alberta, worked closely together in the last couple of years to identity core gang members, uncover their movements and follow the shifting leadership, said Peebles, who works with the Alberta Law Enforcement Team, a special unit of RCMP and municipal police forces set up in 2006 to combat drug gangs and organized crime.
Police here believe gang guns are imported from Minneapolis and Columbus, Ohio.
Unlike most criminal organizations, Somali gangs also don’t have strict territories they protect. The activity is “all commodity based,” he said. The fight is over selling more drugs or conflicts between new operators and established groups. Also, unlike street gangs that identify publicly with gang colours and membership rules, Somali gangs keep a low profile. Membership is not about establishing group identity but rather about getting fast cash, he said. “This is all driven by money.”
“There will be little pocket groups within the criminal organization fighting each other for a bigger piece of the pie,” he said.
Police estimate they are dealing with about 2,000 people across the country and more than 100 “strong targets” with criminal backgrounds in Edmonton and Ft. McMurray, says Peebles. The

exact number is hard to determine, given the leadership shifts and the gangs are very transient, he added.

In traditional criminal gangs, the bosses take a long time to work their way to the top and maintain a strict hierarchy to safeguard their positions. So when you take out the leadership, the gang is damaged.

That's not the case with east African gangs, especially Somali gangs.

The key to dealing with this these gangs is the close co-operation between police in all cities to track the movements of the key players, Peebles said.

"So you keep track of the known criminals in each city. When you get one in a car, the people with him are the new recruits," said Peebles.

Three of the 18 murders of Somali men in Edmonton and northern Alberta over the past five years have been resolved and Peebles said police are making some headway in getting help from the community.

By 2010, the Edmonton Police Commission had offered $40,000 in rewards for information leading to arrests in 11 unsolved homicides tied to the Somali community.

"They are a very proud community and don't want to bring a sense of trouble to the community."

Andy Knight, a University of Alberta professor who works with refugee groups, says he has some sympathy for the difficulties police face in getting contacts in the community.

In war-ravaged Somalia, people are often reluctant to talk to anyone in a uniform and that fear came with the community to Canada.

"They don't always see police as protectors, that's part of the baggage they carry around," says Knight. There is not often a good understanding of the Canadian justice system, making it more difficult to get co-operation, he added.

The U.S. city of Minneapolis experienced a sudden increase in the Somali population similar to Edmonton's early in the decade and a similar spate of gun violence, said Officer Jeanine Brudunell, the Minneapolis police department's liaison officer for East Africa communities.

But things improved after the police put a lot of effort into community outreach, says Brudunell, who has monthly meetings with the community.

Police also at first had difficulty making arrests after crimes, she said. In one case, a star witness was murdered before the trial. But that prompted a change.

"After that, we've had some good resolution of cases."

As for guns, "it's possible" guns move across the border to Canada from Minneapolis. Three guns stores were recently robbed by Somalis and only a few of the guns have turned up.

The Somali community is mobile, moving to where there are jobs, good public assistance, housing and an openness to immigrants, she said. A group is now moving to the smaller community of Lewiston, Ohio, for instance, she said.

In the last few years, Edmonton city police have had several meetings with Somali community leaders, including a 2008 meeting attended by more than 100 people in the community.

Peebles says sees some parallels between Somali gangs and the Vietnamese gangs that operated in Edmonton in the 1990s. He worked in the drug squad on 107 Avenue in the 1990s when those gangs were operating.

"For the Vietnamese, it just took time and they've moved on," he said. Perhaps that will be the same for the Somalis, he added.

The Edmonton Journal

Unveiling the faces of the Canadian Somali Community

03-Feb-2010

Members from North Division, along with Supt. Brad Ward attended an Alberta Somali Community meeting on Friday, January 29th. The meeting showcased the challenges, opportunities, and work to be done at the grassroots level in Edmonton to achieve integration and equality for Canadians of Somali heritage.

Inspiring messages were delivered to encourage young Canadian-Somalis to participate in civic initiatives. “Be the change you want to be,” is the message sent by Ahmed Hussen, National President of the Canadian Somali Congress. “Whether we remain marginalized or fully integrated depends on you and us.”

A report conducted by the Canadian Somali Congress will soon be released outlining the reasons young Canadian youth of Somali heritage are having difficulty engaging in Canadian society. There is an acute lack of access to jobs, and those who are employed are being paid six times below the income of mainstream Canadians. Education is critical and the Canadian Congress is advocating for an increase in mandatory school attendance in Alberta from 16 to 18; something that is already in place in Ontario.

In Canada, 68 per cent of the Canadian Somali community is below the age of 14; and 80 per cent of the population is under 30. To effect change and engage Canadian Somali youth, we need to understand what they are facing and then talk about solutions. A “Youth for Change” program has been developed by the Alberta Somali community and consists of 10 youth workers who organize events, reach out and empower other youths.

The Alberta and Canadian Somali organizations will continue lobbying the government to get funding for much needed services; and advocate in the media to showcase their proud and extraordinary culture and best and the brightest of their youth. Their vision is to see full participation of Canadian Somalis in all aspects of Canadian society.

Responding to the issues of crime, Mahamad Accord, President, Alberta Somali Community Centre says, “A very small segment of the Canadian Somali community in Edmonton is experiencing challenges related to crime and violence. The community acknowledges this fact and wants to have a constructive relationship with EPS in order to deal with this challenge.”

He acknowledges that the community's trust and work with the police has really improved over the last two years. “We want the relationship between the community and EPS to be one that is based on Canadian values of mutual respect, understanding, equality and integration,” concludes Mr. Accord.

Full integration and equality is looking at issues from an ‘us’ perspective. As Canadians, these challenges are our problem, and not a Somali problem.

Somali-Canadians caught in Alberta's deadly drug trade

Published On Mon Mar 22 2010

Faduma Arab lost her son Abdul Kadir in 2008. He was stripped, beaten and shot, one of 29 Somalis shot dead in Edmonton in the past four years, most of them moving there from Toronto.
KEITH BEATY/TORONTO STAR

EDMONTON — Four months after he left Toronto, 21-year-old Abas Abukar was dead.

On Halloween morning in 2008, the former Humber College student's body was found in Northmount Park, a wooded area in this city's north end. Abukar had been shot a few hours earlier, an autopsy concluded. He was victim number 19.

A month later, Abdulkadir Mohamoud, 23, was found stripped, beaten and shot to death in a park. He, too, had moved from Toronto, about two years earlier. That same day, Ahmed Mohammed Abdirahman, 21, was gunned down outside a seedy townhouse complex. They became victim numbers 20 and 21. Eight more would be killed after that.

Since the summer of 2005, 29 Somali-Canadians ranging in age from 17 to 28 have been murdered in Alberta, in what police are calling an escalating gang and drug turf war amid the province's booming oil economy. Some, however, have simply been killed in the crossfire, a situation of hanging out with the wrong people at the wrong time. The killings have occurred primarily in Edmonton, Calgary and Fort McMurray. The victims were all from Ontario, mostly from the Toronto area, and almost all were either born or raised in this country.

Some moved to Alberta with their parents who, faced with an unemployment rate of 22 per cent in Toronto, the highest of any ethnic group, sought legitimate high-paying jobs while their kids succumbed to the lure of easy drug money. At least half, according to news reports, were known to police, in some cases small-time drugpeddlers in Ontario who moved west to make better money in a lucrative drug market.

Edmonton police Chief Mike Boyd says his officers are working closely with investigators in Ontario cities to track the movement of gang members and drugs between the two provinces. But so far arrests have been made in only one case and members of the Somali community, having fled their own war-torn country, are growing anxious.

“I wish we had never moved to Edmonton,” says Faduma Arab, Mohamoud’s mother, who has since moved back to Toronto with her five other children.

“My son might have still been alive.”

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Drug trafficking is dangerous anywhere but in Alberta, Canada’s most prosperous province, it has become increasingly more perilous.

In Alberta, the drug business is worth over $5 billion annually and is controlled by well-established gangs such as Hells Angels, native gangs and Asian triads.

According to criminal experts, the ‘newbies’ — what the Somali-Canadians are called — are running headlong into other groups, rubbing people the wrong way and triggering turf wars in which they are coming out the losers.

Edmonton police and criminologists suspect Somali-Canadians aren’t even part of true gangs with guns and backup — just young naïve men in loosely organized groups.

Some Somali-Canadians have been recruited by other gangs and are being used at the lowest level as peddlers or mules to deliver drugs, says William Pitt, a former RCMP officer and now a professor of criminology at Grant MacEwan College in Edmonton.

“That makes them a disposable commodity — if the police get them, they don’t know much or have large quantities (of drugs) on them; and if they die... they are no loss to the gangs,” he says.

Gang war has hit Edmonton streets before.

In the late 1990s, Vietnamese gangs in the city battled each other and other crime groups to gain a slice of the city’s drug trafficking, prostitution and gambling. At least 10 people were killed over five years.

Somali-Canadians are easy targets: they are a small Black minority, the largest African group in Edmonton; they typically don’t carry guns; and they likely don’t know the nuances of the established drug trade, says Cathy Prowse, a former police officer, gang expert and criminal anthropologist at Mount Royal University in Calgary.

“There are some rules among gangsters… you never encroach on anyone’s territory, never steal others’ clients or drastically change the price,” says Prowse, who retired from the Calgary Police Service after 25 years.

The new kids on the block aren’t familiar withsuch subtleties.

“Young people also think they can make some money (in drugs) and get out if there are any problems,” says Prowse. “They are delusional. It’s easy to get in, tough to get out.”

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“Come work for me. You’ll be rich,” says a tall man with a goatee, flashing a wad of notes at the three young Somali-Canadian men.
“It’s easy money.”
Jamal Yusuf, 16, a student at J. Percy Page High School in southeast Edmonton, says he had heard of teenagers being offered money to peddle or deliver drugs, such as crack cocaine and heroin, but it was the first time he had been approached. It was during a house party last summer — a K’naan number was blasting, Yusuf was sipping iced tea and grumbling about homework when the stranger made the offer.
Speechless for a moment, Yusuf says he smiled and declined.
He has been approached at least half a dozen other times with similar offers since moving from Toronto with his family in 2007. Each time, he has refused.
Yusuf, an easygoing teen with a quick smile, knows the dangers of the drug-related business, but says he wonders why others haven’t noticed the spike in funerals.
“Everyone knows what’s going on... I don’t know why people still get involved.”
But according to one small-time drug dealer on the streets of Edmonton who gave his name as Bilal Ahmed, the lure of easy money is difficult to resist.
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Ahmed, 19, says he grew up in Toronto’s Kipling and Rexdale Aves. area and moved to Edmonton in 2007 along with his older brother. He never sold drugs in Toronto, he says, but was peddling ecstasy pills within weeks of arriving in Edmonton.
Someone he knew was selling cocaine and offered him the pills to sell, which go for $5 to $20 each. The money was too good to refuse, he says. On a good weekend, he claims to make as much several thousand dollars, although criminologist Pitt says a mid-level drug dealer can make up to $10,000 selling coke or heroin in a single evening. Ahmed says it is also an easy way to make friends, blend in with the crowd, gain acceptance.
Ahmed doesn’t know when or why the violencestarted but it hit home on Nov. 29 last year when his cousin, Robileh Ali Mohamed, 23, of Ottawa, was killed near a Somali restaurant in downtown Edmonton.
“I thought I was going to be next...”
Somali community leaders in Alberta say many victims appear to be related or knew each other beforehand; indicating one may have lured the other into the drug trade. Just last month, two cousins, Saed Adad, 22, and Idris Abess, 23, both from Toronto, were found dead in a Fort McMurray apartment.
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After his cousin’s death, Ahmed fled to Calgary, but returned two months later and is back selling on the streets. On this particular night, it’s about 2 a.m. and –10 C. The street lights are blazing at 107th Ave. near 105th St., close to the downtown core and its shiny corporate high rises, and a block away from a police station. The traffic

never stops on the street, where hookers and pimps are known to hang out, and drugs are just a phone call away.

Ahmed, dressed in baggy jeans, a black sweatshirt and an Oilers hat, is sitting in a black Honda Civic in a shopping plaza parking lot where large billboards advertizing a nightclub, a liquor store and a massage parlour jostle for attention.

He's waiting for a pick-up.

At 2:15 a.m., an SUV pulls up and the driver rolls down a window. The man nods and Ahmed steps out to meet him. Within a minute, money and pills have exchanged hands.

A year ago, Ahmed would have been cavalier — he says he may have hung around for another deal. Now he delivers pills to people he knows well and never stays in one place for long.

He is careful about his movements, never really feels safe. "It's gonna get bad... like s**t… I'm ready to run back to Toronto," he says.

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Edmonton's Somali-Canadian community, pegged at 12,000 people, is the largest outside Ontario.

It is now under intense scrutiny, says Mahamad Accord, executive director of Edmonton's Alberta Somali Community Centre. What angers him is when people call the murders a Somali problem. "It's not — almost all of these men were born and raised in Canada," says Accord. "It's got nothing to do with their ethnicity."

He acknowledges too many young men are being drawn to crime but says "marginalization combined with a lucrative drug trade in an oil-rich economy has drawn these young men."

And, he adds, Alberta is less tolerant of diversity than Ontario. "If you are a person of colour, you will be treated differently... doesn't matter whether you were born here or in Africa."

Accord and Ahmed Hussen, president of the Canadian Somali Congress, who met with police and Somali community groups in Alberta late last year, say they are trying to educate people and find ways to help Somali youths fit in by starting up homework and sports clubs.

A year ago, faced with criticism over the handling of the murder investigations, Edmonton police assigned Sgt. Patrick Ruzage and Const. Ken Smith, of the city's gangs and drugs squad, as community liaison officers. Ruzage was sent to Ontario for a week to learn from Toronto police how to work with the Somali community. The two officers spend time mingling with the teens and organize friendly soccer games to try and build trust with the families.

"We are educating them... telling them how they can call Crime Stoppers, help solve a crime and stay anonymous," says Smith, admitting there has been little success so far. "People are terrified of being snitches and then getting targeted."

There have been a couple of small victories. The officers, both of whom are black, have been approached by a few young Somali-Canadians about how to become police officers.

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Faduma Arab has sworn off Edmonton. Just talking about the time her family spent there chokes her up and her eyes fill with tears.

"I wish we had never moved there... I lost my son there," says Arab, who now lives in a highrise in south Mississauga.

She phones the detectives on her son Abdulkadir Mohamoud's case every week; she flies there every few months to see if there is any progress.

"Abdulkadir did not traffic drugs. He was the kind of a son who would clean up the house and cook if I wasn't there." She pulls out photos, school report cards of Mohamoud — he got straight As.

One of her younger sons concedes Mohamoud may have hung out with "the wrong people" and was targeted. "I don't think he even knew that," says the 17-year-old who did not want his name published. "My brother was a role model for all of us – we looked up to him."

He never wants to return to Alberta. "I can't even remember the number of times I was chased from school because people thought I would have drugs… because I'm Somali."

Mohammed Aden is another devastated parent trying to make sense of his son's death.

Abas Abukar was only three when the family moved to Canada in 1991 and settled in Etobicoke. He enrolled in the business program at Humber College and worked at Home Depot and Rogers in summer.

He moved to Edmonton in June 2008 "because he wanted to earn tuition money," says Aden. Abukar had heard from his friends about well-paying jobs and wanted to spend a year working. "I didn't want him to go… but his words were: I'm 21, I'm a man. I can do this," says Aden, adding that he spoke to his son every day.

And then one day, he got a call: his son was dead

For the four months that Abukar was in Edmonton, he lived with his sister and her husband. She was pregnant and visiting her parents in Ontario when he was killed. She has since refused to return to that city and her husband has found a new job in Toronto.

"They were shattered," says Aden. "...we were all broken."

Job centre becomes haven for young Somalis

By Mariam Ibrahim, edmontonjournal.comJuly 30, 2011

EDMONTON - Just off Fort Road, in an old, street level office, young men and women huddle over a bank of new computers updating resumes while others check a job board covered in postings.

This summer, young Somali adults found new and friendly place learn some job hunting skills — writing resumes, interview skills how to handle conflict in the workplace. Most important, they also connect with potential employers.

Anxious to address high unemployment among 18-30 year olds, the community proposed a job skills centre and applied for a federal grant.

“Access to jobs is number one right in the community,” says Amal Issa, 22, co-ordinator of the centre, home of the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization.

“Then there are a whole range of issues with gang violence and drugs.”

Issa is quite excited about the new program funded by Service Canada on a three month grant.

Ten applicants, after doing their skills course, got placements in workplaces. That’s the key for many Somalis, she says, explained, because getting real-life work experience can be a challenge for this group.

“I think it’s very important because a lot of the time, youth feel better coming to a place like this because we understand their issues better than another centre.”

She also sees youth who have had trouble with the law walk through the centre’s front doors, looking for help. Sometimes they need help finding a volunteer placement necessary for their probation terms. Other times, they’re just looking for a place to spend time, away from street corners.

“That’s why there’s so much of a need for safe spaces like this. It’s very alluring, if you’re not getting hired, and someone offers you money to deliver a package.”

Unfortunately, a funding hiccup from Service Canada has the program in limbo for now — even as demand for the service rises. The centre has applied for renewal of their grant and is waiting for a final decision from Service Canada in the coming weeks.

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Edmonton: Clan and drug violence responsible for so many Somali "kids" in body bags

Posted by acorcoran on February 1, 2011

Just the other day we reported that **clan disputes were creeping into American cities** where Somalis have congregated in large numbers. In one of Canada's most concentrated Somali communities, murders of young Somalis are worrying Somalis and the police:

From the ***Toronto Sun***:

EDMONTON — When 23-year-old Mohammed Jama was shot to death in front of horrified onlookers at a restaurant on New Year's Eve, he became the 11th young man from Edmonton's Somali community to die in a hail of gunfire in less than 30 months.

Cops say that most of the victims had some kind of tie to the drug trade. Many moved to Edmonton from Toronto within the last few years.

The body count has horrified the city and sent ripples of fear, dread and anger through the city's rapidly-growing Somali community.

Its 14,000 members make up the largest Somali-Canadian community outside of southern Ontario and the largest African community in Edmonton.

[....]

…. it's even more complex for struggling new Somali families, Abdullahi says, because too often the parents bring their homeland's clan rivalries with them.

"People from one group have nothing to do with another," he says. Abdullahi says there are at least five different Somali cultural associations in the city and they're all rivals.

Appendix 9b: Conversations about Community-based Solutions and crime Prevention Strategies

Posters tackle crime in Somali community

HEATHER MCINTYRE/METRO

Ahmed Hussen, president of the Canadian Somali Congress, with one of the 16 posters aimed to reduce violent crime among young Somalis in Edmonton.

Tools for Success

It is estimated that when all plans are in full motion, volunteers in Edmonton's Somali community will have raised and contributed $200,000 to these crime prevention initiatives.

HEATHER MCINTYRE
METRO EDMONTON
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A snitch in crime can save lives, say members of Edmonton's Somali community.

A new poster campaign, themed "Don't snitch will lead to this," was launched yesterday and consists of 16 different posters, one of which shows a mother mourning her son at his grave.

"It's a very provocative, powerful and courageous poster," said the Canadian Somali Congress' Ahmed Hussen, in town from Ontario to show support.

The message is to emphasize — especially to young Somali men — what can happen if information about a crime is not provided.

"It is un-Islamic in our tradition not to work with the police," said Hussen, who believes the intelligence to solve murders of Somalis in Edmonton is within the community.

There have been 13 slain in the city over the past four years, 11 of which are unsolved.

The posters will be placed along 118 Avenue, but will eventually number in the hundreds, as they will be put up in other areas of the city as well.

Other volunteer initiatives include a youth helpline, spiritual guidance for those in custody, and plans for a drop-in centre on 118 Avenue.

Edmonton police use soccer to bridge gap with Somalis.

NEW **Halkaan ka akhri**

In April, members of the Somali community and the Edmonton Police Services played a friendly game of soccer.

It may have seemed like a regular match to the spectators, but for the people involved, it was much more.

The game was intended to create a casual event with the Somalis in order to break the barrier of fear between them and the police. The soccer pitch is a medium where minorities have an edge on the authorities — something they're not accustomed to in Somalia.

"In Somalia, if you see a guy in a uniform, you run. He is the guy that will arrest you, that will cause you to disappear and protects a corrupt government," Thomas Lukaszuk, the MLA for Edmonton Castledown, recently told CBCSports.ca.

"Now they arrive in Canada and we ask them to forget about all of that," Lukaszuk said. "It's unrealistic."

Friendships developed

At the game, members from both parties put their differences aside and instantly became comfortable with each other.

“You could see the development of friendship, they were teasing each other about certain plays and having discussions,” Lukaszuk said.
“For a while the Somali youth forgot these individuals were police officers, and felt welcome, appreciated and important.”
The game resulted in an exchange of phone numbers, emails and business cards.
“I was honoured to be there and had a lot of conversations with people and made instant connections,” Cons. Michelle Horchuk said.
But it was when several Somali youth approached Horchuk to inquire about joining the police force that she knew the event she’d organized was a success.
“Police are not that different from anyone else,” said Horchuk. She said the growing communication and trust was evident soon after the match.
“I was actually invited to a Somali wedding last weekend,” she said with a surprised laugh.
“I definitely attribute the invitation largely in part to the relationships that we built at the soccer game.”
Cities like Edmonton and Calgary are home to more than 20,000 Somali immigrants. Gang fights and drugs in the region have resulted in several murders among the Somali community, which has troubled the Edmonton Police Services.
Edmonton police have always had education and outreach programs, but the department noticed that the Somali minority wasn’t getting the message.
“Traditional public relations is not suitable for minorities,” Lukaszuk said.
“Having a police officer in uniform with a gun going to schools works for our western Canadian children because we raised them to believe the police officer is a good person,” Lukaszuk explained. But that’s not the case for immigrants “from countries where policing and government are not in place,” he said.

Somalis, officers played on mixed teams

To encourage both parties to mingle, the six-team tournament featured mixed squads where officers and Somalis played together.
“I’m thrilled that they now consider us apart of the community,” Horchuk said.
Telling citizens you want to help doesn’t compare to showing them, Lukaszuk said. He’s optimistic that the Somali youth will begin respecting the officers as friends instead of enemies.
“It’s no longer them against us, they’re actually trying to work with us, not against us,” Lukaszuk said.
Horchuk was pleased that the event not only raised awareness, but also inspired some Somali teenagers to pursue a career in police enforcement.
“Anytime we can incorporate people into the department from different cultural backgrounds, that’s a strength to us in helping others from those cultures,” she said.
Lukaszuk agreed, adding that the department’s diversity is its main strength.
“One of the ways to address crime in the community is to make sure that our police is representative of the entire community — which means that there should be some Somali police officers who understand the culture and language,” he said.
Many Somalis travelled a great distance to witness the match, and Lukaszuk said the event will be repeated yearly.
He also said officials are organizing a cook-off event for Somali women, to introduce Canadians to Somalian cuisine.

Alberta Somalis Work to End Violence, Deaths

June 17th, 2011 | Add a Comment

Students at the Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization in Edmonton. (Courtesy of Scerdo)

EDMONTON—Edmonton Somali groups are desperately searching for a way to end the ongoing gang violence that has deeply impacted the community—violence that left two dead in the last month alone.

Across Alberta, 34 Somali men have been killed since 2006, with three of those deaths occurring this year.

Now, two town hall meetings have been scheduled for later this month to bring members of the community together in an effort to explore what can be done about the escalating deaths.

Abdi Hussein, executive director of the Somali-Canadian Cultural Society of Edmonton, says the violence is a manifestation of complex social factors, which must first be understood to find an appropriate solution.

"Things don't happen overnight," he said.

Hussein points to the struggle of families—many of whom were refugees fleeing Somalia after it collapsed—that were ill-prepared for the culture shock and obstacles that would greet them in Canada. Many of the families are headed by single mothers whose husbands were killed during the Somali civil war in 1991.

Initially, the impossibility of getting proper identification documents from a collapsed state meant they could not apply for permanent residency in Canada. Prolonged refugee status led to disadvantages in family reunification, mobility, education, and employment.

Language, cultural, and religious differences place deeper invisible blocks for Somali immigrants hoping to integrate fully into Canadian life—maybe more so than any immigrant group.

Somalis who come to Canada are often disappointed to find that what education they do have is either not transferable or not recognized without Canadian work experience.

"What do those kids think when their father, who was an engineer back home, is now driving a taxi," says Hussein. "How do you convince that kid to go and get an education; how do you motivate him?"

Many children who had inconsistent education during Somalia's conflict had much difficulty adapting to Canada's education system and could not find the support they needed to succeed, Hussein says.

These factors have resulted in Somalis facing some of the lowest incomes and living standards in the country since the 1990s, which has led to ongoing social problems for the communities in poverty.

This lack of opportunity and integration is what leads some Somali youth to come to Alberta from Ontario, seeking to land a job in the oilfield and make a decent living. But often they arrive to find that jobs are not available or they don't have the skills required.

That's when the $5 billion Alberta drug trade becomes extremely tempting.

"Before they know it, they've gotten lured into the quick cash," says Hussein.

Last year the Alberta government put $1.9 million toward programs intended to give Somali youth job training and work experience to steer them away from the lucrative drug trade.

But Hussein says this money is not going to the organizations that do the ground work directly in the community, alleging it is mainly a public relations strategy that is "window-dressing" the real issues.

"All this money is spent and actually recycled through organizations that are all connected to the government, who get that money in the name of helping Somali people, but at the same time will not even hire one Somali person to do the job," he said.

"Really it's not dealing with the real core issues, how to help—truly help—these people."

Amal Issa, youth coordinator for Somali Canadian Education and Rural Development Organization (SCERDO), says education is crucial for Somali youth to find opportunities and avoid a destructive path. She says the results of SCERDO's job skills programs have been very encouraging.

"We definitely have seen results and they have been very positive. The main thing for us is that the youth have been able to see that they have hope, they have a future, they have opportunities. They really just needed someone to tell them that and someone to guide them in the right direction."

Of great concern to Hussein are media representations that focus on sensational and negative images of the Somali community while rarely showing the strength, vibrancy, and dignity that truly characterizes the Somali people.

He fears the youth are constantly "internalizing" these negative representations, which act as a barrier to their progress.

"The only time we actually have anything to say about Somali people is when another young man dies, right? But that's not what we're all about. We're a lot of hard-working people trying to fit in this country, working very hard," he says.

"We lost a lot of Somalis, but 99.9 percent are doing good and contributing good things in Canada and in Alberta, but that's not reported, that's not noticed, that's not amplified. Every little negative is amplified 10 times. So that's our challenge, and what we're fighting now is that image—that negative image that's persisting because of all the things that have happened."

By Justina Reichel
Epoch Times Staff

Open letter to the Edmonton Police Service on the deaths of young Canadian Somali men in Alberta

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January 05, 2011 - QOL -
Deputy Chief David Korol
Edmonton Police Service
Edmonton, Alberta
January 5, 2011
Re: Comments made to the media by Det. Bill Clark
Dear Deputy Chief Korol,
2011 began with a 23-year old member of Edmonton's Somali community being gunned down in downtown Edmonton. Eleven young Somali-Canadian men have been killed in shootings in Alberta since August 2008 and 32 have been killed since 2005. This letter addresses accusations made against the Canadian Somali community and forcefully responds to the unfair and irresponsible comments made by detective Bill Clark at the scene of the crime.
Ahmed Hussen
Canadian Somali Congress
We are writing this letter on behalf of members of the Alberta Somali Community Center and the Canadian Somali community at larger to express our concern at the comments made by detective Bill Clark of the Edmonton Police Service (EPS) to the media on Sunday January 02, 2011. Although we share detective Clark's frustration with the pace of cooperation from witnesses in this case, we also feel that some of the comments that he made to the media were unfair, irresponsible and unreflective of the stellar working relationship between the Alberta Canadian Somali community and the Edmonton Police Service. The comments made by detective Clark suggested among other things that:
The investigation of the most recent homicide inside the Papyrus Restaurant and Lounge would be shut down if the Somali community does not cooperate with the police. We feel this threat to shut down the investigation made only a few hours after the incident is unfair because it basically says that we as Canadian Somalis do not deserve the services of the police service if we do not behave a certain way. Detective Clark would be better served to update himself with the history of cooperation that has existed between the community and the EPS.

It frustrates him and his colleagues when they hear people in the Canadian Somali community and in other "ethnic" communities complaining about the city administration. We simply do not understand why detective Clark feels that he has to lecture us on how we view the city administration. We are a Canadian community that has every right to criticize the lack of city leadership on various issues and we completely reject detective Clark's contention that criticism of the city administration somehow frustrates the police.
We community leaders turn a blind eye on issues related to witnesses cooperating with the police.

This is simply not true.
As you may be aware, the Alberta Somali Community Center has made a lot of headway in encouraging members of the Canadian Somali community to work with the police.
We have even partnered with EPS and Crime Stoppers to conduct workshops that explain to the community how individuals can report crime to the police. Notwithstanding detective Clark's comments, we have an excellent working relationship with EPS and we hope continue to do so. Our frustration is with the city administration that has not exercised leadership by partnering with us and providing us with the resources necessary to integrate our community into the Canadian mainstream.

Our community is disappointed with detective Clark's comments and we sincerely hope that his views do not reflect the views of EPS. As such, we hope that you may take this opportunity to reassure us that EPS does not share detective Clark's views and that you will continue to treat our community in the same manner as any other Canadian community in Edmonton. We also hope that you will ask detective Clark to withdraw some of his hurtful and unfortunate comments. We await your response and we thank you in advance for your consideration of this matter.
Sincerely,
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