

Somali diaspora in Finland – assistance of the country of origin

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine different diaspora dimensions and transnational activities of Somalis living in Finland. Particularly the aim is to examine the transnational activities that aim at the assistance of Somalia. Therefore the research takes part in the debate of the migrants' role in the development of the countries of origin. The different diaspora dimensions are examined by using three approaches to diaspora; the Safran's classical definition, the postmodern version of diaspora and the materiality of diaspora.

The empirical data is collected by interviewing Somalis living in Finland. The focused interview method is used. In order to get informants the snowball method is used. The data consists of six interviews. The respondents can be seen as key informants since they are involved in NGO activities aiming at the assistance of Somalia.

Different diaspora dimensions and various transnational activities were found in the empirical data. Diasporas in the era of globalisation differ from the classical ones since the means for transnational activities have improved. Diaspora for the Somalis interviewed is more than a state of mind; additionally it involves a strong dimension of activities. The responsibility to assist the country of origin exists in diaspora. The assistance takes place in the transnational "space" and it involves the remittance sending for the relatives and the establishment of the development projects in Somalia. Involvement in the transnational activities requires resources, therefore the position in the country of settlement affects the transnational life.

Keywords: diaspora, Somalia, transnationalism, assistance of the country of origin, development, migrants.

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tutkia Suomessa asuvien somalialaisten erilaisia diasporan ulottuvuuksia ja transnationaaleja toimintoja. Tarkoituksena on erityisesti tarkastella sellaisia transnationaaleja toimintoja, jotka tähtäävät Somalian avustamiseen. Siten tutkimus osallistuu keskusteluun maahanmuuttajien roolista heidän entisten kotimaidensa kehittämisessä. Diasporan ulottuvuuksia tarkastellaan käyttämällä kolmea lähestymistapaa diasporaan; Safranin klassista määritelmää, postmodernia versiota diasporasta ja diasporan materiaalisuutta.

Empiirinen aineisto on kerätty haastattelemalla Suomessa asuvia somalialaisia. Metodina on käytetty teemahaastattelua. Haastateltavien löytämiseksi on käytetty lumipallomenetelmää. Aineisto koostuu kuudesta teemahaastattelusta. Haastateltavat voidaan nähdä avain informantteina, sillä he ovat osallisina sellaisissa järjestötoiminnoissa, jotka tähtäävät Somalian avustamiseen.

Aineistosta löytyi erilaisia diasporan ulottuvuuksia ja useita transnationaaleja toimintoja, joihin somalialaiset osallistuvat. Diasporat globalisaation aikakaudella eroavat klassisista diasporista, sillä keinot transnationaaleihin toimintoihin osallistumiseen ovat kehittyneet. Haastatelluille somalialaisille diaspora oli muutakin kuin vain ”mielentila”; sillä on myös vahva toimimisen ulottuvuus. Haastateltavat ilmaisivat velvollisuuden auttaa entistä kotimaataan. Avustaminen tapahtuu transnationaalissa tilassa sisältäen rahalahetykset sukulaisille ja kehitysprojektien perustamisen Somaliassa. Mukanaolo transnationaaleissa toiminnoissa vaatii kuitenkin resursseja, ja siten asema nykyisessä asuinmaassa vaikuttaa transnationaaliin elämään.

Avainsanat: diaspora, Somalia, transnationalismi, entisen kotimaan avustaminen, kehitys, maahanmuuttajat.

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Preface

When I first started to think about my thesis topic in spring 2004, I decided that I wanted to research refugees in Finland, since I have long been interested in different cultures encountering different life realities. What additionally increased my interest in refugees was the work I previously did as a volunteer for a refugee family here in Jyväskylä. I saw concretely the problems they faced in a new society and also, the important role their country of origin played in their life. Since I got in to the master's program in development and international co-operation I had to rethink my topic and include the developmental perspective in it.

When reading the previous research done about the refugees or migrants in Finland, I found that very often they just focus on the integration and do not explain the linkages to the country of origin. In recent years there have been some research done in this field with focus on the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism which include the refugees' and migrants' countries of origin and their links beyond the borders of the country of settlement. Through these concepts, I am able to combine my two interests: refugees and migrants in Finland and development.

I had my first encounter with the theories of transnationalism and diaspora more than a year ago, when I was formulating my thesis topic by reading literature on migration. I found the idea of migrants living their life in a way in two countries very fascinating. I found the Somalis as a group to be researched when I read previous research done about them, such as research done by Alitolppa-Niitamo (2001, 2004). I had no contacts with Somalis before this study, neither extensive knowledge on their culture. At the beginning of the study, I could not even be sure whether they maintain any transnational activities, or whether they are involved in any practices aiming at the development of Somalia. Previous research on Somalis defined this group as diaspora, thus in that sense I could make a hypothesis that they are somehow maintaining links to their country of origin.

Now, after encounters with Somalis I could say I am enlightened. The information I got from my respondents was very valuable. Somehow I feel I got to know a little bit of the field which is very interesting, something which I was not familiar with before. It was very interesting to

have a look at the lives which are not confined only within the one country, but in which two physically distant countries exist side by side.

1. Introduction

Even though migrant communities maintaining relations with their countries of origin are not new phenomena as such, in the era of globalisation the possibilities for the maintenance of these transnational linkages have improved. Linkages between the countries of origin and the countries of settlement have become more intensive, and this can be assumed to have transformed the “essence” of diasporas.

In my thesis I wanted to focus only on one migrant group in order to examine in detail their diaspora dimensions and transnational activities. The migrant group I chose had to be significant in numbers in Finland; therefore I decided to research the Somalis. They are the fourth biggest group of migrants in Finland. In 2003 there were 7,777 people living in Finland whose mother tongue is Somali. (Tilastokeskus 2003.)

Alitolppa-Niitamo and Ali (2001, 147-8) defined first generation Somalis in Finland as living in a diasporic consciousness. By this they mean that Somalis are in constant contact with their country of origin, many of them wish to return there, and they feel responsible to assist it. Tiilikainen (2003) has found diaspora dimensions and practices among the Somali women living in Finland. In my thesis I will examine in detail, and systematically, applying theories on diaspora, what kind of diasporic dimensions can be found among Somalis.

In addition to the Somali diasporas’ characteristics, I will examine the transnational linkages that Somalis living in Finland maintain considering them as “outcomes” of diaspora living. I am particularly interested in their transnational activities which aim at the development of Somalia. What are the activities performed in order to assist the country of origin, and what kind of developmental interests exist among Somalis living in Finland? Generally, migrants from developing countries living all over the world are an important resource in assisting their countries of origin. Very often they send remittances to their families back home. Worldwide, according to Nyberg-Sørensen et al. (2002, 29) the remittances that migrants and refugees send to their original home countries are estimated to be double the amount of the official development aid. Migrant diasporas are maintaining various transnational practises such as cultural exchange, relief, political advocacy, investments and development projects which have an effect on the country of origin.

Also Somali diaspora world-wide is known to be active in assisting Somalia for example by sending remittances. Remittance sending to Somalia has a relatively long history; it was done already in 1970's by Somalis who migrated to the Gulf States as workers. Since then the remittances sent by the Somalis living abroad have had an important role in the economy of Somalia, and the amounts have been and are significant exceeding the official development aid. (Horst & Van Hear 2002, 2.)

In this research the purpose is not to concentrate on the Somalis' life in Finland, or the level of integration as such; the focus is on the Somali migrants' links to the country of origin and the developmental effects of these links and activities. The concepts of diaspora and transnationalism will be applied in order to explain the life reality of Somalis and the concrete activities they do in order to assist their country of origin. The approach that national and transnational are interacting will be applied in this study. It will be illustrated that transnational activities are significant not only for the people living in diaspora but also for the people remaining in Somalia. The aim is to get interpretations from the people interviewed about the life reality which is not only confined within one country; what does the transnational life look like from the point of view of Somalis in Finland; in which ways it is maintained and why?

The research question is divided into three parts:

- 1) To what extent can Somalis in Finland be defined as living in the diaspora? What kind of diasporic dimensions can be found from the empirical data?
- 2) What are "the outcomes" of diaspora living? What are the activities performed in order to assist their country of origin? What is the motivation and reason behind the transnational activities?
- 3) How can migrants be "agents" of development in their country of origin? How do Somalis see their own role in the reconstruction and development of Somalia?

2. Carrying out the research

2.1. Empirical data

This is a qualitative research and the empirical data has been collected by interviewing people. The focused interview method is used in this study. This method is placed in between the structured and the in-depth interviews. This particular method of data collection is chosen, first of all, because it emphasizes that the person has to be seen as a subject, rather than an object, in the research. By interviewing Somalis I aim to get their voices heard. Moreover, they are seen as active meaning makers. The purpose of the interviews is to get interpretations from the respondents. Secondly, when the topic has not been researched enough, it is difficult for the researcher to know the directions of responses in advance. For research such as this one, the interviews as a data collection method are recommended. (See Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 35.)

The empirical data of the thesis consists of six (6) focused interviews. The group of Somalis I have interviewed is rather homogeneous. The respondents are well-educated, by which I mean that they have at least the bachelor degree. They are from the same generation; the ages of respondents varied from 37 to 47 years. They have lived in Finland for a long time, from 9 to 20 years, and they are all active in NGOs in Finland. Some of the organisations in which the respondents were involved in can be defined as “immigrant and ethnic minority organisations (IEMO)” (Blion 2002, 236), but some of the organisations they were involved in were Finnish NGOs. Therefore the organisations in this study are called simply just NGOs (non-governmental organisations). Two of the respondents are women and four of them are men. The durations of interviews were between 30 and 90 minutes.

2.1.1. Gathering the empirical data

One important issue in the data gathering was the language. I do not speak the mother tongue of the people I am interviewing; therefore I had to carefully think about the language issue. I decided to carry out the interviews in Finnish, since at least it is the mother tongue of one of us in the interview situation. If I had carried the interviews out in English, there would have

been too many interpretations; maybe from the respondents' side from Somali to English and at least from my side from English to Finnish. This could have endangered the meanings and understanding of the issues discussed in the interview. I did not use an interpreter for the same reason; too much interpreting could have endangered the meanings. Therefore, the respondents in this research are Somalis who speak good Finnish, which can be seen as one sign of integration to Finnish society. Hence, the mutual understanding in terms of language was not a problem.

A snowball sampling method is used in order to get informants. Snowball sampling means that the researcher searches informants, who are well involved in the activities that are under the research. When so called key- informants have been interviewed, they are asked to propose other persons who might accomplish the information. This group gives new names and so on. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 59-60.)

I was in contact with the Finland-Somalia association when starting to look for the informants. Through them I got a couple of names of Somalis who are active in NGOs. I started to "enter the field" in October 2004 and I carried out the first interview in December 2004. From the first informant I got two names I could contact, and I interviewed one of them in January 2005. From this respondent I got names I contacted, and interviewed one of these in May 2005, which was the last interview. In order to get more respondents, I sent an e-mail to the Somalileague in Finland (Suomen Somaliliitto ry), which is the umbrella organisation for all the Somali organisations in Finland. Through this contact I got three names, which I contacted and then interviewed in January and February 2005.

I did not expect the data collection to be an easy project, since I did not have any contacts to any Somalis before this data collection. First of all, it was problematic in terms of time, since the Somalis I was in contact with live in the Helsinki area. Therefore, we had to find the time suitable for me and the respondent, and I had to travel from Jyväskylä to Helsinki each time to carry out the interviews. Second, one of the key issues was to motivate people to come to the interviews and more importantly, establish a confidential relation. In addition, I had to think about my position as an interviewer. I am a young and not so experienced researcher, how would I manage to convince the respondents of the importance of my research and get them to tell their stories? Would I be culturally sensitive enough in asking questions?

The snowball sampling turned out to be a very good method in finding the respondents and it also helped to create the confidence. When the one person already interviewed had told the next respondent about me and my research and had “persuaded” that person to come to the interview, some sort of trusted relationship had been established already. Therefore, at the end it was rather easy to carry out the interviews and talk openly about the issues concerned. Respondents were motivated to answer my questions and they seemed to be interested in my research. I had e-mailed some information about my thesis to the respondents before the interviews such as the themes that would be discussed. Some of the respondents also wanted to have the questions in advance. I met two of the respondents once before the actual interview and I gave them the background information of the research in those discussions. By giving background information in advance, I ensured that each respondent will know what the research is about. I felt that this helped in the creation of the confidential relationship between me and the respondents. Additionally, since the respondents had had time to think about the themes in advance, all the interviews have a rich content. Some respondents brought some material, such as map of Somalia and information about the development projects to the interviews in order to illustrate the issues concerned.

I promised to keep all the interviews anonymous. Therefore in response quotations I have not marked down any details (such as sex or age) of the respondents. Neither do I name the organisations nor the development projects in the chapter 6.3. because I assume that these organisations and projects are well known among the Somali community in Finland, and therefore the detailed descriptions of them could endanger the anonymity.

2.1.2. Representativeness of the data

As I mentioned above, the Somalis I have interviewed have lived in Finland for several years and speak good Finnish, they are well-educated, and in addition they are actively involved in NGO activities to assist their original homeland. What about the representativeness of this sort of data?

Holstein & Gubrium (1995, 74) emphasise the selection of the respondents in qualitative data collection. According to them, the aim of the interviews is to “get” narratives and stories and, therefore, the abilities of respondents are more important than that the fact that the sample is

representative. In this research the respondents can be all seen as key informants, since they are well involved in homeland assistance in many levels. This enabled us to discuss on both a personal level (their own, personal experiences) and a more general level.

Because of the relatively small amount of interviews and the focused group of people interviewed, the results of the research cannot be generalised for all the migrants and refugees. It has to be noted that if I had interviewed “new-comers”, the Somalis who do not speak Finnish, or non-educated people, the answers and results might have been different. Thus my sample and my results cannot even be generalised to concern all the Somalis living in Finland. Instead, the analysis and the interpretations should be considered as possible point of views to understand the phenomenon under research.

2.2. Analysis

Analysing the small amount of interviews enabled me to look at the each interview deeply and in detail. Therefore, in this research, the focus is purely on the quality of the interviews rather than the quantity.

The concepts of diaspora and transnationalism are used as a theoretical background of the study. The analysis is divided into two parts. In the first part the Somali diaspora is analyzed. The Safran’s diaspora definition is used as an analytical tool. As claimed in various texts about diaspora, it is always a matter of empirical research, whether a certain group is diasporic or not (see Wahlbeck 2002, 230). Different diasporic dimensions are sought from the empirical data in accordance to Safran’s characteristics. In addition, theoretizations of the postmodern version of diaspora are applied in order to explain different diasporic dimensions. This first part answers to the first research questions: to what extent can Somalis be defined to live in diaspora? What kind of diasporic dimensions can be found from the data?

In the second part of the analysis the empirical data is approached more openly than in the first part. Here, any theoretical concept is not used as a tool as such. As a theoretical background concepts there were transnationalism and the materiality of diaspora. Different transnational activities are sought from the empirical data. In this part these activities were sought as themes deriving from the data. The second part of analysis answers to the second

and the third research questions; what are the outcomes of diaspora living? What do they do in order to assist their country of origin? What is the motivation/reason behind the transnational activities? How can migrants be “agents” of development in their country of origin? How do Somalis see their own role (diaspora’s role) in the reconstruction and development of Somalia?

2.3. Validity and reliability of the research

Since the nature of the qualitative research is different from the quantitative research, the validity and reliability should be assessed according to different criteria. Lincoln and Guba (1985, 290) propose criteria of trustworthiness for assessment of qualitative study. Trustworthiness consists of four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility can be achieved, firstly, by “ensuring that the research is carried out according to the canons of good practice” (Bryman 2004, 275). In order to increase the probability of the credible findings, Lincoln and Guba (1985, 301) suggest, for example, the prolonged engagement as a method for that. By doing that, the aim is, firstly, “to be certain that the context is thoroughly appreciated and understood”; secondly, to take the distortions into account, and thirdly, prolonged engagement “is intended to provide the investigator as opportunity to build trust.” I was in contact with my respondents before the interviews by e-mails, by phone, and some of them I also met in advance. They all knew in advance the topics or themes that will be discussed in the interviews. I felt this helped in the trust creation. Before I “entered the field”, I prepared myself by reading about Somalia and Somali culture. I knew the basic facts about Somalia, and Somali culture, and that was essential to carry out the interviews. But as I mentioned earlier, I did not have any contacts to Somalis neither extensive knowledge of culture and country before this research process started.

Transferability of the research is difficult in qualitative research, since it is often contextual and unique, as in this research. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, 316) “thick description” provides “a database” for the readers, so that they can make judgements about the transferability of findings to other situations and contexts. I presented a lot of quotations of the responses in my analysis so that the readers can make judgements about the

transferability of the findings. Finnish was the language of the interviews, and since my intention was to get the respondents voice heard authentically I reported interview quotations in Finnish. However, I translated all the quotations into English and placed them as notes at the end of the text, so that the meanings and contents would be understandable also for the English speakers.

In order to achieve dependability, Lincoln and Guba (1985, 317-318) propose that researcher should “adopt an auditing process”. It involves keeping complete records of all the phases of the research process and peers acting as auditors (Bryman 2004, 275). In this research process no external auditor has been used, and in this sense dependability has not been achieved to the high extent. I have recognised this lack, and I have consciously tried to act as my own auditor. I did that by keeping the research diary from the beginning of the process, in which I wrote down all the feelings, experiences and obstacles I had during the research process. The research diary was particularly useful in the beginning of the process, in problem formulation. Additionally it was essential when reflecting on the interview situations and my own position as a interviewer. I recorded five of the interviews and transcribed them. One respondent did not want me to use a recorder, but I made extensive notes from the interview. Transcribed interviews, notes and the research diary have enabled me to go back and forth in this research helping me to achieve dependability at least to some extent.

Confirmability refers to neutrality and objectivity. It should be clear in the research that the researcher does not let the personal values or theoretical inclinations to affect the research. (Bryman 2004, 276.) I believe that continuous self-reflection during the research process helps to achieve objectivity. I have consciously thought about my position as a researcher in data collection, and tried to avoid judging issues according to my personal values. In my research I see the fact that I started the data collection relatively early as a strong point. I had familiarised myself with the topic and theories under research, but I had not tied myself to any theories when starting the data collection. My aim was to let empirical data to lead the way, and avoid strong theoretical assumptions in advance. Since the data collection took place during a relatively long time (from December to May), there was a continuous interaction between the empirical data and theoretical concepts.

Patton (1990, 472) argues that in the qualitative research the researcher is the instrument and therefore the researcher should include information about him/herself to the report in order to

achieve credibility. I included to the preface my motivation to do this study, and my background as a student of sociology and development co-operation. In addition, I made it clear that this was my first encounter with the group under the study.

3. A country in the Horn of Africa

3.1. Short history of Somalia

Somalia was colonised by British, Italians and French. Northern parts of Somalia became Britain's Somaliland protectorate in 1886, Italy was occupying Southern Somalia from 1889 onwards, and France Djibouti since 1862. (See the map of Somalia, appendix 3.) Britain's Somaliland in the Northwest and the United Nations Trust Territory of Somalia administered by the Italians merged in 1960 forming the independent Somali Republic. The French-administrated Djibouti became independent in 1977. There was a hope to get all the Somali areas; Italy's and Britain's Somalilands, France's Somaliland Djibouti and the Somali areas of Ethiopia and Kenya to become emerged to Somali Republic. The flag of Somalia with the white star and its points represented these five Somali areas. (Gundel 2002, 256-257; Johansson and Diesow 1993, 21.)

General Siad Barre arranged a bloodless coup in 1969. After that the national ideology was characterised by 'scientific socialism', with the support of the Soviet Union. (DeLancey et al. 1988, xx.) Barre promised to preserve justice and democracy, and eliminate clannism and corruption. Despite the promises, Barre's regime led to the exercise of corruption, which increasingly was based on clan politics. In the name of the pan-Somali vision, the army of Somalia attacked Ethiopia in 1977 trying to conquer the Ogaden area. Ethiopia was supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba, and Somalia lost the war. The Ogaden war caused massive refugee flows from Ethiopia to Somalia. After this Barre turned to the United States in order to get support. The Ogaden war caused changes, and tension in internal politics as well. Under the Barre's regime the state resources were unequally distributed. Nepotism and corruption increased the opposition to Barre, particularly in the Northern parts of the country. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 23-24.) In 1981 refugees in London set up nationalistic SNM (Somali national movement) which operated in the North opposing Barre. In 1988 SNM attacked the government forces in the North. From that on the civil war spread throughout the country. In 1989 opposition movements, such as SNM, USC (United Somali Congress) and SPM (Somali patriotic movement) got together in order to oppose Barre. Siad Barre was removed from

power, and the Republic of Somalia collapsed in 1991. Later that year the Northwest region of Somalia proclaimed the independent Somaliland. (Gundel 2002, 257.)

The Southern and central Somalia were damaged by inter-clan warfare and widespread famine during 1991 and 1992. UN operation (UNOSOM) started in Somalia in 1993. The operation was able to end famine, but UNOSOM became involved in the conflict. In 1993 there was a open warfare between UNOSOM and USC/SNA faction. UNOSOM left Somalia in 1995, and the country was left divided and without central government. (Gundel 2002, 258.)

Somali migration has a long history, starting from the colonial period when some Somalis settled in the UK and Italy. However, at that time migration was only small scale. During 1970's and 1980's Somali migrant workers went to the Gulf states. The largest movements took place from 1988 onwards, particularly from 1991, when more than 1 million Somalis are estimated to have left the country because of the civil war. Most of the Somalis went to the neighbouring countries or elsewhere in Somalia as IDP's (internally displaced people). The better-off refugees went to the Western countries. (Gundel 2002, 264.)

3.2. Somali culture

Somalis are often considered one of the most homogeneous populations in Africa (DeLancey et al 1988, xiii). Most of the population, about 85 %, are ethnically Somalis (Griffiths 2003). In addition, there are minority groups particularly in the southern Somalia such as Bantu, Bajuni and Baravani peoples (Gundel 2002, 262). An important unifying factor in Somali culture is religion. It is estimated that 99.8 % of the Somali population is Muslim, and the vast majority of them are Sunni. (DeLancey et al. 1988, xv.) Along with the Islam and clanship, the language is one important component in Somali national identity. Somali language remained unwritten until 1972. (Griffiths 2003.) Despite the homogeneity of people in terms of ethnicity, religion and language Somalia remains divided and fragmented. The civil war was clan based and it has left the country politically divided.

The traditional social organisation in Somalia is the clan-system. There are six main clan families, Darood, Dir, Hawie, Isaaq, Digil and Rahanwein, and in addition to these many sub-

clans. Family is an important unit in Somali culture. The Somalian family concept is different from the Western one, since in Somalia the family is extended, involving grandparents, cousins and even close friends. Family is indeed a social unit, but it has also the economical dimension, since the family members have the responsibility for each other's welfare. Kinship is the traditional social security for Somalis; everyone has the responsibility to assist their relatives. (Serkkola 1992, 15; 26; 28; 88.)

3.3. Contemporary situation

At the moment Somalia has no legitimate and effective national government. The Northern Somaliland proclaimed its independence in 1991, but it is not internationally recognised. The Transitional National Government (TNG) is internationally recognised, but in reality it controls only a part of Mogadishu. Abdullahi Yusuf (president of Puntland) was elected as a president of TNG on October 2004. The elections were held in Kenya, Nairobi. TNG is still remaining in Kenya, because of the security reasons. They are seeking for solution to go to Somalia, either to Mogadishu, if the security situation there gets better, or to some other city. (Wikipedia.)

Even though Somalia "is stateless, it is not anarchic". Many small political organisations exist, and the political functions are carried out at the local level such as at the town, village, or even neighbourhood level. Conflicts are still taking place in the Southern parts of the country, but they have also remained localized. (Menkhaus 1998, 220; 223; 221.)

Because of the armed conflict, loss of livelihood, and the lack of basic services (particularly formal education and health) the future perspectives of Somalia are still unsure (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 25). In order to illustrate the "development stage" of Somalia, here are some figures according to UNDP Somalia (2002):

| | Unemployment status | Extreme poverty (less than 1\$/day) | Adult literacy | Gross primary school enrolment rate | Access to at least one health facility (available&affordable) |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Somalia | 47.4 % | 43.2% | 19.2% | 16.9% | 54.8% |
| Urban | 61.5% | 23.5% | 34.9% | - | 62.7% |
| Rural&Nomadic | 4.7% | 53.4% | 10.9% | - | 36.4% |

Source: UNDP Socio-economic survey, Somalia (2002).

The highest percentage (60%) of Somalis are nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists raising camels, sheep, cattle and goats. About 15-20 % of the population is urban, and about 25 % are settled farmers. (Wikipedia.)

3.4. Finland – Somalia encounter

The contacts between Somalia and Finland existed before the Somali refugees' arrival to Finland. Finland was giving development assistance to Somalia during 1980's, being active particularly in establishing the tuberculosis prevention programme. In 1986 Finland was the fourth biggest aid giver to Somalia after Italy, USA and the World Bank. In 1990 Finland ended the development assistance in Somalia due to the civil war. (Aallas 1991, 7-8; 13.)

Somalis started to leave the country after the civil war broke out in 1988, and in particularly high numbers in 1991. Somali asylum seekers started to enter Finland in 1990, most of them via Soviet Union. (Aallas 1991, 5.) Contacts and networks established through the development assistance between Somalia and Finland did offer a basis only for a small number of Somalis to migrate to Finland. A stronger factor linking Somalia and Finland in the refugee movement was the co-operation between the former Soviet Union and Somalia. This co-operation functioned on the basis of the Cold War alliances. There were for example Somalis studying in the former Soviet Union, and when the war started they functioned as links for Somalis who were seeking the asylum destination. When the Soviet Union went through its own turmoil and therefore was not able to host Somalis, "Finland just happened to be the closest Western country for many." Actually the most Somalis who entered Finland between 1990 and 1992 did not consider Finland as their primary destination. After 1992 more Somalis have entered Finland through the chain migration and official family reunification programs. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 24-25.)

Somalis arriving in Finland from the beginning of the 1990's on have been the largest single ethnic group applying asylum in Finland. Before their arrival asylum seekers have been mainly just individuals, or small groups of people. Therefore this period of time remains as a milestone in the Finnish history of immigration. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 22-23.)

4. Theoretical framework

4.1. Migration research changes

Migration research has traditionally examined immigrants and their lives within the borders of the receiving society, concentrating on analysing how they adapt to the new culture. In the 1950's and 1960's, especially in Northern America, assimilation theory in migration studies was considerably powerful. Assimilation theory claims that the contact between the ethnic minorities and the majority leads inevitably to a decrease in the meaning of ethnicity and, therefore, to the assimilation into "the hegemony". Ethnic minorities' own cultures are not respected in this theory. In the second phase of migration studies from the 1970's the theoretical model of different acculturation options created by John Berry gained attention. (Alitolppa- Niitamo 2004, 41.) According to this model, immigrants have four options in approaching the culture of the receiving society. These are assimilation, which emphasises the adaptation to the culture of receiving society; separation which means that only the maintenance of own culture is important; integration, in which the migrant is adapting to the new culture without losing the culture and identity of origin; and finally, marginalisation, both from the culture of origin and the receiving society. (Berry et al. 1996, 278-279.) All these theories view migrants within the boundaries of the country of settlement and do not pay attention to the linkages to the country of origin.

In recent years there has been a conceptual shift in migration studies towards the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. A new transnational approach challenges the territorial nationalism that circumscribes the modern nation-state. (Lie 1995, 304.) This approach shifts the emphasis from the issue of whether migrants lose or maintain their own culture to the migrants' networks and linkages that transcend the national boundaries (Faist 2000, 226).

According to Lie (1995, 304), the concept of diaspora better explains the reality of transnational communities and networks than the concepts of immigration and assimilation. Especially in the case of refugees, whose movements are primarily dictated by circumstances of their home countries rather than by a desire to establish a new life, the ties to the country of origin can be assumed to be strong and thus can not be ignored.

In recent years research has been done in Finland with the concept of diaspora. Östen Wahlbeck (1999) has researched Kurdish diaspora by comparing communities in Finland and in England. Laura Huttunen (2002) has applied diaspora concept in her dissertation “Kotona, maanpaossa, matkalla.” Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo (2001, 2004) has researched Somali youngsters and used the concept of diaspora. Also Marja Tiilikainen (2003) has applied diaspora in her dissertation “Arjen Islam”, which was about the Somali women in Finland. Furthermore, Ulla Salovaara (2004) has examined Kurdish youngsters’ diaspora in her thesis.

Despite the scholarly shift towards a transnationalist approach, Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004, 42) argues that particularly in Finland “the ethos of integration” still dominates the administrative and public discourse. Also Koser (2000, 3) claims that even though there are proven benefits of the transnational ties of the refugees to their countries of origin, in Western countries migration and refugee policies have generally been influenced by assumptions that refugees should either focus on the integration in the host societies or repatriate. This assumption ignores the refugees’ potential to contribute to reconstruction of the post conflict countries from the physical distance.

The politics concerning migrants and refugees are formed in accordance to the idea of the nation-state. The nation-state is the starting point in policy making, yet in this policy making the potentiality of refugees and migrants contributing to the development of their original home countries could, and should, be taken into account. (See Koser and Van Hear 2003, 16-17.)

4.2. Globalisation as a context for transnational living

Diasporas and transnational living as such are not new phenomena; not only related to the era of globalisation. However, in the era of globalisation the means for creation and maintenance of transnational ties has developed. Therefore, when looking at the transnational life of a certain group, and when examining diaspora, it is necessary to take the phenomenon called globalisation into account. Indeed, transnationalism and globalisation go together. Hence, I shall shortly introduce some recent debates about globalisation.

In recent years globalisation has become a trend word to be used in many contexts. Despite a vast literature on globalisation, there is no compelling theory of it, neither a complete agreement upon the extent of the phenomenon. According to Held et al. (1999, 15) the concept of globalisation indicates “a stretching of social, political and economic activities across frontiers such that events, decisions, and activities in one region of the world can come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe.” Globalisation exemplifies transregional interconnectedness creating possibilities for actions at a distance. Connections across different localities have regularised “such that there is a detectable intensification, or growing magnitude, of interconnectedness patterns of interaction and flows which transcend the constituent societies and state of the world order.” Global processes, interactions and activities have speeded up due to the development of world-wide communication and transport systems. Due to the growing intensity, extensity and velocity of global interconnectedness and interactions, boundaries between local and global matters have become blurred. Local developments may have global consequences, and vice versa. (Held et al. 1999, 15.)

According to Held and McGrew (2002, 2;5;7), there are two opposite ways to approach the process of globalisation. On the one hand it can be seen as a real and deeply transformative process, which expresses itself in “deep structural changes in the scale of modern social organisations”, as ‘the globalists’ see it. These transformations involve changes in socio-economic organisation, in territorial principle and in power. Globalisation constitutes the possibility of new forms of transnational social organisation, such as terrorist networks and global production networks, since it erodes space and time constraints on the forms of social interaction. In addition, in the era of globalisation communities, in particular locales, have become vulnerable to global conditions.

On the other hand, ‘the sceptics’ consider the view of the globalists highly exaggerated, which prevents us from seeing the real forces forming societies and political choices. They claim that the globalisation is a myth, meaning that contemporary phenomenon does not actually differ much from the previous times, instead, the contemporary trends reflect “a process of internationalisation; growing links between essentially discrete national economies or societies.” ‘The radicals’ claim that the globalisation discourse helps legitimise and justify the creation of a neo-liberal global free market and the strengthening of Anglo-American capitalism. (Held and McGrew 2002, 3-4).

‘The globalists’ and ‘the sceptists’ disagree about the extent of the transformations. In the political transformation level the sceptists claim that the nation-states are still the most powerful political entities, and that the world order is produced by the most powerful states (Held and McGrew 2002, 16). The globalist, conversely, claim that since nation-states are increasingly involved in the webs of global and regional interconnectedness, they are not able anymore to determine their own fate. In addition, these interconnections and global forces challenge the legitimacy and sovereignty of nation-states. (Ibid. 2002, 23.)

What comes to the cultural aspect of globalisation the sceptists argue that there will not be any kind of global culture, since there is no common, universal history, or common way of thinking through which people could unite. The globalists argue that increased interconnectedness and global communication system transform relations between social circumstances and physical locales. Therefore the identity production has become plural; ideas and values can be taken from many diverse settings. (Held and McGrew 2002, 30;36.)

The sceptists claim that the national governments keep controlling and governing the world economy, whereas the globalists see the role of national economies governing the world economy diminishing. The multinational companies have integrated local economies into global production networks, the current global economy is more open than previously, and economic crisis in one region has an impact on all countries economies. (Held and McGrew 2002, 48;50.)

According to Beck (1999, 48-49), the sceptists are historically, theoretically and empirically wrong in their claims that there is nothing new in contemporary globalisation. As Beck states (ibid.), there are several characteristics in today’s world that distinguishes the era of globalisation from the previous eras. These are, for example, transnational networks, which are characterised by mutual and strong dependency relations and responsibilities; the dislocation of community; a consciousness about the global ecological risks; experiencing new cultures in everyday life; the extent of the spread of “global culture industry”; and the increase of transnational actors, institutions and “contracts”, and the increase of their power. Beck (1999, 56-59) distinguishes different dimensions of globalisation, which according to him are: globalisation of information, globalisation of ecology, globalisation of economy, globalisation of production/distribution of work, and globalisation of culture.

Held et al. (1999, 28) reminds that associating globalisation with universalism is a fault, since the global interconnectedness is experienced differently and to a different extent by communities and peoples. The question of power is essential in the globalisation debate. The world's economical and political elites are more integrated into global networks compared to, for example, the small-scale farmers in developing countries. These elites in the world's major metropolitan areas have also more control over global processes and networks. In addition, a considerable number of people in the world is left out from the benefits of globalisation (Held and McGrew 2002, 1).

Papastergiadis (2000, 76-77; 82) reminds about one contradiction of globalisation claiming that despite of the fact that capital, information and ideas can move freely, for the movement of labour there are increasing restrictions, both on entry and settlement. Transfers of capital are relatively free, but none of the nations is encouraging mass migration. Thus, what comes to the migration, nation-states still continue to maintain their power in that issue.

The phenomenon of globalisation provides a context for transnationalism. As Held and McGrew (2002, 7) argued, globalisation creates the possibility for new forms of transnational social organisation, since it erodes space and time constraints on the forms of social interaction. Diasporas maintaining transnational relations and activities can be seen as one example of these transnational social organisations. Diasporas in the era of globalisation differ greatly from “the classical diasporas”, since the means for the maintenance of the transnational activities have improved.

4.3. Transnationalism

In their study on the Caribbeans and Filipinos in the United States, Basch et al. (1994, 7) define transnationalism as consisting of

the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi- stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasise that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders.

Immigrants' daily activities and mental future representations are not necessarily confined within the borders of the country of settlement, but instead they may build social, economical and political networks that transcend the national borders (Alitolppa- Niitamo 2004, 42).

Therefore the life reality of many immigrants is both in the country of origin and the country of settlement. These transnational lives may become "a strategy of survival and betterment", and in these cases one can speak of "transmigrants". Moreover, even immigrants who have settled for a long time in the country of immigration can maintain transnational linkages and therefore take part in the transnational social spaces. (Faist 2000, 197.) Transnational ties may develop into permanent forms of transnational spaces over time. These transnational spaces consist of a combination of maintained social and symbolic ties, which contain social capital; locations "in networks and organisations and networks of organisations" that exist in multiple states. These spaces indicate dynamic processes. Political, economic and cultural processes in transnational social spaces include the use and accumulation of different kinds of capital: human capital such as skills, know-how and education, economic capital and social capital. (Ibid., 122; 199-200.)

Social capital in transnational lives has three dimensions which are obligation, reciprocity and solidarity. Social capital fulfils, on the one hand, 'the bridging function', which means that immigrants maintain social and symbolic ties with people in the countries of origin and through these ties and flows social capital bridges different migratory places. These ties can be for example remittance sending, spending holidays in the country of origin or assisting the original homeland in community development projects. (Faist 2000, 15;122.) On the other hand, social capital may be bonding, meaning that the monitoring of the community leads to the binding solidarity, and thus "creates strong in-group loyalty"(Putnam 2000, 23).

Faist (2000, 202) identifies three forms of transnational social spaces which are transnational kinship groups, transnational circuits and transnational communities.

1) Transnational kinship groups

Reciprocity is the primary resource in bounding ties of these groups. It can be seen for example in sending remittances back home to the relatives. This is typical for many first generation labour migrants and refugees. Reciprocity means that "when one receives

something from the other, it requires some return”. These groups are characterised by “social norm of equivalence; control over members of small groups.” (Faist 2000, 202-203.)

2) Transnational circuits

For these groups the primary resource is an exchange; circulation of goods, information and people. Typical examples of the transnational circuits are the trading networks, such as those of Chinese, Indian and Lebanese business people. (Faist 2000, 203; 206.) In particular many west coast Chinese are becoming “hypermobile” migrants; having a family in one society and starting a business in another, and then moving between these two places (Cohen 1997, 92). They often use insider advantages such as social relations and knowledge of the language “to establish a foothold” (Faist 2000, 206).

3) Transnational communities

In transnational communities its members are connected by tight social and symbolic ties. A primary resource in ties is solidarity; in these communities it reaches beyond the kinship systems. Transnational communities are maintaining shared beliefs, ideas and symbols which are expressed in some kind of collective identity. Common ethnicity, nationhood, or religions are the “sources” which hold the transnational community together. Examples of these communities are diasporas. (Faist 2000, 203; 207-8.)

In the above mentioned views transnationalism can be seen as “a gravedigger of the nation-state world order”. Often, on the one hand “the national approaches to migrants’ integration” and on the other hand “an unbounded transnationalism” are treated as oppositions to each other. (Koopmans and Statham 2001, 6.) In their research Koopmans and Statham (ibid., 19) claimed that “instead of opposing the national and transnational, we set out specifically to show how they interact.” They had examined the migrants’ claims-making in the newspapers in Germany, Britain and The Netherlands and their empirical data showed, that “claims-making falls strongly on the side that sees nation-states as the dominant factor in shaping migrant claims-making in general, and the potential for, and patterns of transnational claims-making.” They found out that the forms and levels of transnational claims-making differ from one country to another. The differences are explained by the type of citizenship a country uses for including immigrants into national community.

Guarnizo and Smith (1998, 12-13) view the global processes from the local perspective and criticise “the idea of transmigrants as unbounded actors”. As they state:

we wish to underline the actual mooring, and, thus, boundedness of transnationalism by the opportunities and constraints found in particular locations where transnational practises occur... the fit between specific kinds of migrants and specific local and national contexts abroad shapes not only the likelihood of generating, maintaining or forsaking transnational ties, but also the very nature of the ties that migrants can forge with their place of origin.

It will be seen in this research as well, that the transnationalism is not unbounded; the factors both in the country of origin and the country of settlement affect the transnational ties and linkages in many ways. (More about this in the chapter 8.)

4.4. Diaspora

The word diaspora is of Greek origin meaning “scattering of seeds” (Anthias 1998, 560). The idea of diaspora varies substantially and it has a long history that is not only associated with the modern world. Originally the concept was used to describe the dispersal of Jewish people from their homeland. Nowadays, it is often used to refer to many well-established groups which have experienced displacement, such as the whole African diaspora, Palestinian refugees and Armenians in exile. Lately the diaspora concept has been used to refer the situation of refugee communities. (Wahlbeck 1999, 29.) What is new in diasporic phenomenon in today’s world is the increasing influence of globalisation (Cohen 1997, ix). The changes in technology, economic organisations, modes of travel and communication facilitate the transnational relations/links and therefore increase the possibilities for diaspora formation (Wahlbeck 1999, 30). Due to the developments in communication technology contacts are less expensive and may take place in real-time, therefore contacts between diasporas and their countries of origin have become more intensive. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 44).

One might face problems in using this kind of concept as an analytical tool, since several definitions of it exist. Diaspora has multiple meanings and in the past years it has been used in many ways to define certain groups, such as all the minorities who no longer live in their

original homeland. According to Safran (1999, 255) nowadays the concept has been used more frequently, and more loosely.

The rough distinction can be done between two different approaches to define diaspora. One approach is to use diaspora to refer to the physically existing homeland and yearning for it. Robin Cohen and William Safran for example represent this view. Wahlbeck (1999) has used the definition of Safran in his research on Kurdish diasporas. In this approach diasporas are examined at a community level. Another possibility is to understand diaspora as a particular form of consciousness or identity. This approach represents a social and cultural condition. Anthias (1998, 560) has named this approach as “the postmodern version of diaspora”. This view challenges the above mentioned one by claiming that diasporas are not always defined by their orientation to a singular national homeland, instead the individuals own narrative and definition about the diaspora identity are the issues that matter and define diaspora (Werbner 2000, 15). This view is held, for example, by Stuart Hall, Avtar Brahn and James Clifford. In addition, the third way of researching diasporas is to examine the material expressions of diaspora living. The materiality of diaspora refers to the transnational activities that people living in diaspora maintain.

In my study I will start by examining the Somali diaspora using the Safran’s definition of diaspora. In addition, I will apply the postmodern version of diaspora since it better explains certain characteristic of Somali diaspora. Finally, I will seek various transnational activities from the data; activities that represent the material and immaterial “outcomes” of diaspora living.

4.4.1. Diasporas as yearning for origin

The scholars of this diaspora approach argue that a minimum of two criteria have to be set for the diaspora. One is the forcible dispersal and another is the maintained idea of homeland. (Wahlbeck 1999, 29-30.) William Safran’s definition is presented in the first issue of the journal *Diaspora* in 1990. According to him diasporas are

expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics:

1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “centre” to two or more “peripheral”, or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history and achievements; 3) they believe they are not- and perhaps cannot be- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (Safran 1990, 83-4.)

This definition is a strict one and many of the groups traditionally defined as diasporas do not fulfil all these above mentioned criteria. In this definition it is emphasised that dispersal alone is not enough to qualify certain group as diaspora, and moreover, that the feeling of belonging to diaspora is essential. In addition, Safran focuses mainly on the country of origin; only one criterion is about the relationship to the country of settlement.

For Safran (1990, 84) the Jewish people diaspora is a prototype of diaspora. He makes a clear distinction between the Jewish diaspora and the others and therefore the other diasporas have difficulties in fulfilling above mentioned criteria set by Safran. According to him (1999, 278) there are two aspects that distinguish Jewish diaspora from another dispersed people, who do maintain linkages with the original homeland. First of all, Jewish have had to be concerned about the physical survival of the original homeland and the individuals belonging to the Jewish community. Another distinguishing aspect is religion. The Jewish diaspora has been linked, for example, with a belief that after the coming of the Messiah the diaspora will end. (Safran 1999, 282.) One of the paradoxes in the case of Jewish is the creation of Israel: “the homecoming of the Jewish diaspora” created the Palestinian diaspora (Cohen 1997, 28). According to Clifford (1994, 307) “such ‘homecomings’ are, by definition, the negation of diaspora.”

Even though Jewish diaspora is seen as an ideal type and other diasporas have difficulties fitting into this strict definition, this does not mean that diaspora cannot be used as a concept to analyse dispersed people and their transnational linkages. Wahlbeck (2002, 230) argues that the notion of diaspora should be used as “an ideal type in the true “weberian” sense of the term”. An ideal type is constructed for analytical purposes and it is not meant to exist as pure in the reality. Therefore not even the Jewish diaspora can be an ideal type. The diaspora

definition is a matter of empirical investigation. Also, according to Clifford (1994, 306), “even the pure forms are ambivalent, even embattled, over basic features.”

Robin Cohen (1997, 23-24) in his book “Global diasporas: An introduction”, has commented on Safran’s diaspora definition and has taken a less restrictive approach to define groups as diasporas. Even though Cohen thinks that Safran’s list of characteristics is useful, there are some issues which he criticises. First of all, the argument of relationship to the original homeland is repeated in Safran’s definition. In addition, the case is not always the maintenance or restoration of a homeland, it can also be the creation of homeland (such as for Kurds). Cohen argues that some issues relating to the relationship to the country of exile should be added so that trade diasporas (Chinese and Lebanese), labour and imperial (Italians, Indians and British) and cultural (Caribbean) diasporas could be included in the notion. Furthermore, he makes a notion about the time. Before we know if the specific ethnic group is a diaspora, time has to pass. The strong linkages to the past and maintenance of minority culture must exist so that diasporic consciousness can be said to emerge. (See more about the question of time below.) Moreover, Cohen argues that there should be more emphasis on the positive virtues of maintaining a diasporic identity than Safran suggests. “A diasporic identity is often creative, enriching one,” claims Cohen giving examples of advantages in art, music, theology, and literature et cetera from the history, e.g. the Jews in Babylon. Finally Cohen adds to the Safran’s list that the members of diaspora group maintain a common identity not only with the country of origin, but in addition “with co-ethnic members in other countries” (Cohen 1997, 25).

Safran (1999, 264) comments Cohen’s above mentioned definition by claiming that if trade, labour, imperial and cultural diasporas are included in addition to the dispersed victim communities, it “goes beyond the classical diaspora definition”. According to Safran (ibid.) the classical definition includes the communities whose home country has been destroyed, who have been forced to leave the country and in whose consciousness a collective trauma is remaining. Therefore it is legitimate to use diaspora to refer to people who have suffered from specific disasters, such as African-Americans (slavery), Irish (famine), Palestinians (the formation of the State of Israel) and Armenians (genocide): however, it would not be legitimate to use it to refer to all groups of people who do not live in their original homeland.

According to Faist (2000, 208), it is not useful to apply diaspora to labour migrants since they have not experienced traumatic departure from home. Additionally, it is not clear that most members of labour migrant groups long to return to their countries of origin.

Both Cohen (1997) and Safran (1999) admit the difficulty to define which group should be defined as diasporas; i.e. what is the difference between diasporas and other expatriate communities? Safran (1999, 262) holds the strong view that the physical dispersion alone is not enough to qualify a group as diaspora; there has to be more factors such as acute memory of the homeland or/and contact with it. In an article written in 1999 Safran argues that the community which is marked by one or more of the following features cannot be defined as diasporas:

- “the will to survive as a minority is weak; the use of the homeland language has virtually disappeared; the heritage, if any, that is transmitted hardly goes beyond family recollections or culinary preferences- for example, Americans, Australians and Canadians of German, Irish, Italian, Japanese and Polish origins;
- there is an unclear focus on the homeland, often based on a lack of knowledge or understanding of its specific location- for example, African-Americans and Gypsies of Roma;
- there is no myth of return, owing to the fact that there are few, if any, racial or religious impediments to adaptation to the host country.” (Safran 1999, 265.)

Though the myth of return is one of the essential features of diasporas, it is not always clear what is meant by return; it has multiple meanings. According to Safran (1999, 280) the wish or myth of return can be instrumental which means that there is an active effort to return as soon as possible; millenia which means a return “at the end of the days”; intermediate which means that one is living in exile, but continuously thinking of the homeland. Neither instrumental nor millenia-return orientation prevents practical integration into the host society. The myth of return does not necessarily mean physical return. According to Tölöylan (1996, 14-15), nowadays, when it is clear that the most Jewish in the western diaspora won't return to Israel, instead of involving physical return to the diaspora, it makes more sense to speak of “a re-turn”: continuous turning to the original homeland through memory, travel, assistance et cetera.

Diaspora relation to the original homeland may be a two-way process; also the nation-state can see the diaspora as a resource and may call on it for help. The nation-state may invest in the maintenance of linkages and identity and give preferential handling to returnees. (Anthias 1998, 570.) For example the government of Eritrea has invited its diaspora to donate Eritrea

two per cent of their income. This mode of assisting is based on the citizenship and requires strong, effective and legitimate governance. (Cassanelli 2001.)

4.4.2. The postmodern version of diaspora

To some scholars it is not relevant to explain diaspora by making above mentioned distinctions. For so called postmodernists the definition of diaspora is based on the subjective interpretations of the phenomenon rather than the shared conditions. (Safran 1999, 284.) Avtar Brah, Stuart Hall and James Clifford can be defined to belong to this group. This "postmodern version of diaspora" represents a certain social condition; "experiences of being FROM one place and OF another" and it is related to the idea of distinct sentiments towards the homeland, while being shaped by sentiments of the settlement place. In this place one is formed in and through difference, therefore one produces "differential forms of cultural accommodation or syncretism: in some versions of hybridity." (Anthias 1998, 565.)

According to Clifford (1994, 307-311), in these days many communities have diasporic dimensions, some more than others. Therefore diaspora cannot be defined sharply. Diaspora discourse binds together both roots and routes. In "safranian" diaspora definition the roots are the most significant aspect whereas in postmodern version of diaspora the focus is on the routes. While "safranian" diaspora is articulated through a singular homeland, for Clifford (ibid., 306) "decentered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin/return."

According to Clifford (1994, 311; 322), diaspora consciousness means the solidarity towards community, which is sustained out of "the national space in order to live inside, with a difference". Diaspora communities are "not here to stay", they live in one place and remember another place. Living here supposes a solidarity and connection there, but the original homeland "is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation".

Brah (1996, 192; 197) describes diaspora as "homing desire", which refers in a first place to the desire for belonging somewhere, rather than longing for the original, physical homeland. According to Brah, not all the diasporas maintain an ideology of return. Diaspora refers to the multi-locationality, and the multi-placedness of home. One can feel at home in many places,

although feeling at home is different from “declaring a place as home”. Home can be “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination”, or on the other hand it can be “the lived experience of a locality”.

Also Stuart Hall (1990) emphasises the hybridity of identity: identity is always in process. Therefore the diasporic consciousness does not mean the longing for original homeland and yearning for return there in “safranian sense”; rather it is the ability to live in multiple places and life realities.

According to Hall (1990, 401-2):

Diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, the imperialising, the hegemonising, form of ethnicity. We have seen the fate of the people of Palestine at the hands of this backward looking conception of diaspora- and the complicity of the West with it. The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, thorough transformation and difference.

Safran (1999, 284) criticises this approach by saying that because it permits the definition of a concept by individual’s own narrative, it is not really helpful. What matters then is a singular understanding and attitude concerning a condition, not objective reality and shared definitions. Therefore, according to Safran (ibid.) “a diaspora identity may be claimed by a person who is a member of the dominant ethnic or religious majority but who suffers from a feeling of alienation- of not being in tune the prevailing culture and of suffering from discrimination.”

4.4.3. Questions on diaspora remain open

There are several questions that remain open in diaspora discussion. First of all there is a question of time as Cohen (1997) had pointed out. Are the diaspora consciousness and transnational linkages maintained only by the first generation of migrants, or have the second or third generations formed their own transnational linkages (Faist 2000, 196)?

Brah (1996, 194) reminds that the first generation migrants have a different relationship to the host land than the future generations. They most probably have also different relationship to the original homeland. How do generations who were not born in their country of origin, who have not even visited their ancestral country relate to the diaspora? Do they have a feeling of belonging to the diaspora, and do they yearn for home? To know if Somali diaspora, for example, is permanent, time has to pass and further research should be done among the second and third generation Somalis.

Ulla Salovaara (2004) has researched young Kurdish refugees (13-17 years-old) in Finland and has come to the conclusion that their diaspora is slightly different from their parents' diaspora. For their parents (first generation) the diaspora is more attached to the original homeland (Safran's definition) and they would like to return there. The youngsters' life in the diaspora can be defined by Hall's and Brah's approach, it can be defined as hybridity; knowing both Finnish and Kurdish culture.

When researching refugees who have recently arrived, the point of time adds some uncertainty to the analyses. But according to Wahlbeck (1999, 34), the concept of diaspora can despite this be used as an analytical tool to examine current social processes.

According to Safran, a second important question is the diaspora group's relation to the host country.

Is diaspora consciousness a concomitant of a feeling of otherness, of alienation, or of lack of hospitality on the part of the host society; or, on the contrary, is the lack of hospitality a response by the host society to the exceptionalism that diaspora consciousness signifies? (Safran 1990, 96).

What effect do multicultural policies of a democratic country have on the diasporic consciousness? Do they weaken it by facilitating the integration of immigrants, or on the contrary, do their cultural pluralism help to sustain diaspora living? (Safran 1999, 286.) This discussion is interesting and important. If the group is well integrated into the host society, does it mean that it is not a diaspora anymore? Cohen (1997) gives an example of American and Western European Jewish. Many of them are so well integrated that their feelings of insecurity have gone, and they do not think about the Holy Land anymore- they have lost the

homeland focus. By this example Cohen reminds that the concept diaspora does not inevitably apply to all individuals of the minority group.

Brah (1996, 194) argues that diaspora consciousness does not rule out the possibility for a diaspora group “to feel anchored in the place of settlement,” because one can feel at home in many places. According to Faist (2000, 214) if the immigration countries are liberal democracies which maintain multicultural policies, immigrant minorities have greater possibilities to sustain cultural distinctiveness and uphold the transnational ties.

It is important to note that diaspora communities are not homogeneous; conversely, there are many issues that distinguish diaspora members from each other. For example, the movements of people may have happened at different times, for different reasons, and different destination countries provide different opportunities and social conditions. In addition, cross-cutting issues such as gender, social class, generation, place of residence in the country of origin (rural/urban) and political affiliation make the certain diaspora groups heterogeneous. “The diaspora is constituted as much in difference and division as it is in commonality and solidarity.” (Anthias 1998, 564.)

Even though the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism widen the perspective when looking at the lives of refugees and their reality, and even though my aim is not to research the position of Somali refugees in Finnish society as such, it is important not to forget exclusionary and inclusionary policies and structures of the settlement country that have an influence on diaspora communities. Possible exclusionary discourses and practices affect refugee and migrant communities. Another important point to consider when discussing the relationship between the diaspora and the settlement country is that the diaspora cannot replace the profits that can be acquired by inclusion into a welfare state. (Wahlbeck 1999, 38.)

According to Clifford (1994, 312), having a diasporic consciousness “makes the best out of bad situation”. Ethnic minorities are often placed in marginality by the hegemony and may experience discrimination. Diaspora consciousness includes both “loss and hope as a defining tension.”

On the other hand, although diasporas are associated with victims and suffering, according to Cohen (1997, 24-5) they also involve possibilities and resources. Also Brah (1996, 193)

suggests that despite of the traumas of separation and dislocations, “diasporas are also potentially the sites of hope and new beginnings. They are contested cultural and political terrains where individual and collective memories collide, resemble and reconfigure.”

Despite the questions concerning the term, the diaspora concept is very useful, since it helps to connect the “‘before and after’- distinction” which has commonly been used when talking about migration. Through this concept refugees are seen as subjects rather than objects. Diaspora concept seems to encompass the refugees’ transnational social relations and therefore describes the specific refugee experience. (Wahlbeck 1999, 30-31.)

4.4.4. The materiality of diaspora

In the recent literature of diaspora there is a tendency to separate between the ‘diaspora as yearning for origin’ and the ‘postmodern diaspora’. This distinction according to Werbner (2000, 6) “separates analytically what needs to be read as mutually constitutive.”

Therefore, rather than emphasising the separation between different approaches to understanding diaspora, Werbner (2000, 7) argues

that diasporic culture is always materially inscribed and organisationally embodied. It expresses itself in transnational moral gestures: of philanthropy, political lobbying, and personal relations of kinship, marriage or economic investments. These materialise diasporas as transnational communities of co-responsibility, imaginatively grounded in ideas about a shared past/future.

The philanthropy in this context “consists of many kinds of giving, from the donation of money and resources to the imparting of ideas”. The current diaspora philanthropic activities have an important impact on global philanthropy. (Dunn 2004, 4.)

In my study I consider the materiality of diaspora as the transnational activities that people living in diaspora maintain. Al-Ali et al. (2001) have researched Bosnian refugees in the UK and the Netherlands and Eritrean refugees in the UK and Germany and in their article they distinguish between several transnational activities found in their empirical data. These are transnational economic activities, political activities, social-, and cultural activities. The transnational economic activities include individual and collective remittances and taxes.

Political activities consist of direct participation in political processes, political affiliation and political mobilisation in the host country. The transnational social activities contain maintenance of social relations, social remittances and social activities in the host country. Cultural activities include musical, artistic, and literature events, national holidays and parties and the teaching the original language for children.

Behind of these various transnational activities are responsibility and solidarity. People do feel responsible for their loved ones such as family, but in addition, and in case of some refugees and migrants, they also feel responsible for co-ethnics staying in their country of origin, who are living in worse situations. Werbner (2000, 17-18) suggests:

if diasporas, as I have proposed here, are communities of co-responsibility, responsibility flows from the rich to the poor, the privileged to the persecuted, the powerful to the weak...consumer products flow from diasporic centre(s) to peripheries.

5. Somali diaspora

5.1. Dispersed people

I apply the Safran's diaspora characteristics to the findings of my empirical data. I look at each criterion and discuss to which extent they can be applied to Somalis. According to Safran (1991, 83-4), in order to define a minority community as diaspora, a group has to share various of the characteristics below:

- 1) Dispersal
- 2) Myth about the homeland
- 3) Exclusion from the settlement country
- 4) Return
- 5) Restoration of the homeland
- 6) Relation to the homeland and ethnocommunal consciousness

1) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "centre" to two or more "peripheral", or foreign, regions (Safran 1990, 83);

Somalis are certainly spread around the world; they are recorded to live in 60 different countries, and therefore they are the most dispersed group in the world (Koser and Van Hear 2003, 7). There have been two main forms of movement of Somalis in the last 30 years; many Somalis migrated to the Gulf states as migrant workers in the early 1970's, during the oil boom, with up to 350, 000 of them working in the Middle East by the end of the 1980s. (Ibid., 6.)

Because of the civil war and inter-clan fighting from 1988 onwards, hundreds of thousands Somalis had to leave their homes. Many of them displaced internally in Somalia, many others sought refuge from neighbouring countries and some sought asylum in Western countries. It is estimated that in 2000, there were 400,000 Somali refugees in eastern Africa and in Yemen and more than 70,000 in Western countries, "out of a total diaspora in Western countries of

perhaps 200,000". (Koser and Van Hear 2003, 7.) (See also UNHCR 2000; Gundel 2002). In addition, the flooding and drought have caused famine and population displacement (Griffiths 2003). After these flights even more Somalis migrated to other countries through, for example, family reunification programmes. Therefore the number of displaced Somalis nowadays is most probably even higher than the figures mentioned suggest.

According to Safran (1999, 264) the classical diaspora definition includes communities whose country have been destroyed, who have been forced to leave their country and in whose consciousness a collective trauma is remaining. It is legitimate to use diaspora to refer to the people who suffered from specific disasters. If we think of Somalis who had to leave the country because of the civil war, this classical diaspora definition can well be applied to them. One of my respondents expressed feelings that were caused by war.

*Kärsimys tavallaan mikä on sisällissota tuonut meille, se on aika kipeä asia,
ja kun joskus miettii sitä seuraava yötä ei saa edes nukuttua kunnolla.
(Respondent 1)¹*

But what distinguishes Somali diaspora from the other classical diasporas who have suffered from disaster, such as the African-Americans suffered from slavery, and the Palestinians who had to flee their region because of the formation of Israel, is that in the case of Somalia there was no "external enemy" as such. The internal war was clan-based, not war between the different ethnic groups.

As can be noticed from the figures above, the largest number of the Somali diaspora are in the neighbouring country. Generally, when refugees go and seek safety, the majority of them seek it within the region and therefore the largest numbers of refugees in the world are located in the poorer countries. Koser and Van Hear (2003, 3) describe "these refugees as living in the near diaspora". Refugees who go to seek asylum from the more developed countries, move longer distances, they live, in Van Hear's (ibid.) terms, in "the wider diaspora". This is the case among Somalis as well. According to Koser and Van Hear (2003, 3) the refugees that move to the wider diaspora, tend to be "particularly skilled or educated or better-off, simply by virtue of the entrepreneurial spirit and more mundanely the money required to make journeys...". These refugees also seem to have better opportunities to facilitate and increase their education or skills. These refugees may be numerically insignificant, but since they may

be the ones least likely to return, they represent on the one hand loss, but on the other hand greatest potential for the countries of origin. (Koser and Van Hear 2003, 3.)

In my data the issue of the near diaspora came up. The concern was expressed particularly about the people who have to stay in the refugee camps in the neighbouring countries.

Mä oon kiertäny esimerkiksi leiriä, pakolaisvastaanottokeskuksen leiriä jotka on siellä Keniassa... ja yleensä aatellaan sitä esimerkiksi kun puhutaan näitten diasporan ihmisten nää jotka ovat kehittyneessä maailmassa, ne on aika pieniä. Niiden naapurissa olevat, puhutaan siellä 500 tuhannesta, 600 tuhannesta, ja niitä jotka ovat ulkomailla ovat niiden nähden aika pieniä. (Respondent 1) ²

Here it is important to note what Anthias (1998, 564) claimed; diaspora communities are not homogeneous; conversely, there are many issues that distinguish diaspora members from each other. In the case of Somalis there are issues such as gender, age and education that make the diaspora heterogeneous. Moreover, the distinction can be done between people who have left the country to go to work in the Gulf states and people who have been forced to leave the country because of the war. People who have moved to the Western countries have different conditions than the people remaining in the refugee camps in the neighbouring countries. Different destination countries provide different opportunities and conditions; therefore also the opportunities to exercise transnational activities vary.

2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history and achievements (Safran 1990, 83);

Somalia is an existing country, thus with changed borders because of colonialism and the wars during the independence, and yet without a well established, legitimate central government. Contemporary Somalia remains divided. The Northern part of the country; Somaliland has proclaimed its independence in 1991. In addition, the regions of north-east Somalia formed Puntland state in 1998. Puntland is not a fully independent state, instead it is “a sub-unit of the future federated Somalia”. These northern regions of Somalia are relatively stable, whereas in the central and southern Somalia instability remains. (Griffiths 2003.)

In my data a clear opposition to the division of the country was expressed. For the respondents Somalia as a united nation-state was the goal to be achieved. For them it was important to speak about Somalia as a united nation rather than divided. Several reasons for the unity were given; Somalia is a small country with about 8 million people living there, and therefore there is no sense for such a small nation to be separated; moreover, almost all Somalis share the same ethnicity, religion and the language. The country remains divided in accordance to dans because of the civil war, but the “it should not be like that”- idea echoed in my data.

Mä sanoisin että Somalia on se sana, mikä aina haluaisin nähdä ja kuulla, koska se ihmiset, mä uskon sellaiset ihmiset pitää enemmän yhdistyä kuin erilleen mennä...et mä näkisin et ne voi olla osaa Somaliaa, mut et kaikki on osa Somaliaa, mitä tahansa ne kutsuu itse, se on. Et nyt mitä on ajateltu on sillei et osavaltio menetelmä olisi, et se on se, siis mä uskon Somaliaan enemmän, kuin Puntlandin Somalia, et mulle se Puntland tarkoittaa Somaliaa. Et sillä tavalla mä näkisin enemmän koko Somalia olisi, se on meidän ihanne. Ja toivomus, että saadaan...ja me ollaan pieni kansa, vaan 8 miljoonaa et mun henkilökohtainen näkemys on että se on koko Somalia. (Respondent 1)³

Mulla on ihan tämmönen ajatus, että Somalia on Somalia...me ollaan Somaliit, ja sisällissodasta on johtunut tää asia [jakautuminen], ei ole mitään että jaetaan maa, ei missään tapauksessa, tää on poliittista, mutta ei meidän maasta jaeta, ei missään tapauksessa, mä oon ihan äärimmäisesti sitä mieltä. (Respondent 5)⁴

For some, Somalia is not complete yet, since some parts that used to belong to Somalia are missing; such as Ogaden belongs to Ethiopia, and one part to Kenya. As one of my respondents said:

Ja nyt siellä on kaksi aluetta jotka puuttuu, yksi Etiopian ja yksi Kenian puolella, ja koko ajan mä olen ajatellut, että nää osat jotka puuttuu, pitäis olla osa Somaliaa. (Respondent 5)⁵

3) *They believe they are not- and perhaps cannot be- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it (Safran 1990, 83);*

According to the survey carried out by Janiskaja-Lahti et al. (2002) Somalis had faced more racism and discrimination in Finland compared to Arabs, Russians, Kosovo's Albans, Vietnamese and Estonians. In my interviews I did not focus on their life in Finland as such, and therefore I did not for example ask if they have faced discrimination in Finland. However, certain difficulties that Somalis have faced came up in the interviews. Unemployment, and the fact that the Somali degrees and diplomas were not recognised in Finland, were considered as problems. These issues may also have negatively influenced people's self-confidence; these sorts of things do make people feel unwelcomed. As one of my respondent put it:

Somalit, jotka asuu Länsimaissa, he elävät rauhallista, mutta ei ole mitään muuta, he elävät vain...esimerkiksi minä olen ollut, kun minä olin Somaliassa, minä olen ollut johtaja, minä olen ollut osaston johtaja, mutta Suomessa, mitä minä olen, ei mitään. Yleensä esimerkiksi länsimaalaiset eivät tunnustaneet Somalit todistuksia. (Respondent 4)⁶

On the other hand some of my respondents expressed that they are well settled in Finland and returning to Somalia is not necessarily a realistic option (see below). In this sense it can be argued that some Somalis do feel accepted here. Here is the weak point of Safran diaspora definition; it does not take into account the relation to the country of settlement to the sufficient extent. It approaches the settlement country only by claiming that no minorities will ever feel they would be accepted totally. In this sense the postmodern diaspora explains the reality of the interviewed Somalis better since it claims for example that to feel part of the diaspora does not necessarily rule out the possibility to be integrated into the country of settlement.

4) *They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate (Safran 1990, 83-84);*

In my interviews the issue of return certainly came up, but it had multiple meanings. The issue of returning is very complex and in this sense the Safran way to define diaspora is

insufficient. The postmodern version of diaspora definition is more fruitful when examining the returning issue, since it recognises the idea of multi-placedness. My respondents did certainly express their will to go back, but not without problematising it. The responses varied from the clear wish or plan to return as soon as possible, to the home desire and finally to the physical return as an unrealistic option. Safran (1999, 280) calls the first mentioned wish of returning instrumental; one has an active effort to return as soon as possible.

Minun tulevaisuus on erittäin selkeä, haluaisimme jos on Somalian rauha paranee me haluaisimme sinne palata ja minä olen, haluaisin minun kotimaahan. Tällä hetkellä minä olen Suomen kansalainen... joskus minä tulen takaisin voi olla, mutta minun tulevaisuus, minä ajattelen tällä tapaa että tehdä töitä siellä [Somaliassa]. (Respondent 4)⁷

In Safran's terms the situation in which one is living in exile but continuously thinking of the country of origin is an intermediate return wish. Since in my data for some the physical return is not realistic, it makes more sense to speak of a re-turn instead of involving the physical return to the homeland (Tölöyän 1996, 14-15). This re-turn means continuous turning to the homeland in terms of memory, assistance, travel etc. Return in this case does not have to refer to the permanent physical return, some respondents for example visit Somalia regularly because of the development projects they are involved in, and through these projects they contribute their know-how to Somalia.

The following response refers to the home desire; longing for the 'ideal home'. This respondent had left Somalia in young age, and had not visited the country of origin since leaving it. Therefore the respondent misses home and maintains the dream to go back there, though recognising that the place might be different nowadays and the visit that the respondent is planning might "crush" the dream of going back home. This response implies the myth of original homeland. During the years in exile without visiting the country of origin only the good memories of the past may remain. However, this respondent recognises that "it might be just a dream".

Minulla on hirvee hinku palata Somaliaan, kun mä en oo käyny siellä. Ja mä oon syntyny siellä ja nuorena lähdin pois sieltä kyllä varmaan mulla on hirvee koti ikävä, kun en oo käyny siellä. Ehkä saattaa olla, että

paluuhaave, niinku vähän murskautuu, mut pitää käydä siellä ainakin et tietää mikä se on. Mut mä oon siinä haaveessa, et mä toivon kaikkea että mä kävisin siellä ja suunnittelenkin ensi kesänä käydä ensimmäistä kertaa... yks mun unelmaan kuuluu sen, että eläkepäivillä mä haluaisin siellä Mogadishun rannalla olla, eikä täällä. Se on vaan haave, en tiedä miten se menee, et en mä osaa sanoa, ens vuoden jälkeen kun mä oon käynyt...sen jälkeen osaan vähän paremmin päättää. (Respondent 2)⁸

For some respondents the return to Somalia is not so simple; even though they may personally wish to return, the conditions in current Somalia are not appropriate for returning, additionally, they have tight ties to Finland; children and job opportunities that have to be taken into consideration. Certainly, it is not easy to leave the country in which they have built their life. The situation of these respondents can be described with the term hybridity; they have close ties to home, which is Somalia, but they also have established a life in Finland. These responses can be described as “experiences of being FROM one place and OF another” (Anthias 1998, 565).

Mutta ei missään tapauksessa helposti lähtee Suomesta kokonaan pois ja mennä Somaliaan, se on tosi hankalaa, koska mun lapset kasvanut täällä, mulla on Suomen passi, mä olen veronmaksaja täällä, työskennellyt täällä, elikkä ei helposti lähtee, se on vähän vaikee. (Respondent 5)⁹

Et jossain vaiheessa, mistä tietää, palaankin takas kotiin, ehdottomasti, jos tällainen mahdollisuutta on, miksi ei. Mutta nyt jos ollaan realistisia, ja kattotaan, tilanne on aika kaukana siitä ja...se toinen ongelma on se, että diaspora, diasporan ongelma on se että tässä tulee vähän siteitä. Tulee lapset, lapset kasvaa täällä, niillä on ystäviä, ja jos kysyt, muutetaanko vähän takas, ne on sitä mieltä, no, en mä halua, mulla on ystävät täällä...et se on toinen puoli siitä. (Respondent 1)¹⁰

In the following responses the question of home raises up. The home relates to specific feelings towards certain place, memories of certain place(s) and having roots somewhere. Since home is in feelings and memories, one can have multiple homes. (Brah 1996, 2; see also Huttunen 2002, 51; 98.) One respondent considers contemporary home to be in Finland,

whereas Somalia is a place where the respondent is from. This is an interesting division between the contemporary home and the place where the roots are. Time produces a new dimension for the question of home: future home can be different than the home in the past (Huttunen 2002, 99). In this sense home can be “produced” through action; home is the place in which there is a chance for meaningful activities (Ibid., 101). According to Douglas (1991, 289) “home starts by bringing some space under control.” For this respondent Finland is considered as home, since there is a space which is under control in terms of having a job and social contacts.

Se minun kontakti on enemmän täällä, ja sillä tavalla ehkä suoranaisesti joku voi, ei voi suoranaisesti sanoa näin et muutan takaisin, koska täällä on aloittanut työtehtävä ja kontakti löytyy eri puolelta täällä Suomessa, mutta jos muutan Somaliaan se tarkoittaa että ensin pitää etsiä kontaktit, ihmiset, ystävät, mun ystävät eivät ehkä ole enää Somaliassa, ovat lähteneet...koska ensin olin Sudanissa ja sen jälkeen olin Egyptissä ja sen nuori, pienenä lähdin Somalista, sen takia se on realistisesti vaikea sanoa, että muutan takaisin Somaliaan...

P: että koti on Suomessa?

*...koti, siinä on joku toinen termi, et joo koto on Suomessa mutta mistä mä olen kotoisin, mistä minä tulin, se on Somaliasta. Mutta koti on täällä.
(Respondent 3)¹¹*

For some, home is still in Somalia, in a sense that it is where the roots are.

*Niin, et mä sanoisin niin että se englantilainen herra sanoi go east go west the best is home. Että kotihan on aina paras, et kotona on maailman paras.
(Respondent 1)¹²*

5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity (Safran 1990, 84);

My respondents were committed to assisting their original homeland, either at the individual level sending remittances to their siblings, or being involved in the organisations that establish community development projects in Somalia. (About these transnational activities more in

detail in the chapter 6). They follow regularly what is going on in Somalia; they are very concerned about the situation in Somalia and feel responsible to assist people there.

Generally, according to my data the homeland assisting is distinguished into two practices which are derived from different “sources”. First, there is a responsibility to aid siblings and particularly parents. This responsibility is inherent to Somali culture and religion. Some respondents called this as a “must- thing to do”. The individual remittance sending is a form of this type of assistance. The second form of assisting is the involvement in community development projects. That is solely based on the voluntary involvement, deriving from the solidarity towards the country of origin. The family assistance, at the individual level, can be described to be human; everyone cares for the loved ones. However, in Somali culture, the family is extended compared to the western family definition. Thus, the individual remittances reach many people in Somalia and remittances have an essential meaning for the survival of the people in Somalia.

As my respondents put it:

Se, että avustaa perhettä, avustan äitiä, se on pakko...mä haluan että mun äiti ja sukulaiset elää kunnan elämää. Tää on ihan inhimillisyyttä, pakko. Mutta tää että on mukana jossain hankkeissa, on hyväntekeväisyyttä, vapaaehtoista...jos sä pystyt tekemään niin se on hyvä, elikkä jos sä autat, niin se on hyvä. Mutta ei oo pakkoa. Se on solidaarisuutta. (Respondent 5)¹³

Jokaisella on tavallaan tää velvollisuus että omat asiat on kunnossa, silloin pitää auttaa... tällainen velvollisuus on meidän kulttuurissa niinku sisälle rakennettu niin pitää auttaa perhettä, se on ihan automaattinen. Se, jolla on asiat kunnossa, pitää auttaa muut. Se on automaattinen...

P: ja Suomessa asuvat Somalialaiset ovat aktiivisia tässä?

...se on ehdottomasti. Yksi miljoona jotka ovat ulkomailla, ovat kaikki aktiivisia...se sellainen velvollisuus on kaikkien sisällä tavallaan rakennettu, että tää solidaarisuus on olemassa, esimerkiksi miten minä voin olla iloinen jos mä tiedän että äiti tai sisko nälkää näkee, mä en voi yöllä nukkuu hyvin, mä en voi nauttia omasta elämästä, että meillä on tällainen syvällä tällainen solidaarisuus ...ei tartte olla jopa omia läheisiä, et se voi

olla kaukaa sukulaisia jollain joku joka on käyneet jopa kouluja yhdessä, jonka kans on tosi rakas ystävä, jota autetaan...se on sellainen velvollisuus koska mä näkisin et ei oo kivaa et toisilla on liikaa ruokaa, toisilla ei oo yhtään mitään syötävää se on tavallaan velvollisuus, se on meidän vastuu, että pitää kollektiivisestikin huolehtia siitä. (Respondent 1)¹⁴

6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (Safran 1990, 84.)

According to my data Somalis continue to relate to their original homeland actively in terms of assisting, maintaining social relations there and following actively what is going on in Somalia. As will be seen in the chapter 6.1, social contacts to Somalia are tight.

My respondents identified themselves as Somalis in the first place. In addition to the Somali identity, the identification to Finland was expressed to some extent. The common answer was: "I am Finnish Somali" (Suomen Somali). The identification to Finland was done in terms of having citizenship and in addition, because of living here for a long time. In one response the identification to Finland was done, in addition to the aspect of time, in terms of paying taxes.

Tota, mä oon ollu Suomessa melkein 15 vuotta, ja kun puhutaan ihan identifioimisesta, niin mä oon Somali, mutta mä oon kolmasosan elämästäni asunut Suomessa ja mä tuntee että mä oon Suomen Somali..täällä mulla on perhe, lapset syntynyt, että kolmas osa minun elämää, että mä oon nyt 41-vuotias, ollut täällä. Ja että 1992 vuodesta mä oon ollut veronmaksajana. Kyllä mä tunnen että mä oon Suomen Somali. Mä kuulun täällä. (Respondent 5)¹⁵

Identiteetiltäni mä oon Somali, mut nyt tällä hetkellä minä olen Suomen kansalainen. Ja mä tunten molemmat, minä olen Somali, minä olen Suomalainen, Suomen kansalainen. (Respondent 4)¹⁶

5.2. Hybrid lives

Even though the Somalis I interviewed seem to fulfil Safran's diaspora criteria, there are some weaknesses of that theory. It cannot explicitly explain the uniqueness of Somali diaspora. Therefore I shall apply the postmodern version of diaspora in order to further examine the diasporic dimensions of Somalis interviewed.

Firstly, the postmodern version of diaspora takes the issue of the heterogeneity of diaspora into account; different destination countries for example offer different conditions, and in the case of Somalis the most significant numbers of refugees are staying in the neighbouring countries of Somalia.

Secondly, Safran's diaspora definition emphasises mainly the country of origin and takes the country of settlement into account only by one characteristic. It assumes that the diaspora group returns to the country of origin as soon as possible and therefore the relation to the country of origin does not have to be taken into account. According to my data, since all the respondents had lived in Finland for a relatively long time (9-20 years), and had well established lives in Finland, the relationship to Finland must be taken into account to higher extent than what Safran suggests. In the theoretizations of diaspora the effect of the immigration policies of the host country on the diaspora consciousness has been debated. Some say the multicultural policies weaken the diaspora consciousness by facilitating integration, others claim the pluralism helps to sustain diaspora (Safran 1999, 286). According to my respondents, it was clear that the more integrated they were, at least in terms of employment, the more resources they had to be involved in the transnational activities, and in this sense the integration can be seen to facilitate and strengthen the diaspora consciousness. As Koopmans and Statham (2001, 19) suggest, national and transnational interact in a complex way and they should not be treated as oppositions.

Brah (1996, 194) argues that diaspora consciousness does not rule out the possibility for a diaspora group "to feel anchored in the place of settlement," because one can feel at home in many places. The idea of "multi-locationality" was expressed in responses:

Et ollaan täällä ja siellä...(Respondent 1)¹⁷

Mä luulen että mä kuulun molemmat, sekä Somaliaan että Suomeen.
(Respondent 5)¹⁸

These responses reflect the “experiences of being FROM one place and OF another”. The relation to the country of origin and to the country of settlement becomes blurred; the sentiments towards the original homeland are shaped by the sentiments of the place of settlement. In this place one is formed in and through difference, therefore one produces “differential forms of cultural accommodation or syncretism: in some versions of hybridity.” (Anthias 1998, 565.)

Thirdly, Safran does not take into account the effect of globalisation in his diaspora definitions. For him, diaspora refers to the “old” Jewish diaspora. My data shows that the developments in the modes of communication, technology and travel have increased the possibilities to maintain diasporic relations. Communication is easier, cheaper and real-time thanks to the internet, and travelling has become easier, therefore visiting the country of origin has become possible.

Fourthly, Safran’s diaspora characteristic approaches the return issue very simply; it assumes that the whole diaspora group wants to return physically as soon as possible. The question of return raised different responses and expressions among my respondents. The responses varied from clear wish to go back to Somalia as soon as possible, to the “home desire” and finally to the physical return as a unrealistic option. The postmodern version of diaspora recognises the plurality of the return issue, and suggests the concept of hybridity as an answer to this question. Since life in Finland is well established, with a citizenship, children, a job, and social contacts, it is not easy to leave the country. However, the postmodern theoretization of diaspora refers to the plural, and hybrid identity. What became clear in this research was that the diasporic living is not just a state of mind; additionally it involves a variety of transnational activities. Instead of leaving the country physically and moving permanently to Somalia, one can speak about continuous re-turning (Tölöylan) towards the country of origin. The interviewed Somalis expressed their will to contribute their knowledge and know-how to Somalia through establishing development projects. According to my data, the assistance of relatives is important, but additionally my respondents felt responsible for the reconstruction and development of Somalia.

Tiedän ihmisten tarpeen siellä, siksi olen mukana [kehitysyhteistyössä]... ei ollut tarkoitus lähteä maasta, mutta olosuhteet tulivat sellaisiksi, että piti lähteä...en ole hylännyt heitä... (Respondent 6)¹⁹

Fifthly, what is unique in Somali diaspora compared to other diasporas suffering from disaster, is that there was not any external enemy in the war in Somalia. It was a war between different clans. This inter-clan fighting has caused the division of the country, and in that sense it has created some tension between different clans. The clan division, according to my respondents, is an issue that should be overcome in order to reconstruct Somalia. They had a clear wish for the unified Somalia. It was expressed in the data that the educated Somalis can contribute to people in Somalia new ways of thinking and acting in order to move one step toward lasting peace.

The multi-locationality and the hybridity describe the situation of the Somalis interviewed, but additionally there is a strong dimension of actions in their diaspora. It seems that diaspora is not just a state of mind; it involves activities aiming at the development of Somalia.

6. The “outcomes” of Somali diaspora

I sought from the empirical data the various transnational activities that Somalis maintain, considering these activities as material and immaterial outcomes and expressions of diaspora living. The diasporic identity is maintained through these activities; Somalis continuously relate to their country of origin in many ways. These activities have not just the function of maintaining the identity, but transnational activities also have an important influence on the country of origin, Somalia in this case, since they are important for the well-being and even survival of the people in Somalia. From the empirical data, I thematised several activities; social and economic relations, development projects and social remittances (=flows of ideas and values), which I describe in detail as follows.

6.1. Social relations

Respondents in my data maintained social relations with the people in Somalia, and in the other countries. The families have spread around the world and in this sense one can speak about transnational families. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, 3) define transnational families as

families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely familyhood, even across national borders.

Social relations with family members are maintained via phone calls, e-mails, MSN messenger and visits. Family members might also share the responsibility of taking care of the parents in Somalia.

Mun sisarukset jos mä katton ne asuu Etelä-Afrikassa, ne asuu Australiassa, eri puolilla, ei ole meillä minkäänlaista mahdollisuutta olla yhdessä. Mutta pidämme yhteyttä kuitenkin...ja ollaan tietoisia ja jakaamme jopa vastuuta, että kuka huolehtii äidistä ja kuka huolehtii isästä ja sillä tavalla.
(Respondent 1)²⁰

Joo mulla asuu sisaruksia Tanskassa, Hollannissa ja Englannissa, ja mulla on ihan hyvä suhde heidän kanssaan, kun meillä on aikaa, varsinkin kesäaikaan, niin nähdään. Vietetään esimerkiksi kesälomia yhdessä. (Respondent 5)²¹

Through these transnational social ties it is possible to get up-to-date information from people living in Somalia, which is important in following-up the changing situations in Somalia.

Mutta muuten tiiviisti seuraan Somaliaan, sen mitä Somaliassa tapahtuu, mä seuraan tiedotusvälineistä, kuuntelen BBC ja Somaliradiosta, erilaisia verkossa olevia radioita, mun mielestä ihan tiiviisti, mitä mahdollista voi olla, siis joka päivä tiedän, mitä siellä kirjoitetaan ja jos haluan jotain selvittää ja siinä paikassa on joku tuttu tai joku mun Suomessa asuvan tutun sukulainen asuu, niin me voidaan paikan päällä tietoa saada, et sen verran on niinku tiivis, todella voi sanoa tiiviit yhteydet meillä on Somaliaan. (Respondent 2)²²

According to my data the phone is the main means of contacts between Somalis in Finland, their kin in Somalia and in other parts of the world. Also MSN messenger was mentioned to be an important means to keep in touch with people. Wahlbeck (1999, 30) and Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004, 44) argue that in the era of globalisation the contacts between diasporas and the countries of origin have intensified. Changes due to globalisation have facilitated transnational linkages, and therefore increased possibilities for diaspora formation. The maintenance of social relations has become less expensive, easier and more intensive when one can use internet; e-mails and MSN messenger. In addition, the sources of information and news from Somalia have widened because of the internet; there are several Somali radio stations one can listen to online.

Joo, puhelin on hyvä ja MSN messenger on nyt tää, se on kaikkein halvin. Et se on auttanut vähän tätä yhteydenpitoa, et messengerin kautta ollaan yhteydessä melkein päivittäin. (Respondent 1)²³

Joo joo joka päivä, tai joka viikko. Ja Somaliassa on tällä hetkellä erittäin hyvä esimerkiksi kontaktit, koska löytyy sieltä internettiä ja puhelinlinjaa.

Somaliassa tällä hetkellä on koko maailmassa halvempi puhelin soittaminen...kaikki yhteyttä otetaan meihin ja me heihin. (Respondent 4)²⁴

When the respondents were asked about visiting Somalia and relatives there, the answers varied from regular visits to no visits since leaving Somalia. Some respondents visit Somalia regularly because of the development projects they are ‘running’ there. The wish, and even the plan, to visit Somalia was expressed by the respondents who had not visited the country since leaving it.

Käyn kaksi kertaa vuodessa, työn ohella käyn... että mulla on hyvä mahdollisuus. (Respondent 1)²⁵

Mä en oo käyny siellä...mutta suunnittelen ensi kesänä käydä ensimmäistä kertaa, jos hallitus menee sinne...on turvallisempaa. Meen käymään ja mä meen käymään näihin projekteihin, mitä me ollaan rakentamassa siellä. Minun täytyy raportoida Suomen valtiolle, mitä me ollaan siellä tehty. (Respondent 2)²⁶

6.2. Economic relations

In my empirical data it became clear that the responsibility to help relatives in Somalia belongs inherently to Somali culture and religion. Therefore it is very common amongst Somalis to send remittances to their siblings. Remittances often go to the relatives and therefore these economic actions combine with the social relations. The remittance sending can be seen to function as a strengthener of social relations. In this sense Somalis can be defined in Faist’s terms (2000, 202-3) as forming “transnational kinship groups”. In his definition the tie that keeps these groups together is reciprocity. However, in the empirical data, remittance sending to the relatives was described as an obligation. Social capital in this sense is bonding; the ties between Somalis in Finland and their relatives in Somalia are tight, involving responsibility and obligation to some extent. (See Putnam 2000, 23.)

Responsibility to assist parents means that the remittances are sent to them regularly. The responsibility to assist extended family exists as well, but in my data it became clear that

money was sent when needed, not necessarily regularly. The respondents to my study felt responsible to assist the relatives because they are in a better position (financially) here in Finland compared to the people in Somalia. In this sense the remittance sending can be seen as a form of social security for people there, since a formal social welfare system is lacking in Somalia. Al-Ali et al. (2001, 620) found the same pattern also in the case of Eritrea. Eritreans living abroad remitted money to their relatives to fulfil their specific needs, but in addition the remittances had wider impacts since they for example provided a safety net for the families whose “bread-winner” was absent due to the conflict in Eritrea.

Jotkut soittaa ja sanoo et hei, kaksikymmentä euroa, kolmekymmentä euroa, viisikymmentä euroa, tai joku heidän lapsiaan kuolee tai heillä on ongelmia, sen takia he soittaa ja mitä mä pystyn auttamaan, lähettämään heille. Se on vastuu, koska Somaliassa ei ole mitään, tää mikä sana tää nyt on, sosiaaliturva. Minä olen sosiaaliturva kaikki mun sukulaiset, sukulaisuus ei oo pelkkä isä tai äiti, se on laajennettu...tarpeen mukaan, mutta äiti ja isä, kun koko ajan. Se on mun vastuulla, koska muuten ovat heikossa asemassa, minä olen parempi, ja se on pakko lähettää. (Respondent 3)²⁷

Cindy Horst (2003, 9) interviewed Somalis in Minnesota and came into the conclusion that

their life - and livelihood choices are to a certain extent determined by the responsibilities they have towards relatives elsewhere. At times, one may get the impression that this transnationalism is indeed ‘forced’, with people having no option but to send to those left behind in far worse circumstances. Yet, at the same time fulfilling family obligations is not only a matter of having no option, but it is also related to the status acquired when assisting others.

Also in my data assisting the family was seen as an obligation. As one of the respondents expressed, in some ways it is good, in some ways it is not so good, since it requires savings, and life in Finland is expensive and one has to plan his/her life as well.

Toisaalta se on hyvä, toisaalta se on huono, pitäisi olla säästöjä ja täällä eläminen on kallista, omaakin elämää pitäisi suunnitella. (Respondent 6)²⁸

As already mentioned above, the remittances to Somalia have wider importance and significance. The formal economy and welfare system are absent in Somalia, therefore the

remittances have been a source of survival for the people. My data expressed the fact that without these money flows people would not have survived. According to my findings, the money generally goes to basic needs, such as food, and one cannot speak about investments. It is only a question of survival.

Niin, mä voisin sanoa, että se on aika merkittävä, se on aika merkittävä ja aika tärkeä koko Somalian taloudelle, koska siellähän ei oo nyt varsinaista taloutta ole, se on aika tärkeä ja se on ainoostaan se osuus mikä on nyt mikä pitää maassa jollain tavalla ihmisten selviytymistä yllä...mä väittäisin tai sanoisin, että se on selviytymiseen menee. Et siellä on kysymys ruoasta, et jos kuten sä tiedät että Somalia on yksi maailman köyhin maa ollut pitkään, että 14 vuotta vielä sisällissotaa on pilannut...on mennyt ihan mahdottomaksi. Ja ei voi puhua investoinneista eikä, siellä on vain selviytymistä...että saa päivässä ruokaa...esimerkiksi työttömyys on, siitä ei edes mä en uskalla siitä puhua, työpaikkoja siellä ei ole ollenkaan, et siinä mielessä perheellä voi olla, yks perheellä on ei mitään muuta kuin vain ne odottaa joku joka auttavat heitä, avustusta lähettää tai joka on...se on niin tarpeellinen tää että perhe auttaa, ja se on ollut hyvä asia, tällainen kulttuuriin kuuluva...(Respondent 1)²⁹

Furthermore, my findings show that in the other countries, such as in the U.K and Sweden, Somalis have organised fund raising activities for Somalia. Al-Ali et al. (2001) found a similar charitable donation action aiming at supporting orphans in Bosnia among the Bosnian refugees in U.K. Authors have termed such activities as collective remittances. According to my data, in Finland this sort of collective remittance donations have been tried, but it has been difficult due to lack of resources. One example of the collective remittances found from my data was one NGO which had launched a development project in Somalia and part of its finances came from the “support” members all around the world. (I shall discuss the resources in the host country more widely in the chapter 8. A bounded transnationalism).

Mutta kyllä sinne tehdään investointejakin, esimerkiksi keräyksiä, mutta ei Suomessa, Suomessa on paljon työttömiä, mutta sanotaan Englannissa, Amerikassa tai Ruotsissa, ihmisiä ne tekee tämmösiä keräyksiä... niin sitten

ne tekee jotain investointeja. Kyllä Suomessakin ollaan yritetty että tehdään joku keräys, mutta se on vaikeaa. (Respondent 5)³⁰

6.2.1. Remittances

The UNDP (2002) estimated the total transfer of remittances to Somalia to be about 700-800 million US dollars annually. This sum of money includes, for example, normal business transactions and the money which is sent to Somalis living in the neighbouring countries. According to UNDP's Socio-economic survey (2002, 22) in Somalia, income from remittances is about 360 million US dollars, which is 22.5 % of total incomes. Even though the amounts are just estimates, the remittance flows are higher than the international aid and the value of exports, which were estimated to be 115 million US dollars in 2000. In addition, remittances may reach more people compared to international aid. (UNDP 2001.) UNDP Somalia estimated that most remittances that households get are about 50-200 US dollars monthly and they increase in times of droughts, economic stress or inter-clan warfare (UNDP 2001; Gundel 2002, 271).

Remittances have a long history in Somalia. The systems of remittance sending developed in the 1970's when Somali traders started to collect hard currency from the Somali workers in the Gulf States. This was called 'the franco-valuta' system. The traders used hard currency to purchase commodities to be sold in Somalia. The equivalent in currency of Somalia, or goods, was given to the migrants' family and kin. Remittances have been an important source of income since then. There are some estimates of the remittances sent by the migrant workers in the Gulf States; in the late 1970's they were about 300 million US dollars per year and in the 1980's about 370 million US dollars annually. From the late 1980's onwards the amounts of remittance transactions have grown significantly due to the refugee flows. (Horst and Van Hear 2002, 2.)

The 'franco-valuta' system was banned in 1982 because it was claimed to undermine the power of the patron-client mechanism of Barre's regime. The franco-valuta system was "supplanted by the hawilad- system, encouraged by the collapse of Somalia's formal economy and the burgeoning of the informal system." (More about the hawilad-system in the next chapter). These two systems were based on two important characteristics of Somali culture;

high rate of mobility and strong kinship. (Gundel 2002, 269; Horst and Van Hear 2002, 2-3.) As can be seen from my data, although the family members move to different locations and even far away from each other, they still maintain strong responsibility to assist each other.

As a result of civil war, the elite left Somalia. Whereas in the 1980's the remittances were used mainly for trade, today the highest proportion of remittances is used to assist families. Somalis living abroad can seldom save more than 100 US dollars monthly per household. (Gundel 2002, 270.) This was found in my study as well. Although the amounts of money are not high, they are significant for people in Somalia. For example 50 Euro is a lot of money when it is converted to the Somali currency (Somali shilling); many people can live with that amount for one month.

Jos laitetaan 10 euroa se on aika paljon rahaa Somaliassa, jos sä laitat 50 euroa kuukaudessa siellä se on paljon rahaa, monta henkilöä voi elää kuukauden ajan sillä rahalla. (Respondent 5)³¹

In Africa generally, the remittances are an important source of finance and foreign exchange for many households. Remittances help to stabilise irregular incomes and build social and human capital. They “constitute a net positive transfer from relatively richer to relatively poorer individuals or households. They form a family welfare system that smoothes consumption, alleviates liquidity constraints and provides a form of mutual insurance.” (Sander and Maimbo 2003, 1;17.) As it became clear from my data, the remittances are usually used for consumption, or health, education and better nutrition. Investments (in land, livestock, building a home) are secondary to daily needs. The fact that the most remittances are used to fulfill the basic needs reflects that migration and remittances are strategies of migrants and their families to eradicate poverty and raise the living standard. (Sander and Maimbo 2003, 17.)

Most remittances are sent by individuals to their families, but as was mentioned in my data, some migrants in some settlement countries participate in groups, which gather collective remittances and send them to their home communities. One of the examples of this kind of action mentioned in the literature of remittances is the University of Hargeisa in Somaliland, which was built with the help of diaspora. (Sander and Maimbo 2003, 18.) The UK Somali community from that region set up a project in order to develop the University of Hargeisa.

Somalis, among others from Australia, Sweden and Kuwait, joined the project with the cooperation of the government of Somaliland. The University opened in 2000 and one third of the students attending the courses returned from the Gulf and the UK. (Chukwu-Emeka Chikezie 2001.)

Based on the empirical data and the literature, it is clear that the remittances are crucial for household livelihoods in Somalia. In addition, they have become an important source of hard currency for Somalis. Thus, it is difficult to calculate the precise value of the remittances to the economy for many reasons. First, there are no reliable figures on the actual size of the Somali diaspora; second, remittances are transferred through different channels and in different forms; and third, the remittance companies are not eager to report the amounts of money transferred. Although remittances are important for the survival of people, their structural effects on development are limited. As long as the remittances are used for non-productive purposes and not to the productive investments, long-term positive effects on economy are not likely to appear. (Gundel 2002, 271.)

Often the main beneficiaries of remittances tend to be already better-off people. This 'inequality' is an important issue, which has to be taken into account when speaking about remittances. It has not been taken into consideration sufficiently in existing studies on Somali remittances, because the prime focus has been on the ethnic, nomadic Somali migrants and their practises. The existing studies have not been concerned that much about the agropastoralists Digil and Rahanwein people, Bantus, Gosha and other minorities (the Barawani/Bajuni cultures along the coast). It seems that these groups have not had a chance to travel outside Africa. They have been internally displaced, or have sought refuge from the neighbouring countries. (Gundel 2002, 272.) According to UN Somalia (2003, 1), there are tens of thousands of Somalis who belong to the minority groups, about 350, 000 internally displaced persons and more than 460,000 returnees. These people are the most acutely vulnerable.

There is also an urban bias in the distribution of remittances. Urban households receive the most remittances, rural ones less and the pastoral households receive the least. Particularly the main beneficiaries are the urban households with skilled and educated members in the diaspora. (UNDP 2001; Gundel 2002, 273.) Due to reasons such as political privilege, better access to education and geographical location, some clans and social groups have more of

their members in the diaspora than the other groups. Refugees and migrant workers often come from better-off families, who have resources to send a member of the family abroad. The internally displaced and the rural poor have fewer siblings abroad, and therefore receive fewer remittances. Additionally, they have less access to telecommunication services. (Gundel 2002, 273.)

The issue of how much of the remittances are spent to finance the import of the mild drug qaat, is important when development in Somalia is concerned. There are no reliable figures on how much is spent on qaat; but the estimation is that annually 50 million US dollars are used on that. (Gundel 2002, 272; UNDP 2001.) In Cindy Horst's (2003) research on Somalis in Minneapolis this point was mentioned by the respondents. Remittances may have been spent on qaat in some cases, and in addition, regular remittances may create dependency in the long run. Also in my data, the importance of the issue of how the money is spent, came up.

Joo, bruttokansantuote, on tärkeä, koska jos ei ollu tästä velvollisuus ja lähettämistä rahaa Somaliassa ei olisi, somalialaisilla ei olisi elänyt, se on yksi tärkeä tulo, monella. Mutta millä tavalla, miten käytetään tämä raha, tää on toinen kysymys, joka tarvitsee tutkimuksia...miten käytetään rahaa, käytetäänkö kaikki viihtyvyyys, esimerkiksi, sä tiedät, khat, tai raha investoidaan hyvinvointi... (Respondent 3)³²

Cindy Horst (2003) examined the transnational relations of Somali diaspora and Somalis in the refugee camp in Dadaab, Kenya. Her findings were that transnational networks were vital for the survival of Somali refugees in the camp. "Since international assistance in the camps is not sufficient and the regional livelihood opportunities are limited, how are the refugees able to survive there?" Horst asks. In the Dadaab refugee camp the remittances were vital for the survival of the refugees; in addition they contributed to the development of the area. Horst found that the received remittances rarely stayed within the nuclear family; instead they were spread and benefited a wider group of people. In addition, remittances gave people a choice of whether to move out, invest in business, assist others or use it for educational purposes. (Horst 2003, 4.) Remittances may also bring disadvantages, such as false hopes about the future, or spending scarce resources to get the contact with the siblings in the West. Even though the remittances may cause or perpetuate inequality in the sense that they often go to the better-off families or bring disadvantages, Horst claims that the benefits of the remittances go indirectly

to others, including for example the hawilad owners and workers, neighbours and relatives of the receivers and people who are working as for example maids for the refugees who receive remittances. The most important fact is that the remittances provide social security. In times of crisis in the camp there is always someone who has relatives in the West and one can call upon them. (Horst 2003, 4-5.)

Official development assistance and foreign direct investments have been studied to high extent, while the importance of remittances in developing countries has got little attention until recently. Lately, though, there has been growing interest in the potential of migrant remittances. (Sander and Maimbo 2003, 4.) More research is needed on this matter, particularly on the wider developmental effects of remittances. When considering the developmental effects of remittances, the issue of how, and where, the money is spent is indeed essential: whether it is used for consumption or investments. In this research it was not possible to examine in detail where the remittances are spent, first of all, because the people interviewed were sending remittances, not receiving them, and secondly, only six individuals were interviewed and therefore generalisations based on their experiences cannot be done. What did appear in my data was that the remittances are used for survival, for meeting basic needs. In order to examine the use of remittances by recipients extensively, the research should take place in Somalia.

6.2.2. Hawilad - system

Since the formal economy and the banking system are absent in Somalia, some other means for transferring money have been developed. The Hawilad is an informal transfer system which was developed in Somalia in the 1980's and is currently operating in nearly every part of the world. Hawil (xawil) means transfer (of money or responsibility) in Somali language. The Hawilad- system is used for business transactions and for sending remittances to siblings; in addition, some NGOs use it to finance development projects in Somalia. It is run by Somalis and mainly used by Somalis. It works very simply. When a Somali man, say, in Helsinki wants to send money to his mother in Mogadishu, he presents the amount of money he wants to remit, for example 50 Euro, to the financial broker in Helsinki and provides full details of himself and the recipient. This financial broker sends an e-mail, fax or telephone message to Mogadishu office and the mother will be contacted as soon as possible from the

local office. The mother goes to the office and provides full details of the sender, and proves her own identity. If the information corresponds to the information the sender has given, she will get her money. The system is fast, the receiver gets the money within a few days of it being sent. The accounts between different hawilad offices are later evened out through cash sending or through trade in consumer items. (Horst and Van Hear 2002, 1.)

Use of this sort of informal transfer services depends on familiarity, proximity, reliability, trust and awareness. Both, the sender and the receiver have to have an access to these services. It is claimed that in Somali culture there are strong codes of trust. (Sander and Maimbo 2003, 3; 20.)

Most of the Somali money transfer companies started to operate in the late 1980's, though the idea of the hawilad-system itself has longer history. The business is run by several companies. The biggest of them are for example Al Barakaat ('Blessings'), Dahabshil ('Melted Jewellery') and Amal ('Trust'). (Horst and Van Hear 2002, 2.)

The Hawilad companies were used to send money to Somalia by my respondents as well. They described it to be an organised, fast, effective and reliable way of sending money.

Joo se on organisoitu systeemi ja se on tosi hyvä, koska kun ei ole mitään keskuspankkia mitä voi heti laittaa 50 euroa tilille ja heti lähtee, kun ei ole, niin tää on ihan manuaalisesti systeemi... se on ihan luotettava asia. Koska mä oon antanu tälle henkilölle, mä tunnen tän henkilön jolla mä oon antanu rahaa ja tää mies, joka ottaa, hän tuntee minun äitini. (Respondent 5)³³

The hawilad-system and Somalis using the Al-Barakaat office to send remittances, faced difficulties after the attacks of 9/11. On 7th November 2001, US Officials accused one of the hawilad companies for having links with terrorism. They claimed that through these systems tens of millions of dollars annually were moved to Al-Qaida. Yet, there was little evidence to support this claim. Al Barakaat offices around the world were shut down, without any warning, as part of the "war against terrorism". All the assets were impounded and telecommunication lines cut. (Horst and Van Hear 2002, 1.) Later on, the UAE bank (Central Bank of the United Arab Emirates) gave UN investigators access to Al-Barakaat's records,

which contained over 17,000 pages of documents. “The result: The FBI could not substantiate any links between al-Barakaat and terrorism, the 9/11 commission stated.” (Ottaway 2004.)

Problems caused by the “war against terrorism” after 9/11 came up in the data. The organisation of a respondent, which had projects in Somalia, lost money because all the assets of the company were frozen. Another respondent raised the issue that after 9/11 all the Muslims automatically were labelled as terrorists.

Ja sen jälkeen kun amerikkalaiset lopettavat somalialaisten raha, koska meillä oli niinku rahanvaihto systeemi jolla lähetettiin rahaa Somaliaan, tämän terrorismin yhteydessä niin niin meidän rahat jäädytettiin sinne tileille, joilla väitettiin että on terroristi järjestön käyttämä, joka niinku viime vuoden lopussa FBI:kin on sanonut et se ei ollukaan. Mutta raha kuitenkin jäädytettiin et meillei ollut semmoseen rahaa mihin me voidaan käytännössä mistään. (Respondent 2)³⁴

Nyt syyskuun 11. päivän jälkeen tuli meille ihan ongelmia, koska ei oo kukaan ennen sitä kiinnittänyt huomiota mutta kun nyt kaikki on terroristeja, kun se on muslimi, automaattisesti se leimataan, se on tuonut vähän ongelmia... (Respondent 1)³⁵

6.3. Development projects

The involvement in the community development projects is purely voluntary and was described as something which is ”a good thing to do”, but it is not an obligation in the same sense as the assistance of relatives. The assistance of country of origin through development projects was described deriving from the feelings of solidarity and responsibility towards Somalia.

On sieltä lähtenyt ja saanut omat asiat kuntoon silloin pitää mennä takas ja antaa takas, koska arvaapas ajattelen sillä tavalla sitä maa on antanut mulle paljon, mä oon syntynyt siellä mä oon saanut koulutusta, se on

antanut mulle paljon, että mulla on velvollisuus jollain lailla antaa takas, jos suinkin pystyn. (Respondent 1)³⁶

Somalis interviewed in this research were all active in NGOs and through them they were active in establishing the development projects in Somalia. There were projects already established and functioning well, and, in addition, project plans in different stages for the near future. I shall introduce the general characteristics of the projects in terms of the sector, region, target group and funding.

Among the NGOs that the respondents were representing there were five development projects already established in Somalia; in the education and health sectors. The projects were functioning in particular regions: one in the Northern Somalia, three in the centre of Somalia, and one in Mogadishu. There were many plans for the future projects, in the sectors of education, animal health, water and democratisation.

Some of the established projects were partly financed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, and the planned projects were about to apply for finance from the Ministry as well. This is a good example of new forms of partnership, in which the Finnish government supports the migrants' own organisations and their development projects. In my data, this support was highly appreciated by Somalis.

Mutta näistä vähästä rahasta mitä Suomessa ollaan saatu niinkun hirmuisen kiitollisia...(Respondent 2)³⁷

One of the projects got additional finance from the members of the organisation around the world. Each member in the diaspora pays a little amount of money per month to this organisation. This is a good example of collective remittances that are used for development purposes in Somalia.

Jäseniä täällä Suomessa on 140, mutta useita muita jäseniä on, et se on niinku koko diasporassa asuvat somalialaiset jossa on Kanadassa, USA:ssa, Arabiassa, Euroopassa eri puolilla, Irlannissa, Norjassa, Ruotsissa, jäseniä on... ja ne käytännössä, jos on perheellinen maksaa 20 euroa Suomessa, tai yksin maksaa 10 euroo ...tää on niinku mun mielestä aivan edelläkävijä sen

niinku ideana, että ulkomailla asuva, jotka eivät asu vaan täällä Suomessa vaan asuvat eri puolilla, niin keräävät ja näkevät sellaisen yhteistyöfoorumia ja tiettyä alueella ne auttavat. (Respondent 2)³⁸

According to Cassanelli (2001) the development projects launched by the Somalis in the diaspora have been directed to certain regions, usually launched with the help of the active individuals originally from these regions. The issue of a restricted area in the projects of the migrants' own organisations has been criticised by the Northern NGOs and donors (Blion 2002, 240). According to my data, launching the project is easier and safer if one knows people in the region. In this sense, some of the projects follow clan lineages.

Joo, mulla on sinne ihan hyvät suhteet, koska mä tunnen ihmisiä mitä asuu siellä...ja siitä miksi mä oon valinnut [tämän alueen] on, että suuri osa meidän heimoa¹ asuu siellä, että on helpompi työskennellä, tunnen ihmisiä sieltä ja sanotaan et turvallisuussyistä ja myös toiminta tulee helpoksi. Sitä varten me ollaan valittu tää... (Respondent 5)³⁹

There were, however, some exceptions to this. There was a plan for the democratisation project, which would cover the whole country, not just one region. In addition, one project had selected a region where the infrastructure was least developed, and where the need for health services was extensive. None of the NGO members was from this region.

Ja kukaan ulkomaalainen ei halunnut edes mennä sinne, ei avustusjärjestöt ulottaneet siihen ollenkaan. Et se on niinkun yks peruste et mitä varten me autettiin, et edellinen hallitukset ei rakentanu infrastruktuuria ja nykyisiä hyväntekeväisyysjärjestöt eivät päässeet sinne, se on ihan kuin ikään kuin se ei olis olemassa...et niinku semmonen järjestö joka on menny semmonen pusikkoon jolla ei ole yhtään terveydenhuoltoa, yhtään lääkäreitä, yhtään farmasiaa, lääke mihin voi ostaa, ja pelkällä yhdellä kaupungilla on 20 000 ihmistä. Kuvittele. Et niinku se on kauhian huolestuttava ja laaja ja haastava alue, mistä niinku nollasta aloitettiin ...mut meillä on niinku erikoista että kukaan ei oo siellä syntynyt, me emme tiedä koko paikasta

¹ The respondent used a word 'heimo' = tribe when talking about the clan = klaani

yhtään mitään, suurin osa jäsenistä on Mogadishusta... niin ne eivät aavista, heillä ei ole aavistustakaan millainen paikka tuo on, mutta niinku ei oo tuntuva 10 euroo kuukaudessa jos maksaa, 10 euroo menis vaikka mihinkin. Mut säännöllisesti kun menee niin se on hienoa. (Respondent 2)⁴⁰

The situation of nomads in Somalia was seen as worrying, and projects were launched in order to aid them. Particularly the concern was expressed about the nomad children and youngsters, who have no education. When these uneducated youngsters move to the urban areas, they will easily get involved in fightings, since there are so many guns available in Somalia.

Paimentolaisia kehitysprojektiä, projektin tarkoituksena on esimerkiksi että paimentolaiset on tällä hetkellä Somaliassa erittäin paha tilanne, koska siellä ei ole sosiaaliturvaa ja sitten koska kun lapset kasvaa, ja esimerkiksi 15- vuotiaana tulevat kaupunkiin, iso kaupunkiin ja sitten osallistuvat sotaan, sen takia meidän yhdistys on ajatellut että heille pitää jotain estää, koska jos lapsi saa siellä jotain opetusta. (Respondent 4)⁴¹

In addition to the co-operation between diaspora members around the world, and the government - NGO co-operation, within Finland a new form of co-operation between NGOs has evolved. Somali and Finnish NGOs built a network in September 2004. Both Finnish and Somali NGOs doing development work in Somalia are involved in this network. The purpose is to improve co-operation and exchange information between the organisations. This network was seen as a sort of pioneer and particularly highlighted was the fact that despite the civil war and division caused by the war, Somalis have now built a network.

...Somali verkostoon, jota ollaan nyt rakentamassa, joka on kaikkia mitä Somaliassa toimii, jotka ovat Suomessa rekisteröity siis suomalaisia, jotka mun yhdistys on yksi näistä, niitä kerätään ja niistä sitten tehdään niinku yks ja ainoa verkosto, ja se on ainutlaatuinen verkosto. Ei niinku suomalaisetkaan edes samassa, vaikka Tansaniaan toimivia järjestöjä, ne eivät toimi eivätkä tee yhteistyötä, somalialaiset pääsevät sitä, sisällissodasta huolimatta, et heillä on nyt verkosto pystyssä...(Respondent 2)⁴²

Some characteristics of the development projects established by the diaspora organisations were mentioned. In addition to the services that the projects provided, it was important to teach the locals. (This matter will be examined more in detail in the next chapter Social remittances.) Conditionality was set to some extent. Some responsibility, in terms of the finance, was shared between the recipients and the NGO. The purpose was to teach governance and peace building. The aim was to achieve sustainability; the project is for people in that area and initiative came from the locals, who have been given some responsibilities as well. These are hoped to ensure the continuity of the project. The comparison was made between the “rich development projects” coming from outside and the project in which “the keys are given to the locals to help themselves.” In this sense the projects of the diaspora organisations were seen, and were meant to be, sustainable.

Et se on niinku mun mielestä kaikkein arvokkain on tämä että raha jolla on tarkoitettu johonkin paikkaan, niin se menee sinne mihin on tarkoitettu. Jonkinlaista evaluointia pitää todellakin olla, että kuinka menestyviä ne ovat, ja sitten miten pitkäkestoisia ovat, koko ajan niinku rakennetaan sellainen joka on pitkäjänteinen toiminta, että ei häviä silloin kun ulkomaalainen lähtee pois. Vaan se on niinku rakennettu siihen paikkaan oleville ihmisille pystyyn ja se pysyy. Ne avaimet annetaan niin sitten se on siinä. Et ihminen osaa arvostaa aivan toisella tavalla, kun se että joku rikas kehitysyhteistyöprojekti tulee rakentaa siellä ja ostaa kaikki kalliita välineitä täältä Suomesta ja sitten kukaan ei osaa remontoida, kukaan ei osaa niinku hoitaa näitä asiat ja sitten muutaman vuoden kuluttua kaikki elektroniset laitteetkin on ihan rikki. (Respondent 2)⁴³

The initiative for these projects came from the locals: first, the NGO chose the area and then the locals were asked what is their first priority; then the project was planned in the sector that was mostly in need.

*P: onko sitten aloite näihin projekteihin tullut sieltä paikallisilta?
Joo, joo, ihan lähti heiltä. Että haluuttko että autetaan, mikä on teillä niinku ensimmäinen prioriteetti...et niinkun heidän esittämiä tärkeysjärjestyksellä ollaan aloitettu...(Respondent 2)⁴⁴*

6.4. Social remittances

“It is not only people who travel between countries, but also ideas, values and cultural artefacts” as Al-Ali et al. (2001, 624) argued in their research. They defined these non-financial flows as social remittances. In my data ideas and values can be found that the Somalis interviewed try, or at least wish, “to plant” in Somalia.

The idea of Somalia as a united nation-state was strongly expressed in the empirical data. Somalia as a federalist state was seen as the most realistic option, since the previous attempts to recreate a unitary Somali administration have failed. The independence of Somaliland was not considered “legal”; there was a clear wish to have a unitary state, with the regional administrations. The division of the country was seen to be caused by the civil war; something that should not be permanent. Almost all Somalis share the same ethnicity, religion and language; therefore Somalis should be united rather than divided.

Somalia on vaan yksi Somalia... koska ei oo eri kielisiä, ei eri niinku etnisiä ryhmiä, eikä eri uskonto omaavia, vaan samannäköisiä ihmisiä, sama uskonto omaavia ja paimentolaisia ja kaupunkilaisia... (Respondent 2)⁴⁵

Respondents can be seen to be in favour of the strong and legitimate state, and in this sense being part of the nation-building process. It can be argued that there is the pursuit of nationalism through transnationalism.

Yhtenäisyys on minulle tärkeää. Koska mä oon syntyny, 58 synnyin ja ja 60, mä oon alle kaks vuotta kun Somalia itsenäisty. Ja mä oon niinku, isä ja äiti olivat niinku itsenäisyyden taistelijoita, et lähinnä niinkun kansallismieliseksi on minua kasvatettu. Et mä en voi mitään muuta kuvitellakaan et Somalia on yksi ainoa. (Respondent 2)⁴⁶

According to Stephenson (2003, 1)

nation-building programs are those in which dysfunctional or unstable or failed states or economies are given assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure, civil

society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability.

A nation-building process takes a long time, and if it is wanted to be sustainable and lasting, it “cannot be jump-started from outside”. Nation-building is not just state-building, or economic development. A successful, democratic and sustainable nation-building process includes social, economic and political equality, human development, democratic values, and the development and maintenance of civil society. (Stephenson 2003, 1; 5.)

As Stephenson argued, nation-building programs mean giving assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure and civil society in order to increase stability. In my empirical data I did not find any examples of respondents’ involvement in the political processes at the state level; assisting in building governmental infrastructure. They just expressed a hope for the success of the government achieving peace and the functioning state. The Somalis interviewed were active in strengthening civil society by participation in organisations. Involvement in development projects and the “sending” of social remittances, ideas and values, are the examples of involvement in nation-building at the civil society level.

Moreover, one respondent was hoping to establish a democratic programme, which would cover the whole Somalia.

Halutaan tehdä hanke Somaliaan, mutta meidän hanke on vähän erilainen...meidän ajatus oli, että meidän tehtävänä on esimerkiksi demokraattisen toiminnan edistäminen, joka suoranaisesti ei kosketa yhden alue, vaan se on kokonaisuus...koska tää on yhden asian, että millä tavalla demokraattinen harjoitus, koska se on yksi hyvin ajankohtainen asia joka, jos paikalliset ihmiset hyväksyy ja harjoittavat, talous kehittyy ja sosiaaliasiat kehittyy ja sitten korruptio vähenee...sen takia me halutaan tällöinen hanke nyt aloittaa... (Respondent 3)⁴⁷

Respondents were actively following the political events in Somalia, particularly during the times of interviews, when the new Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG) was just elected and respondents were following the process. They were hoping that a new Transitional Federal Government and new president Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed would be successful, but they were doubtful since all the previous attempts had failed. In the TFG there

are the clan-leaders and previous war-lords represented. Their involvement in the government woke contradictory feelings among the respondents. On the one hand, it was seen as positive, since war-lords are given the power they want, and this could keep them satisfied and therefore there would be no need for fighting. On the other hand, since the war-lords were seen causing a lot of suffering in Somalia during the war, respondents were doubtful whether they could change. "Bad men are always bad men", as one of the respondents expressed it.

Tällä hallituksella on parhaiten mahdollisuudet koska he ovat, tavallaan tää koko ryhmä on ymmärtänyt sitä, että sotapäälliköistä voi tehdä tällaista ikään kuin virkamieheksi, ja antaa tavallaan valtaa mitä ne haluaa...se on tällainen mitä tehdään parhaillaan, et kaikki sotapäälliköt on ministereitä nyt ja he ovat tyytyväisiä. Et sillon ehkä toivottavasti onnistutaan, on mahdollisuudet menestyä. Mutta tää, muista se, että tää on 13. kerta, 12 on ennen nyt, yksi enemmän, miten tämä onnistuisi? Toisaalta, ehkä nyt aika on oikea ja sitten toinen mikä on mielenkiintoinen on se, että maailma on enemmän ja enemmän kiinnostunut, vähän kiinnostusta tullut takaisin. Ehkä syyskuun 11. on toisaalta ollut meille apua, apua sillä tavalla, että mä silloin tällöin osallistun Genevessä pidetään joka vuosi Somalian donoreitten kokous, johon kutsutaan esimerkiksi kaikki lähetystöt jotka pystyy antamaan Somaliälle jotain, mä muistan ennen syyskuuta esimerkiksi 2000 ja 1999, silloin kun kutsuttiin tuli kolme, neljä lähetystä, nyt syyskuun jälkeen kun kutsuttiin, on tullut 200, ei oo ollut paikkaa istua, mielenkiintoista... (Respondent 1)⁴⁸

Ensin kaikki Somalit haluavat valtio menee hyvin ja toimii hyvin, esimerkiksi, on toive. Mutta valitettavasti ihmiset jotka tulevat ministereinä tai presidenttinä tai klaani, sotapäällikkönä, ja Somalit odottavat pahat miehet, paha miehet on aina paha miehet, minun mielestäni, koska he tuhoavat meidän kansa...mutta Somalit eivät ole mitään vaihtoehtoa, Somalit pitää odottaa mitä esimerkiksi, tai odottaa mitä valtio menee, jos on onnistuu hyvin, jos he riisuvat aseita, asiat paranevat minun mielestäni. Mutta me toivomme, että valtio toimii hyvin, tää on toive. Mutta miehet on pahoja miehiä, suuri osa... (Respondent 4)⁴⁹

Even though I did not find examples of concrete political actions at the state level among the respondents, it does not mean that diaspora generally would not be active at that level. As it became clear from the responses as well, in this new government there are ministers who have returned to Somalia from the diaspora. According to a respondent, one minister is also from Finland. Educated Somalis in the diaspora can contribute with democratic development and peacebuilding by taking part in the political processes in Somalia.

...tavallaan ja sitten diasporan auttamiseen nää ihmiset jotka on ulkomailla, heidän mä sanoisin että he jälleen valtion rakennustakin he ovat pelaamassa erittäin hyvän roolin, koska he on osaamista ja he ovat nähneet...esimerkiksi meidän uudella hallituksella on esimerkiksi Suomesta muuttanut ministeri. Et, eri puolelta tullut, Kanadasta tullut, eri puolilta, et siinä mielessä aika mielenkiintoista, miten et ne pelaa aika hyvää roolia siellä, rauhan yrittämisessä pelaa aika hyvin...ja mä voin huomatakin kun mä olen monessa paikassa mukana, et ajattelutavat on vähän erilaiset. Mä aattelen vähän maltillisemmin, pohjoismaalaisempi, rauhanomaisesti, kaikki voi ihan keskenään sopia...siinä on aika loppuen lopuksi millainen koulutus ja missä on, elää, ympäristö vaikuttaa aika paljonkin. Et et, heidän osallisuudestakin on aika tärkeä rooli siinä. (Respondent 1)⁵⁰

As was expressed in the response above, environment and education affect the ways of thinking and doing things. Diaspora can contribute to new ways of thinking and acting when it comes to co-operation, democracy, governance and peace building. This can happen, if one returns and takes part in the political processes in Somalia, or the new ideas can be contributed through the development projects that the diaspora establish.

There were several examples of social remittances that were “sent” through established development projects found in the data. For some development projects the conditionality was set, and in addition, some degree of responsibility of the project was given to the recipients. One example of the conditionality was: “if you fight and destroy what we have built, we will go away”. By this conditionality the aim is to teach peace. In one project, there is co-operation in financing between the organisation in the diaspora and the locals. The locals have to finance 20 % of the constructions. This given responsibility for the locals helps the project to

be sustainable. In addition, it is at the same time teaching governance and learning co-operation.

... et lähtee Suomesta kaikki nämä ideat. Täällä oppii tekemään yhteistyötä, näkee ympärillä miten ihmiset niinku toimii täällä vapaaehtoisin voimin, myöskin on se koko niinku alueelle lähetetään sillä lailla että älkää odottako että joku ihminen tulee taivaasta maksamaan teille raha, vaan voitte tehdä jotain, ja me vaaditaan, että mikä tahansa rakennusta remontoidaan niin 20% pitää tulla heiltä. Muuten me emme tee mitään. Et se on semmonen, ihmisille, joille palkkaa maksetaan, niin me otetaan heiltäkin “verot” takaisin siitä vielä, ja kierrätetään sillä tavalla et niinkun se on hallinnon opetusta myöskin annetaan, että ei oo hallitusta, ei oo mitään siellä, et se on niinku paimentolaisia, jotka viidakossa eläneet näin pitkälle. Et se on prosessi vielä vaikeampaa. (Respondent 2)⁵¹

Mä en oo sellainen kauhea hyväntekijä, sellainen joka vaan antaa joka ei niinkään paljonkaan vaadi takas, minä vaadin. Koska mä luulen, vaikka kuinka pieni raha ja energia on, niin sitä pitää osata arvostaa ja antaa takaisin sen, minä vaadin heiltä jotain, jos ne eivät auta itsestään, meillä on sellainen ohje näille ihmisille, että jos jonain päivänä keskenään taistelette, ja tuhoatte tämän mitä me rakennamme, niin me häivymme pois, missä tahansa Somaliaa, jolla ei ole sotaa. Ja se on niinku ylläpitänyt tätä rauhaa ainakin siinä kaupungissa missä me ollaan, et ne tietää et me häivytään pois jos ne tappelee keskenään. Se on myöskin rauhan opetusta... (Respondent 2)⁵²

The respondents expressed that for them it is important that Finland helps Somalia; for example through co-operation between Finnish people and Somalis living in Finland. It seems to be important that there is a good relationship between Finland and Somalia, and Somalis living here want to act as “bridge-builders” between these two countries. According to my data there is similarity between Finland’s history and Somalia because of the civil wars. Therefore Somalis can learn something from Finland and contribute their know-how and knowledge to Somalia.

Mut sitten pitää uus raha laittaa ja pankkijärjestelmä tehdä ja koko valtio ihan nollasta rakentaa, samalla tavalla kuin täällä silloin kun se sisällissota on täällä ollut. Et tota nykyajan nautin näitä historiallisia kirjoja, miten Suomessa on niinku lähdetty kehitysmaasta tähän. Et meillä Suomessa asuvilla Somaleilla on paljon opittavaa täältä ja me ollaan onnellisia et me ollaan täällä, me voidaan auttaa Somaliaa. Meillä on niinku semmoseen kehitystä ja hallinnointia ja tietotaitoa ja kaikkea mahdollista ideoita, jos vaan olisi rauha... (Respondent 2)⁵³

7. Diaspora's role in the development of Somalia

Among the respondents, the role of the diaspora was seen as significant in Somalia's reconstruction and development. When discussing the migration-development nexus and migrants' role in development the question of return comes up. The diaspora has a very important role in the future of Somalia, particularly in terms of human capital. Educated people have a lot to contribute to the development, and in addition, the attitudes and ways of thinking that they have adapted abroad can contribute to democratisation and peace building. Currently, one significant problem in Somalia is that most of the educated people have left the country. According to a respondent of mine, 70 per cent of the current ministers of Somalia are not educated. Lack of education was seen as one of the major problems in Somalia. There is a whole generation of youngsters who have been raised there during the conflict and without education. They easily get involved in robberies and fights. As my respondent expressed it:

Lapsilla ei ole koulua, he ovat oppineet vain ampumista, nyt ei ole koulusysteemiä. Jos olis koulu, niin lapset oppisivat, eivät sotisi enää, vaan heillä olisi muuta tekemistä. (Respondent 6)⁵⁴

Ensin Somali esimerkiksi ratkaista...pitää unohtaa tai lopettaa klaani ristiriitoja ja sitten Somalit jotka asuvat ulkomailla pitää auttaa esimerkiksi paljon suuri osa Somalit esimerkiksi koulutettuja ihmisiä asuvat ulkomailla, heitä pitää palauttaa Somaliaan ja sitten auttaa heidän kansaa siellä. Minun mielestäni tää on tärkeä asia...joo, erittäin tärkeä, jälleenrakentamista ja auttavat, koska suuri osa on pakenevat sodan aikana ulkomaille, sitten siellä melkein yli kahdeksankymmentä [prosenttia] on, ei ole mitään koulutusta...tällä hetkellä esimerkiksi ministereissä, ministeri jotka, valtion ministerit 70 % ei ole koulutettuja ihmisiä, sen takia Somalit jotka asuvat ulkomailla pitää auttaa heidän kansaa ja auttaa heidän kotimaataan. (Respondent 4)⁵⁵

Kyllä näillä ulkomailla asuvilla Somaleilla on rooli et Somalian kehittämisessä, koska ne ovat opiskelleet ja nähneet tämmösen demokraattisen maan toimintaa, siellä ovat kasvaneet ja siellä olleet

pitkästä aikaa, heillä on aika paljon resursseja ja kehittämisasiat, heillä on jotain, rahaa, heillä on enemmän rahaa mutta enemmän sanotaan rahaa, heillä on aika paljon muita resursseja...(Respondent 5)⁵⁶

What was seen as essential among my respondents was that Somalis themselves know their situation best. In this sense diaspora, people who have resources such as education, and in addition, the deep knowledge of the culture, are the best actors in the development of Somalia. The international community of non-Somalis cannot resolve problems without taking Somalis and their views into account.

Mun mielestä se on tämä ongelma pitää ratkaista, pitää ratkaista Somalit jotka asuvat Somaliassa ja jotka asuvat ulkomailla, ymmärtää esimerkiksi heidän elämäänsä ja kehitystään, ymmärtää. Tää on tärkeä asia. Esimerkiksi järjestöt jotka ovat, esimerkiksi kansainvälinen järjestö tai muut ei voi tehdä mitään ilman Somalit, Somalit ymmärtää mitä heidän kehityssuunta... (Respondent 4)⁵⁷

The Somali diaspora was seen as very important mainly in terms of human resources, but since the infrastructure is lacking in Somalia, there is a need for huge investments. Therefore the help of the international community is needed in order to reconstruct Somalia and its infrastructure. Before the reconstruction the Somalis in the diaspora can do only “little things”, such as development projects and financially maintain their families in Somalia. These transnational activities take place in the private sphere and at the civil society level. By launching development projects they are involved in strengthening the civil society. The infrastructure building should be done by the state, with the help of huge investments, and therefore, the respondents did not feel to be able to participate much in this. After reconstruction and the formation of the state infrastructure, the diaspora resources can be used even more effectively.

Me tarvitaan kaikki mitä hallitus tarvitsee, ministeriöt, pankit, sotilas, poliisi, oikeus...elikkä se on aika paljon asia, miljoonia tarvitaan, ja elikkä näitä kaikki jos puuttuu sieltä, ei mitään voi tehdä...minä voin tehdä joku pieni yritys siellä Somaliassa, mutta valtio tarvitsee isompia asiat...tarvitaan miljoonia dollareita tähän valtion muodostamiseen. (Respondent 5)⁵⁸

The importance of skilled Somalis returning to Somalia was expressed in my data, when discussing the diaspora's contribution to the development of Somalia. The returned Somalis can bring, and have brought new ideas, technologies and new businesses to Somalia (Gundel 2002, 275). However, as was seen in chapter 5, the return is not realistic for everyone. How will the situation in Somalia change if educated and skilled people are lacking? What if they do not return? The brain-drain is a significant problem not only for Somalia, but for developing countries in general. Yet, as was seen in the chapter 5, the return should not be understood necessarily only as permanent physical return.

UNDP has established a programme "The Somali QUESTS (Qualified Expatriate Somali Technical Support) Initiative, modeled after the UNDP global initiative Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN)", on the basis of non-permanent return. According to UNDP (2004), "Somalis in diaspora have gained technical skills in their countries of domicile, and these benefits need to be utilized in Somalia in order to revive the struggling country." The Somali QUESTS programme encourages Somali professionals in diaspora to bring their skills to Somalia on a voluntary basis, for short periods of time. By this programme UNDP Somalia addresses three major needs: "the reversal of brain drain, supporting lasting peace in Somalia and increased participation of the Somali Diaspora in the creation of a conducive environment for sustainable human development." (UNDP 2004.)

The Somalis interviewed in my study expressed the importance of contributing their know-how to Somalia. This was realised through establishing development projects there. Instead of returning to Somalia permanently, one can take part in the development initiatives by being involved in projects on the transnational basis. As one of my respondents, who visits Somalia regularly because of the development projects there, expressed:

Jos koulutetut ihmiset palaavat takaisin ja opettavat paikallisia, kuten minä teen. Menen sinne ja opetan heitä, sitä mitä mä olen saanut länsimailta...tällä tavalla ulkomailla asuvilla Somalialaisilla on suuri rooli jälleenrakentamisessa. (Respondent 6)⁵⁹

According to Koser and Van Hear (2003, 17) the assumption of UNHCR's repatriation policy has been that physical return is "the only way to integrate refugees in the post-conflict

reconstruction". In the contemporary world, in which goods, money, ideas and votes can transcend borders easier than people, that assumption is not valid anymore. In addition, Koser and Van Hear claim that in reality return is not the preferred solution to many refugees. However, they can contribute to reconstruction and democratisation from the distance.

Koser and Van Hear (2003, 17) give policy implications for this matter. According to them asylum-seekers and refugees should be empowered rather than marginalised. Firstly, the countries of origin should accept the fact that some refugees do not want to return, and not view them as disloyal. Secondly, the countries of settlement should secure them with legal status, and help refugees to overcome social, political and economical exclusion. The potential of refugees in the development of their countries of origin should be recognised both by the country of origin and the country of settlement, and additionally by the international community. Koser and Van Hear suggest that refugees should be encouraged to take part in the international fora, such as peace building efforts and donor conferences. The resources from diasporas and donors should be planned and co-ordinated more coherently for reconstruction and development purposes.

Gundel (2002, 275) suggests that if remittances could be turned into long-term investment, they would be more important than development aid for economic development. Gundel sees this as important as the flow of know-how. He (ibid.) suggests that since the structure of pay levels and job opportunities currently in Somalia are not sufficient, and this prevents people to return, the development aid could be used for paying salaries in a transitional period for educated Somalis who want to go back to Somalia.

When looking at the future, it is still unclear whether the second generation of Somalis in diaspora is willing to send remittances to Somalia, or establish the development projects there (Gundel 2002, 275). Thus, the essential question is, whether the second generation continues to maintain linkages to Somalia, or will they become acculturated to their host countries and thus the Somali diaspora will disappear? As was expressed by my respondents, children's relation to the country of origin differs from the first generation. The second generation might not have even visited the country or seen the relatives who are living there. Therefore their relation to Somalia is distant, and what matters most, is the life in the host country.

Tää on vaikea kysymys. Esimerkiksi mun pojat on syntynyt täällä Suomessa... toinen on seitsemän vuotias, ekaluokalla, ja tota vähän vaikea hänelle kun mä yritän selittää hänelle Somaliasta, kyllä hän on kysynyt mulla että mistä mä tulen, mutta toisen sukupolven on niin vaikea, ne eivät tiedä mitään Somaliasta, mutta meidän sukupolven, me tiedetään mitä siellä tapahtuu ja kaikki ongelmat siellä. Mutta poika tai tyttö joka on syntynyt täällä, hän on vain kuullut kaikki asiat, ja se on vain teoria. Et se on sama kun sä oot kuullu että Suomi oli talvisodassa Venäjän kanssa, mutta esimerkiksi sinun mummo tai pappa eli silloin, hän muistaa ja sanoo se on kova juttu, mutta sulle ei oo paljon merkitystä, se on historiaa. Se on sama että näitä ihmisiä, elikkä lapsia jotka on kasvanut täällä heillä ei ole mitään paljon kiinnostusta, ja mun mielestä se on niin vaikea että ne hankkeet mitä siellä, voi olla että ne tekee jotain siellä, tästä on mistä sun isä ja äiti on tullut, nyt tarvitaan apua... jos sulta kysytään haluatko Karjalan takaisin, sä sanot että miksi, mulla on ihan riittävä täällä, mutta voi olla että sun ukki vielä haluaa, että perkele, meidän maasta on otettu että Venäjä, että meidän pitää taistella siihen niin, ja siihen hänellä on iso merkitys. Se on sama että mun pojalle ei ole paljon merkitystä, ei ole henkilökohtaista merkitystä. Hän on kuullut että isä on tullut jostain Somalia ja enemmän hän ajattelee että kuinka tänään pelataan jalkapalloa, mitä tulee telkkarista, hei onks tänään saunapäivä, lähetään saunaan tai lähdetään luistelemaan tai hiihtämään, tää on hänelle merkityksellisempää...(Respondent 5)⁶⁰

Another respondent said that Somali youngsters are interested in NGO activities and the development projects in Somalia.

Kiinnostusta löytyy [nuorison keskuudesta], vanhempien pitäisi tukea heitä tässä. (Respondent 6)⁶¹

According to Blion (2002, 238) the development projects launched by the immigrants' organisations may become a means of assisting youngsters to construct their cultural identity. The involvement in the organisations which launch development projects may particularly help in the identity construction of young people who are born in the country of settlement.

In their research on Eritreans, Al-Ali et al. (2001, 631) found that the elderly often thought that youngsters are not engaged in development efforts in Eritrea since they are lacking national consciousness and focusing their energy on life in the settlement country. This can be applied to some Eritrean youngsters, but on the other hand Al-Ali et al. found out that some youngsters were very active in developmental actions of Eritrea. The youngsters have been particularly active in starting and maintaining Eritrean web-sites and the magazines. This could be the case among the Somali youngsters as well. In order to know the actions and life of 2nd generation, the research should take place among them. No one can know what the future brings, and how these second generation Somalis relate to diaspora and Somalia. This matter requires more research.

8. A bounded transnationalism

Diaspora can contribute to the development of Somalia on the transnational basis, without Somalis returning there permanently. Yet, it has to be noticed that both the country of origin and the country of settlement affect transnational activities. Although in this research the focus has been on the transnational activities of Somalis, and not on their life in Finland, some issues of the locationality of transnationalism have to be raised. As Al-Ali et al. (2001) illustrated, there are limitations to these transnational activities. The capacity to be involved in these activities has something to do both with the country of origin and the country of settlement. They distinguish several factors which have an effect on the capacity to contribute. In their study they found employment to be “the single most important factor that increases the capacity of refugees to financially assist their relatives.” (Al-Ali et al. 2001, 627.) As Guranizo and Smith (1998, 12-13) claimed, transnational practises always occur in particular locations, and these locations set the contexts and bounds for the practises. Therefore transnationalism is always necessarily bounded.

In the case of Somalis the remittance sending, particularly the amount of money sent, depends on the financial resources that one has. In this sense, the position in the country of settlement affects to the homeland assistance. Unemployment/ employment affects the remittance sending. If the resources are sufficient, the funds can be raised in order to make contributions to the original homeland and its development. In Finland, the unemployment rate of migrants generally is high. The unemployment rate among the Somalis in Finland was 58.8 % in 2002 (Tilastokeskus 2002, 33). The issue of unemployment in Finland was raised up in my data. The comparison was made between Finland and England, where almost all the Somalis are employed. In the countries where the employment rate is better, there have also been collective actions to raise the funds in order to assist Somalia.

Se on jokainen resurssien mukaan [rahan lähettäminen]. Esimerkiksi Suomessa ei oo paljon, tai suurin osa maahanmuuttajista tai Somaleista on työttömänä. Kun se verrataan Englantiin, siellä kaikki on töissä. Ne tekee töitä siellä ja kyllä heillä on enemmän resursseja siellä kun meillä täällä Suomessa. Mutta täälläkin lähetetään rahaa, ja keskimääräinen on jotain 50 euroo kuukaudessa. Se riippuu kyllä jokaisen ihmisen resursseista. (Respondent 5)⁶²

According to Al-Ali et al. (2001, 628) the legal status in the host country is even more significant factor than the financial stability. In their study the Bosnians in the UK and the Netherlands expressed insecurity and concern about their legal status. The insecurity on the one hand prevents people from looking for employment, hinders integration and moreover may lead to psychological problems, such as depression and apathy.

Some of my respondents expressed that they feel to belong to Finland in terms of having citizenship. Citizenship gives a more secure position, and thus it can be assumed that if the migrant has a legal status in the host country, it gives more possibilities to also take part in the transnational sphere. For example, travelling and finding employment might become easier.

Home country factors are also important when discussing transnational activities, they set bounds to the transnational practices as well. Al-Ali et al. (2001, 629) present an example from Eritrea, where the government has always appreciated the value of diaspora, and is now engaging with the diaspora more actively than before. The Eritrean government has urged the diaspora to donate to Eritrea two per cent of their income. This model of assisting requires strong, legitimate and effective governance, which does not exist in Somalia yet (Cassanelli 2001). Questions remain open concerning the future of Somali government and its success, and therefore it is still unclear how it will affect the diaspora's contributions.

In addition to the capacity to contribute, one has to have a desire to do so. Al-Ali et al. (2001) define several factors that have an effect on the desire to contribute. Orientation towards the homeland government is one factor that may have an effect on the desire to contribute. If for example migrants do not accept the politics their home country government is pursuing, they might not want to contribute. In the case of Somalia it is problematic to speak about government and its policy, since a new government has recently been elected, after many years without central governance in the country. The power in the country has been in the hands of regional clan-leaders. In my data the hope for the central governance and the unity of the country was expressed. One respondent has not been launching any development project in the country, since so far it has been possible to do so only regionally. This respondent wishes to establish a democratisation project in the near future, which could cover the whole Somalia, and not just one region.

According to my data, the desire for contributing derives from responsibility and solidarity, on the one hand towards the family, and on the other hand the solidarity reaching over the family borders, applying to the whole nation of Somalia. Respondents interviewed in this study have all been born in Somalia and still consider it home, at least to some extent. For them, as first generation migrants, the desire to contribute something to the original home country seems to be an inherent, natural part of their lives.

Minusta se on kaikki, mä en kestäis jos mä en auttais. Se on niinkun jollain tavalla niinku tulee sellainen syyllisyyden tunne että, mä muistan jossain vaiheessa joka kerta niinkun kun mä ylellisyyttä syön ja kun muun, niin aina tulee mieleen että siellä on ihmisiä, jotka ei mitään syötävää. Mä en osaa niinku nauttia, nauttia niinku ylenpalttisesta elämästä vaikka minulla olisi vaikka mahdollisuudet et mä ajattelen sen, paljonko näillä kymmenellä eurolla voi kouluttaa jonkun tytön siellä, siellä on paljon orpoja, ja eniten mitä kotonakin lasten kanssa kiistelee, niin ruoan kanssa pelleileminen...(Respondet 2)⁶³

Al-Ali et al. (2001) found out that one important factor affecting the desire for contributing is whether the migrant has been born in the original home country or in the host country. This issue of second generation was discussed in the last chapter to some extent, but requires further studies. Naturally the factors affecting the desire and capability to contribute are intertwined in a complex way, all of them affecting each other.

9. Conclusions

Somali diaspora can be defined according to Safran's characteristics; they are dispersed all around the world, and Somalia remains in their consciousness. However, it does not explain Somali diaspora explicitly, since Safran approaches the relation to the settlement country and return issue too simply. The return issue according to my data got multiple meanings. The answers varied from the clear plan to go back to Somalia, to the dream of return, and finally to the return as a unrealistic option. Return question goes hand in hand with the issue of the relation to the settlement country. It is not easy to return, if the life is well established in Finland, for example in terms of having children, job, social contacts, and citizenship. These all can be said to be signs of integration; yet, the Somalis interviewed are continuously involved in transnational activities with Somalia. Therefore integration and living in diaspora should not be treated as oppositions; instead, for example secure position and employment increase resources to be involved in transnational sphere, i.e. integration facilitates transnationalism. The postmodern theories of diaspora can throw some light to the examination of Somali diaspora, since it recognises the hybridity and multi-locality of people living in diaspora by claiming that even though one lives in diaspora, one can still be integrated into the settlement country. The postmodern theories on diaspora highlight the diasporic identity; considering the diaspora living as a state-of-mind. My data shows that it is more than just a state-of-mind; it involves a strong dimension of actions. I consider the transnational practices that Somalis in Finland maintain as "outcomes" of diasporic consciousness. These "outcomes" are both material and immaterial. "Outcomes" found in my study were maintained social relations with people in Somalia and in other countries, economic relations such as remittance sending, involvement in NGOs establishing development projects in Somalia, and "sending" of social remittances; flows of ideas and values.

It can be assumed based on the findings of the data that these activities have an importance of the maintenance of diasporic identity for people living in Finland, and additionally they are significant for people in Somalia. Remittances are important for the survival of people; they are used to meet the basic needs in a country in which social security is absent. This is one example of the alternative survival strategies of people in Somalia, since the infrastructure there is lacking. The money transferring system (Hawilad) has been developed since the formal economy and banking system are absent in Somalia.

Transnational ties include social capital, which can take the form of obligation, solidarity, or reciprocity. The assistance of parents and kin by sending remittances was considered as obligation, as “a must thing to do”. It was expressed to derive from the culture, religion and tradition. In this sense the social capital is bonding; the responsibility of taking care of relatives continues to exist despite the physical distance. Involvement in NGO activities and development projects was expressed to be purely voluntary; solidarity towards the original home country, and as a responsibility to give back something. In this sense the social capital is not bonding; it is rather binding, bridging Somalia and Finland.

Development projects in the sectors of health and education established by diaspora provide basic services that are lacking in Somalia. Additionally they are important ways of “sending” social remittances; through these projects locals are taught governance, peace building, democracy, and co-operation- issues, to name a few. The clear wish for the unity of Somalia was expressed. Through development projects the human capital (knowledge, skills and know-how) of the educated Somalis in diaspora is transferred to Somalia.

The role of diaspora in the reconstruction of Somalia was seen as important mainly in terms of human capital. The brain-drain was considered as a huge problem; educated people have left Somalia, and their know-how is needed. Here the theoretical return question meets practice. Since the permanent return is not realistic for everyone, one can still contribute know-how and knowledge to Somalia on transnational basis, for example taking part in development projects. This has become possible in the era of globalisation; goods, money and ideas can transcend borders more easily than people. Since the permanent return to Somalia is not necessarily a realistic option for everyone, and since Somalis interviewed are in one way or another committed to the assistance of Somalia, one can speak about the development wish instead of the return wish.

The phenomenon of globalisation provides a context for all the transnational activities, since it erodes space and time constraints on the forms of social interaction. Diasporas maintaining transnational activities can be seen as examples of the globalisation. Diasporas in the era of globalisation are somehow different from the classical diasporas, since the means of communication, travelling etc. have increased possibilities to the diaspora maintenance. Developments in the era of globalisation have “diminished” the world so that in spite of the

physical distance one can easily keep in touch with people in the country of origin, and live transnational life. Since the contacts are often real-time, and even visits are possible to do, the country of origin is a part of everyday life instead of being a mythic place somewhere very far away.

Despite the many changes in the global era, nation-states still remain powerful at least what comes to migration and to the policies related to it. Even though the flows of information and goods can transcend the national borders easily, for the movement of people there are restrictions. In addition, migration and refugee policies in the Western countries assume that the migrants should either integrate or return, and thus they ignore the transnational aspect of migrants' lives.

Although the processes of globalisation have helped in creating space for transnationalism, it has to be noticed that transnational activities do not take place in a global sphere as such, instead they always occur in particular localities setting bounds to transnationalism. Political, economical and cultural processes in transnational spaces require resources, and include the use of capitals: human, economic, and social. The resources are gained in particular localities, both in the settlement country and the country of origin. In addition, these both countries set the conditions to the transnational activities. The most important factor in Finland affecting the resources to participate in the transnational activities, according to my data, was the high level of unemployment among the migrants.

Even though the empirical data answered well to my research questions, I feel that many interesting and important questions and issues were not examined. More questions appeared during the research, but I could not include them to my study because of restricted time, and lack of resources. Therefore, further research is needed on following issues.

What will be the future of Somali diaspora? It would be interesting to examine how the second generation relate to the diaspora, how their diaspora differs from their parents' diaspora in case of Somalis? Particularly, what will happen to the developmental initiatives done by the first generation? Will the projects and remittance sending be continuing, or will there be new forms of transnational activities?

Moreover, relating to the future of diaspora, it would be interesting to know how the situation in Somalia develops, if the TNG succeeds this time, and how all the developments will affect the diaspora's relation to Somalia.

Since transnational activities have local sources, it would be interesting to carry out a comparative study between different settlement countries in the case of Somalis. How their transnational activities differ, how the resources differ, and what are the affecting factors in both settlement countries?

Continuing with comparative studies, it would be interesting to compare the transnational activities of different ethnic groups in Finland. To what extent are the activities similar, to what extent do they differ? This could be done by researching migrants' organisations and the actions that are taking place in and through these organisations.

This study examined the transnational relations, activities and diaspora from the point of view of Somalis living in Finland. In order to know how significant these activities actually are for the people in Somalia, and in order to know their developmental effect, the research should take place in Somalia. How important the diaspora's development projects are for Somalia and people there? How are the remittances used, and what is their developmental effect? In addition, now putting the development perspective into the centre, it would be interesting to compare the development projects between the migrants' own organisation, and, say, Finnish NGO in the field of development co-operation. What are the similarities and what are the differences; is there any difference between the projects' sustainability?

NOTES

¹ Suffering caused by the civil war is rather painful, and sometimes when thinking of it, you cannot even sleep the next night properly... (Respondent 1)

² I have visited the refugee camps in Kenya... and usually when speaking about the diaspora people in the western countries, the amounts of people there are small. The numbers of refugees in the neighbouring countries are about 500-600 thousands, and the numbers of refugees in the West are little compared to those in the neighbouring countries... (Respondent 1)

³ I would say, that Somalia is the word I would always like to see and hear, because I believe that people should unite rather than be divided... I would see that they can be a part of Somalia, everything is part of Somalia no matter what they call themselves... The idea of federations would be the solution, I believe more in Somalia, for me Puntland means Somalia. I would see that Somalia is our ideal. And the wish that we will get...and we are a little nation, only 8 million people, so I personally see that it is the whole Somalia... (Respondent 1)

⁴ I have this thought that Somalia is Somalia... we are Somalis, and the division is caused by the civil war, the country should not be divided, not in any case, this is political, but our country should not be divided, I extremely think so... (Respondent 5)

⁵ And now there are two regions that are missing, one in Ethiopia, and one in Kenya, and all the time I have thought that these missing regions should belong to Somalia... (Respondent 5)

⁶ Somalis that live in the Western countries, they live in peace, but there is nothing else, they just live...for example I have been director in Somalia, but in Finland, what am I, nothing... for example in the Western countries the Somali diplomas were not recognised... (Respondent 4)

⁷ My future is very clear, we would like to return to Somalia, if peace in Somalia gets better, I would like to go to my home country. At the moment I am a Finnish citizen...one day I might come back, but my future, I think that I will work there [in Somalia]... (Respondent 4)

⁸ I am very eager to return to Somalia, since I have not visited there. And I have been born there and left the country in a young age, yes I miss home a lot, because I have not visited there. It might be, that the return wish will crush, but at least I have to visit there in order to know what it is. But I have that dream, that I hope to visit there, and I am planning to do so next summer for the first time... one of my dreams is that when I am retired I would like to be in Mogadishu, not here. It is just a dream, I don't know how it goes, I can't say. After next year when I have visited there, I can decide better... (Respondent 2)

⁹ But it is not easy to leave from Finland and go back to Somalia in any case, it is very difficult. Because my children have grown up here, I have a Finnish passport, I am a tax-payer here, I have worked here, so it is not easy to leave, it is difficult... (Respondent 5)

¹⁰ Someday, who knows, I return back home, absolutely if there is a chance, why not. But if we are realistic, and we look, the situation is pretty far away from it... and another problem is, the problem of diaspora is, that there are ties. There are children, they grow up here, they have their friends, and if you ask should we move back, they say no, I have my friends here... so that is the another side of it... (Respondent 1)

¹¹ I have more contacts here, so it can't be said definitely that I move back. Because I have started to work here, and I have contacts around Finland, but if I move to Somalia it means that first I have to search for contacts, people, friends. My friends might not be in Somalia anymore, they have left... because first I was in Sudan, then in Egypt, I was young when I left Somalia. That's why it is difficult to say realistically that I move back to Somalia...

P: so your home is in Finland?

... home, there is another term.. yes, home is in Finland, but where I am from, the place I came from, it is Somalia. But home is here... (Respondent 3)

¹² Well, I would say like the English gentleman said: go east, go west, the best is home. So home is always the best...(Respondent 1)

¹³ Assisting family, I assist my mother, that is a must... I want my mother and relatives to live a good life. This is human, it is a must. But involvement in projects, it is philanthropy; voluntary... if you can do something it is good, if you help, it is good. But it is no obligation. It is solidarity... (Respondent 5)

¹⁴ Everyone has this responsibility, when your own things are okay, then one has to help... this responsibility is inherent in our culture, so that you have to help a family, it is automatic. One who has his own life set has to help others. It is automatic...

P: and Somalis living in Finland are active in that?

... absolutely. One million who live abroad, they all are active... this solidarity is inherent to everyone, there is solidarity. For example, how can I be happy if I know that my mother or sister is starving, I can't sleep well, I can't enjoy my life. This responsibility is deep in us. It doesn't have to be even your own relative, it can be a distant relative, even one you have gone to school with, a close friend, who you have to help... it is a responsibility, because I see that it is not nice that some have too much food, some have nothing to eat. It is our responsibility, we have to collectively take care of it... (Respondent 1)

¹⁵ I have been in Finland for nearly 15 years, and when speaking about identification, I am a Somali, but I have lived in Finland the third of my life, and I feel that I am a Finnish Somali... I have a family here, my children have been born here, the third of my life -I am 41 years old now- I have been here. And from the year 1992 I have paid taxes. Yes, I feel that I am a Finnish Somali. I belong here... (Respondent 5)

¹⁶ My identity is Somali, but now I have a Finnish citizenship. And I feel both, I am a Somali, I am a Finn, Finnish citizen... (Respondent 4)

¹⁷ To be here and there... (Respondent 1)

¹⁸ I think I belong both to Somalia and Finland... (Respondent 5)

¹⁹ I know people's need there, therefore I am involved [in development projects]... I didn't intend to leave the country, but the circumstances became such that I had to leave... I haven't abandoned them... (Respondent 6)

²⁰ My siblings live in South Africa, they live in Australia, in different places, there is no possibility to be together. But we keep in touch anyway... and we are conscious and we even share the responsibility, who takes care of mother, who takes care of father... (Respondent 1)

²¹ Yes, my sisters and brothers live in Denmark, in Holland, and in England, and I have good relationship with them. When we have time, particularly in summertime, we meet. We for example spend summer holidays together... (Respondent 5)

²² I follow regularly what is happening in Somalia, I listen to BBC, and Somali radios, different radios on the internet... every day I know what is written there, and if I want to know more, through people I know who are living there, or relatives of the people I know in Finland, we can get information. We have very tight connections to Somalia... (Respondent 2)

²³ Yes, the phone is good, and MSN messenger is the cheapest. It has helped a little in keeping contacts, via messenger we are in touch almost daily... (Respondent 1)

²⁴ Yes yes, every day or every week. And in Somalia there are very good contacts, because there are the phone net and internet. At the moment the phone calls in Somalia are the cheapest in the world... they contact us, and we can contact them... (Respondent 4)

²⁵ I visit there two times a year, because of the work... I have a good possibility... (Respondent 1)

²⁶ I haven't visited there... but next summer I plan to go there for the first time, if the government settles there... it is safer. I will go and see the projects, which we have established there. I have to report to the Finnish government what we have done there... (Respondent 2)

²⁷ One of them calls and says, hey, 20 Euro, 30 Euro, 50 Euro, or one of their children has died, or they have problems, then they call me, and what I can give, I send to them. It is responsibility, because in Somalia there is no social security. I am the social security for all of my relatives. The kin is not just mother and father, it is extended... when needed, but mother and father, all the time. It is my responsibility, because otherwise they are in poor position, I am in a better position, and I must send... (Respondent 3)

²⁸ On the one hand it is good, on the other hand it is not. You should have savings and living here is expensive, and you should plan your own life as well... (Respondent 6)

²⁹ Well, I could say, that it is quite significant, and quite important to the Somalian economy. Because there is no actual economy, so it is important, and it is the portion that makes people survive. I would claim, or I would say that [remittances] go to the survival. It is a question of food over there, as you know, Somalia has been one of the poorest countries of the world for long, and additionally the civil war has ruined... it has become impossible. One can't speak about investments, it is just about surviving, that people get food. For example unemployment, I don't even dare to speak about it, there are no jobs, in that sense a family might not have anything else that just someone who is assisting them... it is so necessary that the family helps, and it has been a good thing, belonging to the culture... (Respondent 1)

³⁰ Some investments are made, for example fund raisings, but not in Finland. There are so many unemployed in Finland, but let's say in England, America or Sweden, people organise this kind of fund raisings... and then they make some investments. We have tried to raise funds in Finland, but it is difficult... (Respondent 5)

³¹ If 10 Euro are sent, it is quite much money in Somalia. If you send 50 Euro per month, it is a lot of money there, many people can live with that money for a month... (Respondent 5)

³² Yes, gross domestic product, it is important, because if there had not been this responsibility of remittance sending, Somalis would not have lived. It is an important income for many people. But in what way the money is used, is another question which requires further investigations. How the money is used, if it is used for leisure, for example for qaat, or if it is invested in welfare... (Respondent 3)

³³ Yes it is an organized system, and it is very good, since there is no central bank through which the money could be sent. This is a manual system, and it is reliable. Because I have given the money to this person I know, and who knows my mother... (Respondent 5)

³⁴ And after the Americans closed down the money sending system because of the suspected links with terrorist organisations, our money was frozen in the accounts. Even though the FBI last year said that the suspicions were false, our money was still frozen there... (Respondent 2)

³⁵ After September 11th we got problems. Before that no-one had paid any attention, but now all the Muslims are labelled as terrorists automatically, it has caused problems for us... (Respondent 1)

³⁶ When one has left the country, and got one's own life settled well, one has to go back and give back. Because that country has given me a lot, I have been born there, I have been educated, it has given me a lot, so I have a responsibility to somehow give it back, if I can... (Respondent 1)

³⁷ We are very grateful for this little money we have got from Finland... (Respondent 2)

³⁸ In Finland there are 140 members, and there are many other members in the whole diaspora, such as in Canada, USA, Arabia, in different parts of Europe; Ireland, Norway, Sweden. If you have a family you pay 20 Euro, and if you are single you pay 10 Euro...in my opinion, this is a pioneering idea. People living abroad, not only in Finland, but all over, they collect money and create a co-operation forum, and they help one region... (Respondent 2)

³⁹ Yes, I have good relations there, because I know people there...and why I have chosen [this area] is that most of the people from our clan live there. It is easier to work, I know people there, and because of the security issues, working becomes easy. That is why we have chosen this... (Respondent 5)

⁴⁰ And none of the foreigners wanted to go there, there weren't any humanitarian assistance organisations. That is one reason why we helped, the previous governments have not built any infrastructure, and current humanitarian agencies couldn't go there, it is like it's not existing... so, such NGO has gone to that bush, where there are no health services, no doctors, no pharmacies, and only in one city there are 20 000 people. Imagine. It is a very worrying and challenging area, we started from zero...but it is exceptional, that none of the members of the NGO has not been born there, we don't know anything about this region, most of the members are from Mogadishu... they don't have a clue how that place is, but 10 Euro a month is not a lot, you would spend 10 Euro on anything. But when it goes regularly, it is great... (Respondent 2)

⁴¹ Development project for nomads, the purpose of the project is... for example, nomads have a very poor situation, since there is no social security, and when children grow, and for example when they are 15 years old they move to the city, and participate in the war. Therefore our organisation has thought that this has to be prevented; children have to get education... (Respondent 4)

⁴² Somali network, which we are building now, is the network of all the NGOs working for Somalia, registered in Finland, my organisation is one of them. They are gathered together and one network is created, it is unique. Even the Finns have not done this, for example NGOs working for Tanzania, they don't co-operate, Somalis can do it despite the civil war, they have a network now... (Respondent 2)

⁴³ I think the most valuable is that the money goes where it is meant to go. There has to be some sort of evaluation of how successful they are. And if they are long-term, we build that kind of functions that they don't disappear when the foreigner goes away. It has been built in that place and for the people living there, and it remains. The keys are given, and that's it. People can appreciate it differently, compared to the rich development project, which builds something there, buys expensive equipment from Finland, and then no one is able to reconstruct, no one can take care of things, and then after some years all the electrical equipment is broken... (Respondent 2)

⁴⁴ P: Has the initiative come from the locals? Yes, yes, it came from them. Do you want that we help, what is the first priority for you... we have started on the basis of their priorities... (Respondent 2)

⁴⁵ Somalia is just one Somalia... because there are no different languages, no different ethnic groups, no different religions, instead, people who look alike, who have same religion, nomads and urbans... (Respondent 2)

⁴⁶ Unity is important for me. Because I have been born in 58, and in 60, I was less than two years old when Somalia got its independence. My mother and father were the "fighters for the independence", so I have been raised as nationalistic. I can't imagine anything else than just Somalia is one... (Respondent 2)

⁴⁷ We want to establish a project in Somalia, but our project is a little different... our thought was that our task is for example the promotion of the democracy. It isn't limited to one region, it is a whole... how people rehearse democracy, it is a very current topic...if local people accept, and rehearse democracy, economy and social issues develop, and corruption diminishes...that is why we want to start this kind of project now... (Respondent 3)

⁴⁸ This government has the best possibilities, because they have understood, that the warlords can be made government officers, they can be given the power they want... it is what has been done now, all the warlords are ministers, and they are happy. So maybe then it will succeed, there are chances for success. But remember, that this is 13th time, 12 before this, this is one more, how could this succeed? On the other hand, maybe the time is right now, and another thing, which is interesting is that the world is more and more interested. Maybe September 11th has helped in one way... I sometimes participate in the meeting of Somali donors in Geneva, where the embassies who can give something to Somalia are invited, I remember before September, for example in 2000 and 1999 there were three or four embassies, after September, there have been 200, no place to sit, interesting... (Respondent 1)

⁴⁹ Yes, first all the Somalis want that the state works well, that is the hope. But unfortunately people who are ministers, or president, or clan, warlords, and bad men are always bad men, I think so, because they destroy our people... but Somalis have no option, Somalis have to wait and see how the state does, if it does well, they disarm, things get better in my opinion. But we hope that the state does well, this is the wish. But men are bad, most of them... (Respondent 4)

⁵⁰ In a way, the help of diaspora, the people who are abroad, they have a significant role in the reconstruction of Somalia, because they have know-how, they have seen... for example this new government has a minister who has moved from Finland. They came from different countries, from Canada, and other countries. In that sense it is interesting, how they have this important role, they are important in peace building... I can see, since I am involved in many places, that ways of thinking are different. I have a Scandinavian way of thinking, peaceful, we can all agree... it depends at the end on what kind of education one has, and where one lives, environment affects quite a lot. Their involvement has a significant role... (Respondent 1)

⁵¹ These ideas come from Finland. Here one learns how to co-operate, one sees how people work here voluntarily... in that area we say: don't wait until someone comes from the heaven to give you the money, you can do something, and we insist that whatever building is renovated, 20 % have to come from them. Otherwise we do nothing. People, who get paid, we take "taxes" from them, and circulate... it is also teaching governance, there is no government, nothing; they are nomads, who have lived in the jungle so far. So that the process is even more difficult... (Respondent 2)

⁵² I am not a philanthropist as such, the one that just gives and doesn't expect anything back, I do expect something back. Because I think that even if there is a small amount of money, or energy, one has to respect it, and give back, I expect something from them, if they don't help themselves, we have said to these people that if one day you fight against each other, and if you destroy what we have built, we go away, somewhere in Somalia where there is no war. And this has maintained this peace at least in the city we are working in, they know that we'll leave if they fight. It is also teaching peace... (Respondent 2)

⁵³ But then we have to set up the banking system, money, and establish the whole state infrastructure from the beginning, in a same way as here when there was a war. I enjoy to read historical books, how in Finland from developing country we have come to this point. So we Somalis living in Finland have a lot to learn from here, and we are happy that we are here, and we can help Somalia. We have knowledge of governance, and development and lots of ideas, only if there was a peace... (Respondent 2)

⁵⁴ Children have no schools, they have learnt only shooting, now there is no schooling system. If there were a school, children would learn, they wouldn't fight anymore, they would have something else to do... (Respondent 6)

⁵⁵ First Somalis have to solve...they have to forget or stop the clan conflicts, and then Somalis who live abroad they have to help, for example most of the educated Somalis live abroad, they have to be returned to Somalia and then they have to help their people there. In my opinion this is important... very important, reconstruction and that they help, because most of them left Somalia because of the war, then there are nearly 80% who have no education... at the moment for example 70% of the ministers in Somalia are not educated people, therefore Somalis who live abroad have to help their people and their home country... (Respondent 4)

⁵⁶ Yes Somalis living abroad have a role in the development of Somalia, because they have studied and they have seen how a democratic country functions, they have grown up there, and have been there for a long time, they have quite a lot of resources, they have something, money, they have more money, but more than money, they have a lot of other resources... (Respondent 5)

⁵⁷ ... I think that this problem has to be solved by Somalis themselves, Somalis living abroad and in Somalia, they understand their life and development. This is an important issue. For example, organisations, international organisations or others can't do anything without Somalis, Somalis understand their development direction... (Respondent 4)

⁵⁸ We need everything that government needs, ministries, banks, soldiers, police, justice... it is a lot of things, millions are needed, and if this all is absent, nothing can be done... I can make a little thing there in Somalia, but the state needs bigger things... millions of dollars are needed in order to establish the state... (Respondent 5)

⁵⁹ If educated people go back, and teach locals, as I do. I go there and teach them what I have got from the Western countries...in this way Somalis living abroad have a significant role in reconstruction... (Respondent 6)

⁶⁰ This is a difficult question. For example my sons have been born here in Finland... one is seven years old, in the first grade at school, and it is a little difficult for him when I try to explain about Somalia, he has asked me where I come from, but it is difficult for the second generation, they don't know anything about Somalia, but for our generation, we know everything what is happening there, and all the problems there. But a boy or a girl who has been born here, she/he has just heard all the things, it is just a theory. It is similar to when you have heard about the winter war against Russia, but for example your grandfather- or mother lived at that time, they remember and say, it was a hard thing, but for you, it doesn't matter much, it is history. It is same for these people, for children grown up here, they don't have that much interest. It is a little difficult, the projects there in Somalia, can be that they do something there, this is where your dad and mom are from, now help is needed. If one asks you if you want Karelia back, you say, why, this is enough for me, but it can be that your grandfather still wants it back, it still matters a lot to him. It is the same, for my son it is not so important, it doesn't have a personal significance for him. He has heard that father has come from somewhere, Somalia, but more he thinks how we play football today, or what is on TV, hey, is it a sauna day today, let's go to sauna, or let's go to ski or skate, this is more important to him... (Respondent 5)

⁶¹ There is interest [among the youngsters], parents should support them in it... (Respondent 6)

⁶² It is due to the resources [remittance sending]. For example in Finland there is not a lot, or most of the immigrants or Somalis are unemployed. When compared to England, over there everybody is employed. They do work there and yes they have more resources there than we do have here in Finland. But remittances are sent from here as well, approximately 50 Euro per month. But it depends on the resources one has... (Respondent 5)

⁶³ It is everything; I wouldn't stand it if I was not helping. Somehow there is a feeling of guiltiness, I remember sometimes when I eat something luxurious, I always think of people there who have nothing to eat. I can't enjoy luxurious life, even though I would have the chance, I think of how with these 10 Euro a girl over there could get education, there are a lot of orphans, and the issue I am disagreeing with my children at home, is food, playing with food... (Respondent 2)

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Haastattelukysymykset

TAUSTATIEDOT

- Ikä
- Sukupuoli
- Koulutus
- Työpaikka Suomessa
- Mistä päin Somaliasta olette kotoisin?
- Onko teillä Suomen kansalaisuus?

1. SOMALIASTA SUOMEEN, ELÄMÄ SUOMESSA, TULEVAISUUS

- Kuinka kauan olette asuneet Suomessa?
- Onko perheenne tai sukulaisianne Somaliasta täällä, onko ollut alusta asti?
- Miten kuvailisitte elämääne Suomessa, oletteko onnellinen täällä?
- Miten identifioitte itsenne? Tunnetteko olevanne Somali, Suomen Somali vai jotain muuta?
- Missä paikassa näette tulevaisuutenne?
- Toivotteko palaavanne Somaliaan?
- Jos, niin mitä siellä pitäisi tapahtua/muuttua ennen kuin palaaminen olisi mahdollista?

2. SUHTEET SYNNYINMAAHAN

- Kuinka tiiviissä yhteydessä sinne olette?
- Miten pidätte yhteyttä?
- Keihin olette yhteydessä, sukulaisiin, ystäviin?
- Oletteko käyneet Somaliassa?
- Käyttekö siellä säännöllisesti?
- Asuuko sukulaisianne muissakin maissa? (transnationalistiset suhteet)

3. MITEN OLETTE MUKANA SOMALIAN AVUSTAMISESSA?

- Oletteko mukana järjestöissä, jotka tekevät kehitysyhteistyötä Somaliassa? jos niin MISSÄ,

MITÄ järjestö tekee?

- Ulkomailta tulleiden rahalähetysten rooli Somalian taloudessa?
- Mihin raha menee; välittömiin tarpeisiin, investointeihin?
- Arvio: kuinka yleistä rahanlähettäminen on Suomessa asuvien Somaliensa keskuudessa?
- Lähetättekö rahaa Somaliaan? JOS, niin KENELLE, säännöllisesti vai tarpeen mukaan?
- Mitä kautta lähetätte? Dahabshiil?

4. MOTIVAATIO AVUSTAMISEEN

- Millä ”nimellä” kutsutte entisen kotimaanne avustamista? Onko se velvollisuus, pakko, kehitysyhteistyötä, hyväntekeväisyyttä, solidaarisuutta synnyinmaata kohtaan, vai jotain muuta?
- Miten koette tämän avustamisen?
- JOS esimerkiksi lähetätte rahaa sukulaisille, miten se vaikuttaa elämään täällä Suomessa? Pitääkö teidän työskennellä enemmän, tuntuuko se velvollisuudelta vai onko se ennemminkin kunnia- asia, jonka teette mielellänne?

5. SOMALIAN KEHITYSNÄKYMÄT

- Millaisena näette Somalian tilanteen tällä hetkellä?
- Miten näette tilanteen nyt, kun uusi presidentti on valittu, onko tällä hallituksella tulevaisuutta mielestänne?
- Kun puhutaan Somaliasta ja sen ”kehittämisestä”, näettekö tavoitteena Somalian yhtenäisenä kansallisvaltiona vai tulisiko eri alueet (Puntland, Somalimaa etc.) olla itsenäisiä?
- Kuinka merkittävänä asiana pidätte klaanijäsenyyttä? Vaikuttaako se elämäänne (Somaliassa/Suomessa)? Vaikuttaako se Somaliassa edelleen, entä diasporassa?
- Mitkä näette suurimpina ongelmina?
- Somalian suurimmat kehitysesteet?
- Millaista kehityksen pitäisi olla? Mitä asioita pitää kehittää ja miten?
- Ketkä näette tärkeimpinä toimijoina Somalian kehittämisessä? Paikalliset toimijat siellä? Naapurimaat? IGAD (INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT)? Kansainväliset järjestöt (YK, maailman pankki, IMF etc..)? Järjestöt? -> sisäiset vai ulkoiset toimijat? tarvitaanko apua ulkopuolelta?
- Miten näette oman roolinne Somalian kehittämisessä?

-
- Mitä voi tehdä välimatkan päästä?
 - Millaisena näette ympäri maailman asuvien Somaliain roolin Somaliain kehittämisessä? Ovatko he voimavara joka voi merkittävästi auttaa Somaliain ja sen jälleen rakentamista? JOS, niin millä tavoin?

Appendix 2: Interview questions

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- Age
- Sex
- Education
- Employment in Finland
- Which part of Somalia are you from?
- Finnish citizenship?

1. FROM SOMALIA TO FINLAND

- For how long have you lived in Finland?
- Have you got your family here? Did you come with a family or alone?
- How do you identify yourself? As Somali, Finnish Somali, or something else?
- In which place do you see your future?
- Do you wish to return to Somali one day? If so, what should be changed there before the return is possible?

2. RELATIONS TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

- How do you keep in touch with people in Somalia? How often?
- Who are you keeping contact with? Relatives, friends?
- Have you visited Somalia? Do you visit regularly?
- Have you got family members/relatives in other countries as well? Do you have contact with them?

3. INVOLVEMENT IN THE ASSISTANCE OF SOMALIA

- Involvement in NGO activities? Development projects in Somalia; in which part of Somalia, in which sector?
- The role of remittances in the economy of Somalia?

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- Where does the money go? To meet basic needs, investments?
 - How common is it for Somalis to send remittances?
 - Do you send remittances to the relatives? Regularly or when needed? How do you send them?
 - What about second generation Somalis in Finland, are they active in assisting Somalia? Future?

4. MOTIVATION FOR ASSISTANCE

- How would you call the activities of assisting Somalia? Is it responsibility, obligation, philanthropy, development cooperation?
- How do you feel about being involved in the assistance of Somalia?

5. FUTURE PERSPECTIVES OF SOMALIA

- How do you see the situation in Somalia at the moment? The election of the government and president? Does this government have "a future"?
- When speaking about the development and future of Somalia, do you see Somalia as a united nation-state, or as independent sections, such as Somaliland and Puntland?
- How significant is the clan system nowadays? In Somalia? In diaspora, in Finland?
- What do you consider as major problems in Somalia? Major development obstacles?
- Who do you see as the most important actors in the development of Somalia? Locals, international community?
- The role of diaspora? How do you see your own role, what can be done from abroad?

