

Diaspora, Memory, and Ethnic Media: Media Use by Somalis Living in Canada¹

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I. Introduction

In the United States, numerous studies have reported a significant increase in the use of ethnic media and their audiences.² However, the area of research studying ethnic media, located at the intersection of media, minorities, and immigration, remains underdeveloped in Europe,³ which could explain the existing confusion about the concepts of “community media” and “ethnic media.” In France, instead of the concept of “ethnicity,” an elaborate list of euphemisms was constructed to serve as a semantic repertoire describing the same phenomenon,⁴ even though the phenomenon in question has been extensively defined.⁵ This confusion seems to be a product of disinterest on the part of the social sciences in France in the studies of minorities and inter-ethnic relations, a phenomenon that involves multiple factors.⁶ Therefore, it appears pertinent to clarify these ambiguities. Ethnic media and community media are used in conjunction with three developments: international migration, increased privatization and commercialization of public spaces, and, lastly, the development of information and communication technologies.

The development of community media is linked to the rise in privatization and commercialization of public spaces. Operating from the margins of mainstream media, community media offer a third voice in the mass-media system, after the private and public sectors.⁷ Ethnic and alternative media are also located in this third category.

Moreover, the increase in migrating populations around the world receives considerable attention from the media and is featured in administrative and political discourses which are closely related to social representations of migration experiences.⁸ In Canada, as elsewhere in the world, discourses on immigration contribute to the conception of migrants in the imaginary of the population. A plurality of voices, in their attempt to counter these discourses, often recall that migrants, far from simply being victims, are also actors fighting for their social, economic, and political rights.⁹ These struggles, in their various forms of resistance and “tricks,” take place in a space where the dominated becomes the producer of a symbolic universe. This space, made possible in part by the media, is the location where new cultural forms related to mobility are produced. From this angle, the migration experience is analyzed through the prism of alterity; that is to say, the matrix linked to the modes of social differentiation and categorization operating according to origin, cultural and ethnic membership, sex, and social class. The use of the concept of “ethnicity” here is not intended to present identity formulations as particularism or universalism, as highlighted by Jocelyne Streiff-Fenart, but rather “to recall that cultures and identities do not carry their explanation in themselves, and to evince social conditions of their production, use and social functions.”¹⁰

How do Somalis manage, from a distance and on a daily basis for the last twenty years, the absence of a viable state, including the civil war and famine that have ensued as a consequence? In this context, how do Somalis experience the double pressure that comes from managing a daily existence in a host society as well as that of the home country? Despite a resurgence of studies on the Somali community living in Canada,¹¹ few studies have analyzed the use of media by Somalis, especially within the domestic context. In order to do this, we will attempt to flesh out an understanding of the role played by ethnic media in the Somali community. We will first outline a portrait of the Somali community in Canada, followed by our methodology and an analysis of ethnic media uses.

II. Somalis in Canada

After the fall of Siyaad Barré’s regime in December 1991, a great number of Somalis left their country as it became engulfed in a devastating civil war. They ran from armed militias which, in the absence of a central government, were terrorizing famished populations. In

Table 1. Somalis in Canada, 2006

	Canada	Ontario	Toronto	Ottawa
Born in Somalia	20 160	6 020	10 230	4 005
Somali ethnic group	21 685	17 325	10 615	4 665

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006

the last twenty years, the main cities in the South have been shaken by fierce fighting between a number of opposing groups. Close to a million Somalis have since been forced to leave their homes.¹² Consequently, a Somali diaspora formed in Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, and Sweden), the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and North America. In Canada, Somalis constitute the largest group of sub-Saharan African origin, after Egyptians and South Africans.¹³ Their numbers are estimated at 37,790.¹⁴ In some cities, Ottawa in particular, where their numbers are at around 13,000,¹⁵ they constitute one of the largest immigrant communities. In Quebec, according to the 2006 census, 95 Somalis resided in the city of Gatineau.¹⁶ Even if the Ministry for Immigration and Cultural Communities (MICC) plays a key role in terms of selection and immigrant integration policies in Quebec, it faces struggles in the attempt to effectively fight against employment discrimination.¹⁷

Somalis, most of whom are Muslim and black, contribute to the cultural pluralisation of the Canadian population, which is predominantly of European origin and traditionally Christian, as were almost all the immigrants who arrived in the 1970s. This important difference places the Somali community in a minority position in multiple ways, but also in a potentially discriminatory relationship with the Canadian society and its main institutions. Some Somali community members confirm this possibility and describe the continuing difficulties of living in Canada after more than two decades.¹⁸ This situation is not dissimilar to the situation in European countries in which first- and second-generation immigrants face bias, especially after the September 11, 2001, events:

“As these events have unfolded, large Somali communities have formed in European countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden...This massive immigration has created numerous cultural contact zones that are often marked by fear, stereotypes, and discrimination, largely in connection to race and religion. Somalis and other Muslims in Western societies often endure islamophobia, which is cultivated by much ignorance and fuelled by a powerful

public discourse that depicts all Muslims as extremists and fundamentalists.”¹⁹

In Canada, Somalis have encountered a number of obstacles when dealing with the Canadian bureaucracy, and particularly with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Due to the fall of the Somali government, Somali refugees were often not able to provide certain official documents, and consequently saw their permanent residency applications denied for several years by Citizenship and Immigration Canada.²⁰ Moreover, Somalis and Afghans were the only two groups targeted by the Citizenship and Immigration Department’s regulation imposing a five-year waiting period for acquiring permanent residency.²¹ Other refugee communities under the Geneva Convention have experienced a waiting period of only eighteen months to be granted legal status. After a long legal battle led by the Somali and Afghan associations, the Canadian Supreme Court ordered the termination of this discriminatory practice in order to allow these two communities to obtain their status within the timelines set out by the law.

III. Methodology

The empirical data in our study are based on a questionnaire, which was directly distributed to the Somali community, and also on extensive individual interviews. The questionnaires were distributed between May and September 2009 to the Somalis living in Ottawa and Toronto. A second phase of the research project took place in June 2011, during which interviews were conducted. The participants were selected with the help of the “snowball sampling” method. Although this method produces samples that are non-representative and non-random, the participants were chosen with the aim of obtaining various profiles in terms of socio-professional background as well as sex and age. In total, fifty-five first- and second-generation Somalis participated in the research project. Among the participants, forty-four completed the questionnaire and eleven, including three media producers, took part in the individual extensive interview. These two combined methods seek to flesh out our understanding of meanings assigned by these actors to media use and migration processes. Upon reviewing the profiles of the respondents, we noticed that the education level was very high for the first generation as well as for the second generation. Our findings are similar to the ones found in studies which showed that the

Table 2. Demographic Variables

Age	Percentage
18–29	48
30–39	17
40+	35
Total	100
Sex	
Male	32
Female	68
Total	100
Education	
Master's	26
Undergraduate degree	22
No degree	7
High school diploma	45
Total	100

majority of Somalis who arrived in Canada in the 1990s (between 53% and 60%) had completed secondary education in Somalia and 43 percent had received a university degree from the Somali National University.²² Due to this level of education, the first generation strongly influenced the second generation to pursue post-secondary studies. This factor could explain the high level of educational characteristics of both generations. However, these findings do not represent the diverse professional profiles found in the Somali community.

IV. Somali Ethnic Media and their Uses

A. Media Use by First and Second Generations

According to the answers in the questionnaire, members of the first generation (40 years and older) rely above all on traditional media, especially television and radio, by watching or listening to specific televised or broadcasted programs made available by private television and radio networks. The most common radio examples include Radio Golis, broadcast by the Canadian Multicultural Radio; Somali Voice on CKCU radio; and Muuqaalka Soomaalida on Chin Radio. Televised programs include Muuqaalka Soomaalida and Dhaqan Somali, two programs televised by Omni Television, Rogers community television. Televised programs can be viewed by audiences in all of Ontario. Radio shows can be heard only in the cities. Somali-Canadian media

Table 3. Ethnic Media Produced in Canada and Used by Somalis

Age	Internet %	Television ²³ %	Radio %	Newspaper %	No use %	Not applicable %
18–29	30	13	0	0	10	10
30–39	10	18	6	0	3	3
40 and older	6	25	29	0	0	10
Total	46	56	35	0	13	23

have as an objective to provide information to all Somalis, regardless of their regional origin:

We named our show *Muuqaalka Soomaalida* which means “The Voice of Somalis.” We want to broadcast information to all the Somalis who live in Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia and, of course, Somalia. We do not wish to focus on broadcasting only the information on Somalia. This is the reason why we have correspondents who cover for us all the cities where Somalis live. These correspondents, who are hired for my show, are based in Djibouti, Borama, Hargeissa, Nairobi, Addis Ababa and other cities.

Journalist for the *Muuqaalka Soomaalida* show, Chin Radio, Toronto.

Statements by the *Muuqaalka Soomaalida* journalist reflect the will to unite the Somali community, which is divided and dispersed across different countries of the Horn of Africa. After the civil war, some Somalis imported the conflicts into the Western countries, bringing old clan tensions into the community in Canada.²⁴ This strategy of wishing to unite a heterogeneous community is not specific only to Somalis. Other communities are familiar with the same phenomenon. For example, the Hispanic community, composed of diverse populations, was still largely an imagined community in the United States in the 1990s. It became an “invented” political community. For Leïla Ben Amor-Mathieu, two factors greatly contributed to the homogenization of Hispanics: commercial strategies employed by ethnic television networks and the political will of the American federal government to introduce a new “panethnic” census category for the cultural minority. The Hispanic community, having been assigned a new identity constructed with “various pieces,” used this new space for debate and different modes of cultural expression to its advantage to become a “major player in Washington.”²⁵ The numerical and economic power held by the Hispanic population justifies the attention they receive from the American government. However, Hispanic media in the United States,

just like the Somalis²⁶ in Canada, “continually put forward (*mise en scène*), and in their own terms, the community to whose creation they contribute.”²⁷ In this strategy of putting forward, or *mise en scène*, of the Somali community, media producers²⁸ assign importance to television and radio programs which focus on (1) news information on the Horn of Africa region and Canada; (2) debates on social and cultural issues related to the integration of Somalis in the host country; and (3) religious stories and different forms of entertainment. An independent worker 52 years of age and a nurse 38 years of age explain:

I listen to the programming broadcasted on the radio. This programming relates national and international events in the Somali language. Journalists on these radio shows place an emphasis on the information concerning the situation of Somalis living in Canada. For example, thanks to the programming broadcasted on these radio shows, I am able to stay up to date with important community events such as visits by political figures or great Somali singers. Since it's in the Somali language, a person that has recently arrived in Canada can understand well and have access to useful information. I encourage these media to provide information on Canada, especially on Canadian regulations and the Canadian way of life. (...) However, if the programming is broadcasted in English or in French, a person who has recently arrived would have trouble understanding and would have difficulty adapting quickly to the Canadian society. This person would lose a little of bit of time integrating in the society (...).

I listen to the CKCU radio for commercials by Somali businesses (...). I also listen to the information on Somalia and especially on the situation of Somalis living in Canada. I like to know what is going on in the community.

Studies have shown that the broadcasting of local news and practical information about the host country facilitates the adaptation of immigrants to their new country.²⁹ For Isabelle Rigoni, ethnic media “accomplish a double objective: to promote integration of their audiences into the dominant society, whether the integration is civil, political or economic; and to construct and homogenize the ‘community’ on which they depend.”³⁰ For the integration to take place, it is important that the immigrants find a space where they are able to affirm their identity. In this sense, Guilbert underscores that identity affirmation is the determining factor in immigrant and refugee integration in the host society.³¹ And yet, identity is “partly shaped by recognition or its

absence, often by the *misrecognition* of others.”³² This non-recognition can “constitute a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.”³³ A government employee 36 years of age explains:

Lately, there has been this problem with Somali pirates. The media talked a lot about the pirates who took ships hostage. If all we ever hear about is Somali pirates, then people will have a bad image of the community. In the beginning, when the Somalis arrived in Canada, about 20 years ago, people didn’t really know them well. Now, we have become known as pirates.

Similarly, a Somali social worker 44 years of age observes:

The media describe Somalis in a negative way, as for example local Canadian media, such as the radio called CFRA in a radio show hosted by Lowell Green. This man, when he speaks of immigrants, you get the impression that he’s only interested in negative aspects. He often targets Muslim and Somali communities. This is not good, because when people listen to his comments, and they have never met a single Somali person, they will then stigmatize the whole community. It is dangerous for the future of the community. However, programs broadcasted on the CBC radio remain more balanced when they talk about the community. CBC radio gives an important place to the Somali voices and addresses the issues which concern the community, announce events organized by the community, and overall describe the community in a positive manner. The radio considers Somalis as members who contribute to the society. The media depend on the way broadcasted information is understood and especially on the people who control them.

The journalist for the *Muuqaalka Soomaalida* show confided to us that he had interviewed in his studio a man of Somali origin and American nationality, suspected by the Americans of recruiting young Somalis in Minneapolis to fight for Al-Shabaab. Hasan Jama came to preach in Toronto mosques and the Canadian media published quite a few articles on his visit. The following are comments by the journalist for *Muuqaalka Soomaalida*:

CBC did a news report on Hasan Jama who was suspected of recruiting young Somalis in Minneapolis to fight with the Al-Shabaab group in Somalia. He was in Toronto. We asked him if these allegations were true. He denied all the accusations...The main objective of our mission is

firstly to unite all Somalis regardless of where they come from, and secondly, to promote, lobby, and protect the Somali identity, language and traditions, but also the positive image and the integrity of the community. By keeping our identity and our cultural heritage, we will be able to integrate into the Canadian society. Because of the war and the absence of a government in Somalia, the media accuse Somalis of being terrorists. For example, our mosques are accused of participating in terrorist activities, but mosques constitute a community space where funerals and weddings take place. At the same time, we advise the mosques to open up to the Canadian society and especially to answer journalists' questions. Sometimes, the mosques refuse to talk to the Canadian media and this can make the situation worse. I am often contacted by CBC, Globe and Mail, and Toronto Star journalists who ask me about mosques. I always try to warn mosque managers so that they can prepare to answer questions from journalists.

Comments by the producer of *Muuqaalka* as well as other respondents in this study on the role played by the media place the spotlight on the notion of minority representation in the public space of media. Television has become the locus where contemporary socio-political issues are crystallized and "one of the privileged spaces where the relationship between the majority society and its minorities is questioned."³⁴ This question becomes even more crucial when we take into consideration that rich countries have witnessed an increase in minority groups. In Canada, sixteen percent of the total population consists of visible minorities, and this number has consistently grown in the last 25 years.³⁵ However, Canadian media often portray a stereotypical and negative image of minorities and the aboriginal populations.³⁶ In France, the same phenomenon is observed in the non-representation of women, the popular classes, and non-White segments of the population.³⁷

Relations of domination associated with gender also exist within the Somali ethnic media. Women are under-represented in the production of media content and the discourses presented by the media convey a masculine vision of the world. However, in terms of black minorities' ethnic media in France, Marie-France Malonga has shown that one of the main strategies in the effort to manage their exclusion on television, and especially their devalued representations, has led to a greater use of African music videos and films.³⁸ In this context, the ethnic media appear to be allowing a space for negotiation between personal identity and assigned identity. Ethnic media images and

accounts are then able to stake out "a more truthful vision, infinitely closer to the reality and more cognizant of the lived experience of the immigrant populations than the often stereotypical discourse of the host society."³⁹ This vision gives the Somali community an opportunity to develop a negotiating as well as a critical point of view of their representation in the Canadian public space, corresponding thus to the capacity of each social actor to put forth his/her particular vision of the world, or "lifeworld." For Daniel Dayan, Media Reception Studies, which focus on the actors' strategies of identity negotiation, allow us to "enter the intimacy of the audience and to envision that the universes of meaning elaborated there can be characterized in terms other than alienation or deficit."⁴⁰ Criticizing the works that grant the media the capacity to have direct effects on individuals, Reception Studies align with the perspective according to which individuals possess a certain leeway when considering media images as they are able to move them "into local repertoires of irony, anger, humour and resistance."⁴¹ Far from being passive victims, minorities are "capable of subtle forms of resistance and 'exit.'"⁴² Considerable criticism has since been directed at Reception Studies. However, Reception Studies cautions us against the temptation to overvalue the cultural resistance of individuals and to remove all references to the evidence of relations of domination between social actors.⁴³ While recognizing the pertinence of Reception Studies, Bernard Miège recalls that, "the communication approach cannot ignore the macro-societal level, and in particular the logics behind action corresponding to the strategies of dominant actors."⁴⁴

The data (see Table 3) provided by the youth of the second generation show that they use community television and radio programming less frequently than the Internet when looking for information on Somalia. When they consume community media, they do so by means of family practices and in a context of parental identity strategies. When asked how they keep themselves informed about Somalia, they indicated that their parents were the primary source of information, followed by the Internet and the mainstream media news. The second generation keeps its links with Somalia in a more sporadic fashion through emotional ties, especially given the media coverage of the pirate activities on the shores of Somalia and the famine. A young woman, now 30, who came to Canada with her parents at the age of ten, explains:

For a long time, I tried to avoid reading news about Somalia. Because of the misery I witnessed there and the effects of war and everything I saw

there, I avoided all the information about Somalia. It made me sad to see wounded children and people who fight all the time. It's a war that has no end. (...) However, I will still from time to time go on websites to read about the news.

Political tensions that exist in the country of origin can affect the media use practices of second-generation youth.⁴⁵ The notion of "the generation of postmemory" characterizes the relationship between the second generation and powerful, sometimes traumatizing, experiences that took place before they were born but which have not been transferred with a deeper layer.⁴⁶ The second-generation youth of the Somali diaspora appear to be reconstituting, in their own way, this memory by watching community theatre plays, comedies, and wedding videos together with their families in their living rooms.

V. Media Practices: The Living Room as the Space for Identity (Re)construction

An analysis of the family context and the social organization around the living room is essential in order to understand the symbolic meanings attributed to communication tools by Somalis in their domestic space. In the present study, media practices by Somali families indicate that the living room carries considerable symbolic importance as a space for gathering and family life. The majority of participants (48) stated that they have always had television in their living room and not in their bedrooms or rooms for personal use. A significant number of the Somali respondents (15) confirmed that they used the computer located in the living room to watch YouTube videos made in Somalia, together with their children. The consumption of television programming and videos takes place in the living room together with the family. The living room represents the central locus for the activity. However, studies have shown that the bedroom has increasingly become the preferred space over the living room. In the bedroom, the experience of privacy becomes the priority and is facilitated by the use of a personal television set and other domestic technologies such as the cell phone and the computer.⁴⁷ These studies have shown that there was a time when the family gathered around the television set in the home, while domestic technologies currently allow family members to scatter around the home into different rooms or to conduct separate

and different activities while still remaining in the same room. The following is a comment by a father of four children:

I encourage my children to watch wedding videos with me because they can learn traditional poems and songs. In these videos, they can see children singing and reciting poems. When they watch these videos, they imitate and try to do the same thing as the people on the screen. Also, at home we watch videos of theatre plays produced in Somalia as well as films made in North America. Films produced in North America tell the stories of the Somali community established in Canada. By watching these types of videos, my children can then compare the life they lead here and the life that exists in Somalia. In this way, we can explain to them the history of Somalia, for example, as well as the farming of animals, flowers in Somalia and the Indian Ocean.

Somali parents strive to transmit a cultural identity to their children who were born or raised in Canada by means of media practices. It is an effort on the part of the parents to preserve a trace of the cultural heritage and to complete the transfer of memory. In this regard, studies have pointed to how, under the effects of migration, diasporic groups are in "constant cultural negotiations."⁴⁸ Among these studies, the most emblematic one remains Marie Gillespie's ethnographic study on the television and video consumption by the Punjabi diaspora in Southall.⁴⁹ The author explores how television and videos are implicated in identity construction within the family context and explains that, "television as an object and a social experience is embedded in family life, and family relationships are expressed in and through the viewing situation."⁵⁰ In this sense, the following observation by a parent is pertinent:

I encourage my children to watch YouTube videos on the computer with me in the living room. These videos were made in Somalia before the war and are essentially theatre performances. We watch these videos so that my children, all born in Canada, can learn the Somali language. They can't learn the Somali language that we speak because we use too many English words. However, theatre plays contain conversations which were written by Somali linguists and use a very rich vocabulary. It is this good vocabulary that I want my children to learn. I, on the other hand, was born and raised in Somalia and my vocabulary is beginning to grow poorer. So these videos help me to work on it.

The practice of viewing videos together with their children constitutes a strategy for the Somali parents to transmit an ethnic identity to their children. When the child's cultural affiliation is buttressed by the society's institutions, research has shown that, "the child's membership is apparent to the parents and does not seem to be at the centre of specific parental strategies."⁵¹ Two young women, 22 and 24 years old, provide the following observations:

When I was very little in Mogadiscio, we often watched theatre plays, singing and comedies on television. When we came to Canada, we wanted to watch the same theatre plays. This brought us back good memories. These videos allow me to relive the good times of my childhood in Mogadiscio. Also, these videos help me to improve my Somali language because I speak English all the time. My level of the Somali language has not advanced since childhood. Moreover, my aunt who has just arrived from Somalia often makes fun of my level of Somali.

My sisters, my parents and I listen to CKCU radio, especially during Ramadan and when we eat together in the living room or the dining room. When my friends come to my home, we watch wedding videos together. It's the same thing when we watch videos of theatre performances or songs because it's fun and entertaining.

It is not surprising that wedding videos enjoy great popularity. According to our findings, the practice of circulating wedding videos began in the 1980s and coincides with the period when videotape recorders became available in middle-class homes in larger Somali cities, as well as with the immigration wave from Somalia to neighbouring countries and to Western countries. Families would send the parents living abroad recordings of their children's wedding celebrations. Having become popular in Somalia, wedding videos constitute a "system of visual coordinates which prevail in a social formation whatever it may be."⁵² The wedding is also a meeting point and an occasion for networking for the younger members of the second generation. According to Mulki Al-Sharmani, because they are immersed in the Western mode of living, which includes long hours spent at work, young Somalis do not often have the occasion to engage in social networking that can help them meet partners in their immediate environment.⁵³ Consequently, they turn to the Internet or wedding videos circulating among the diaspora. Seen in a different light, however, these types of videos, even if they circulate in the private

sphere, “posit another sphere, that of a communicating cultural object: the video helps to introduce *one’s own* culture to the Other (neighbour, colleague, classmate).”⁵⁴ Independently of the will to have their culture recognized by others, Somalis highlight the importance of leaving their “traces” by using different media techniques. In information and communication sciences, the notion of “trace” is considered not as a simple imprint of facts and memories, but as a symbolic construction destined to be interpreted in a specific context of its production.⁵⁵ The production and the viewing of videos, as well as Somali community radio and television shows, can then be seen as corresponding to the “traces” in the symbolic reconstruction of Somalia.

VI. Conclusion

Somali media play an important role in the context of a double constraint; that is, the adaptation to the host society and the difficult situation in the country of origin. In Somali homes, the viewing of images takes place in the living room, the space where parents and children interact around images, stories, accounts, and memories of Somalia. Ethnic media are, therefore, not only a means of expression, but also a locus of memory archiving. They contribute to the emergence of a Somali social formation, extending the longevity of some of its traditions, while simultaneously integrating numerous other aspects of the diverse societies in which it is situated.

In the present study, the complex process of identity reconstruction, currently undergone by the Somalis living in Canada, is made possible through an intricate selection of messages transmitted by different media tools. It is rather a form of a multiple media engagement which invites the user to evaluate and negotiate his/her own values, memberships and traditions, in relation to other community members and other socio-political levels. Future research on media uses could work toward a better grasp of the systems of reproduction of masculine domination structuring ethnic media in the diaspora.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this article was published as “Médias ethniques et pratiques médiatiques des Somaliens au Canada,” *Les Enjeux de l’Information et de la Communication*, May 2012. Permission has been granted to publish the article in *Bildhaan*.

2. Johnson 2010; Jeffres 2000.

3. Rigoni 2008.

4. Bako-Arifari 2007.
5. Amselle and M'bokolo 1985; Rivera et al. 2000; Otayek 2001.
6. Streiff-Fenart 1997.
7. Beauchamp and Demers 2009.
8. Belarbi 2004; Garzón 2007.
9. Gayet et al. 2011.
10. Streiff-Fenart 1997, p. 65, my translation.
11. Stewart et al. 2006; Danso 2001; Anamoor and Weinberg 2000.
12. UNDP 2009.
13. Statistics Canada 2006.
14. Ibid.; Bjork and Kusow 2007.
15. Young et al. 1999.
16. MICC 2006.
17. Chicha and Charest 2008.
18. Sharrif 2008.
19. Bigelow 2008, p. 27.
20. Adan 1992.
21. The Canadian government required refugees to provide "satisfactory identity documents" in order to be granted permanent residency (Canadian Council for Refugees 2000).
22. Kusow 1998; Opoku-Dapaah 1995.
23. By television use, we mean watching Somali community television shows and wedding videos as well as theatre plays on the videotape recorder.
24. De Montclos 2003.
25. Ben Amor-Mathieu 2000.
26. Even if the Somali community is not numerically or economically comparable to the Hispanic community in the United States, in both cases the use of media plays a crucial social role in the growth and development of the two communities.
27. Ibid., p. 267, my translation.
28. Producers of these media are aware of the revenues generated by publicity announcements sponsored by local businesses run by community members as well as information advertised by cultural associations.
29. Aksoy and Robins 2000.
30. Rigoni 2010, p. 11, my translation.
31. Guilbert 2001.
32. Taylor 1994, p. 25.
33. Ibid., p.25.
34. Nayrac 2011, p. 1, my translation.
35. Statistics Canada 2006.
36. Jafri 1998; Murray 2002; Henry and Tator 2002.
37. Macé 2006; Mills-Affif 2008.

38. Marie-France Malonga 2007.
39. Lüsebrink 2007, p. 179, my translation.
40. For a synthesis of Reception studies, see Breton and Proulx 2002. (Daniel Dayan 2000, p. 435, my translation).
41. Appadurai 1996, p. 7.
42. Ibid., p. 145.
43. George 2004.
44. Bernard Miège 2000, p. 11, my translation.
45. Sinardet and Mortelmans 2006.
46. Hirsch 2008, p. 103.
47. Silverstone 2002; Livingstone 2003.
48. Mattelart 2009.
49. Marie Gillespie's ethnographic study (1995).
50. Ibid., p. 98.
51. Meintel and Khan 2005, p. 137, my translation.
52. Walter 2007, p. 34, my translation.
53. Mulki Al-Sharmani 2007.
54. Thiéblemont-Dollet 2007, p. 134, my translation.
55. Galinon-Mélénez 2011.

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