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Päivi Pirkkalainen

Transnational Responsibilities and Multi-sited Strategies

Voluntary Associations of Somali Diaspora in Finland

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ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

This PhD research examines the participation and organizing processes of the Somali diaspora in Finland from a transnational perspective contributing to the intersection of the research areas of immigrant associations and diaspora mobilization. The research analyses the organizing process of Somalis both as regards the country of settlement and the country of origin focusing in particular on voluntary associations that Somalis in Finland have been actively establishing. In addition to presenting different ways of collective action and engagement, the research explores what affects the organizing process.

The research has engaged in collaborative, comparative and multi-sited methodologies. The empirical data consists in total of 89 semi-structured interviews, observations from several events and written material on associations collected from Finland and Somaliland. The empirical data has been analysed with the help of theoretical concepts of diaspora, political opportunity structures, contentious politics and social capital in four different articles and, finally, the main research results are brought together in the summary using the field approach.

The research shows that Somalis are actively organizing to pursue different goals in different locations, and that the voluntary associations in Finland have become "tools" to maintain and materialise the diaspora identity for first generation migrants. The research shows that individual Somalis in Finland possess agency and are strategic in making use of the available opportunities in Finland - a corporatist regime favoring organizing through voluntary associations. People living in the context of prolonged conflict and widespread poverty in Somalia/ Somaliland demand contributions from the diaspora. Through voluntary associations in Finland the diaspora responds to responsibilites relating to the country of origin. Moreover, associations provide individual Somalis venues for recognition which they otherwise, being labeled as "dangerous others" in Finland, lack. Associations also function from the Finnish authorities' point of view as a liaison to one of the largest minority groups in the country.

Keywords: Strategic action, transnationalism, voluntary associations, Somalis, diaspora, mobilization, development

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CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

This PhD study consists of four articles and this summary article analysing various aspects of the organizing patterns and participation of the Somali diaspora in Finland from a transnational point of view.

Somalis are one of the most significant diaspora groups in the world. Currently there are over one million Somalis living outside the borders of Somalia[1] who have fled the prolonged conflict. The situation in Somalia today is still characterized by conflict and humanitarian crisis, which forces people to seek refuge outside their country, and prevents many diaspora people from returning permanently to their country of origin. In this context, questions of belonging, participation and mobilisation arise regarding the Somali diaspora and their relations both with the country of origin and the country of settlement. Somalis worldwide can be defined as a diaspora due to the continuos connections with the country of origin. However, because of internal fragmentation, they do not form a coherent one-voiced worldwide "Somali movement". Instead, there are several movements within the Somali diaspora in different locations, which "use" the diaspora identity as one important constituent of actions. The Somali diaspora mobilisation worldwide, including Finland, is forming multiple patterns, including collective and individual level activities. On the community level, activities include forming voluntary associations, arranging ad-hoc fund raising and implementing development projects through larger NGOs. On the individual level, diaspora people send remittances to their relatives, at times engage in politics and businesses and transfer their skills and know how to the country of origin. Much has been written on these different

[1] I refer here to the official borders of the Republic of Somalia, but I do acknowledge the current situation in which there are regions having their own governance, such as the self-proclaimed Somaliland and semi-autonomous Puntland. At times, when it is relevant to emphasize the relative stability of Somaliland, I use "Somalia/Somaliland" or "Somaliland", referring to the region of North-West Somalia, but while doing so I do not wish to take any stance on the political recognition of Somaliland.

forms of diaspora involvement and much of this literature concerns the remittances; the money the diaspora send to their relatives in the country of origin. Estimates on remittance flows including both private and collective remittances, range from USD 130 to 200 million annually (Hammond et al. 2011; Sheikh & Healy 2009; see more on remittances of the Somali case in, for example, Lindley 2009). The Somali diaspora also has various ways of participating in the country of settlement: in politics and in associations of native populations as well as their own voluntary associations. These activities aim at maintaining their original culture, facilitating the integration of immigrants and multiculturalism, among other things. It is important to note that all these different ways of diaspora involvement are not exclusive to each other, but that often people are active in many ways of engagement in different locations. These different ways of engagement can in fact be closely inter-linked and in many cases facilitate each other.

The diaspora has become a buzz word in recent years not only in academic literature but also in policy fields. At times, the engagement with the country of origin is seen as problematic by the countries of settlement, in particular in the suspected threat of the spill-over effect of conflicts into the host countries between different ethnic groups. Moreover, Muslim radicalization and recruitment of diaspora members by radical groups are burning issues nowadays, posing security challenges. In recent years issues around immigration have become politicized in Finland, as in the whole of Europe. Much of this debate portrays immigrants negatively and, in particular, humanitarian immigration from far away countries as problematic. These anti-immigrant and sometimes racist sentiments are framed around claims that there are too many immigrants and that they not being integrated enough, thus posing a threat to national cultural integrity. Somalis, humanitarian migrants from a war-torn area where radical Islamists fight against government forces have been in the centre of these heated debates. On the other hand, political involvement of migrants in terms of them participating within the existing systems in the countries of settlement is often welcomed by the states of settlement, as that is often seen to facilitate integration. Somalis in Finland are in fact one of the most active migrant groups in establishing voluntary associations for a variety of purposes.

It is this complex field of interactions, engagements and participation of Somalis in Finland that my PhD aims to open up with the help of theories on collective action. To study this phenomenon taking place in and touching upon multiple locations, multi-sited methods are applied. The empirical data, consisting of 89 interviews and secondary material such as observations and written materials, were collected from Finland and Somaliland. As a strategy to strengthen the transnational perspective, co-authored articles have been written with colleagues from comparative perspective. By constructing the cases of Somalis' collective action in Finland and Italy it was possible to show the extent to which structures matter, and to what extent agency drives the collective action and diaspora mobilisation of Somalis. Italy was chosen as a country of comparison as the countries differ first of all regarding structures such as access to citi-

zenship, immigration and integration policies and the way migrant associations are perceived and supported. Secondly, differences lay in the relationship with Somalia, as Italy had colonized Southern Somalia in the late 1800s and the early 1900s, while Finland's relationship is limited to active development cooperation in the 1980s.

The first article, titled "The Finland- based Somali diaspora – Associations and their involvement in co-development", provides a general overview of Somali associations in Finland, focusing in particular on the field of development cooperation in Finland and Somali associations' role in it. The second article, "Somali Associations' Trajectories in Italy and in Finland: Leaders building trust and finding legitimisation", focuses on the the role leaders' of associations and their social capital have in explaining how associations function and how they have developed over time from a comparative perspective between Finland and Italy. The third article, titled "Mechanisms of interaction between the Somali diaspora and Italian and Finnish development actors", comparatively analyses engagement and interaction dynamics between the Somali diaspora and different actors in the development cooperation field in Italy and in Finland by describing cases that illustrate micro-level interactions between different actors. The fourth article, titled "Homeland Perception and Recognition of the Diaspora Engagement: The Case of the Somali Diaspora", analyses perceptions and interactions between the diaspora and the locals in the country of origin, thus focusing on the micro-level in the country of origin.

Based on these articles, my starting point in this summary is to analyse Somali associations in Finland from the diaspora point of view, meaning that voluntary associations in Finland are analysed as tools for Somalis to form and maintain the diaspora identity by acting transnationally through them. Thus, in this summary part I call associations "Somali diaspora associations".

In the course of fieldwork for this PhD I came to realize that the Somali associational field is very active towards different goals. It is also very fluid; far from static and institutionalized. Lots of changes are happening all the time and it is very difficult to determine the exact number of existing and functioning associations. A large number of Somali associations exist in the register, but some of them have ceased to function for several reasons. New ones are set up, and old ones are revived. The same individuals can be active in several associations. This fluidity made me interested in finding out what actually affects the functioning of associations: why are some functioning actively for many years, while others cease to exist after a few years? Thus, in this summary I am analysing what kind of Somali associations there are in Finland, what their different functions and meanings are, and what affects their formation and transformation.

This is done by analysing the main research results from the articles applying the field approach. In particular, a few elements from the recent development of the field theory in social sciences, a theory of fields, are used as a methodological tool helping to systematically explain different aspects relevant to the collective action of Somalis. In addition to the research findings in the

articles, some key issues concerning Somali associations in Finland, which due to lack of space were not discussed in great detail in the articles, are analysed more thoroughly here.

The structure of this summary will be as follows. First, the summaries of the articles are presented. Second, premises of the research are explained by introducing the previous research on migrant associations and diaspora mobilization, after which the niche for this research is defined. This is followed by the section stating the methodological basis for the research, including the presentation of multi-sited methods, the process of data collection with its challenges and ethical aspects, and the process of analysing the data. The next section is devoted to a presentation of the theoretical framework, including theories of diaspora, social movement and a theory of fields. In chapter four, the actual analysis will be carried out on various aspects affecting Somali associations in Finland. First, as a background the Somali migration patterns and their settlement in Finland as well as Somalis' participation in Finland will be presented. Second, an analysis of the microfoundation of associations will be carried out. Third, the macrofoundation by which associations are surrounded will be analysed covering both the contexts of Finland as well as Somalia/Somaliland. Lastly, the conclusions of the summary are drawn.

2 ARTICLE SUMMARIES

The first article titled "The Finland- based Somali diaspora – Associations and their involvement in co-development" provides a general overview of Somali associations in Finland and focuses in particular on co-development activities of Finland-based Somali associations (Pirkkalainen 2009). As this article looks at Somali associations in Finland, it is based on data gathered from Finland (interviews with Somali associations and a key interview with a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). As for the relation to the wider theoretical framework of this PhD, this article mainly focuses on the field of development cooperation in Finland by looking at the relations between authorities and Somali diaspora associations as new actors in the field (see Figure 1).

In addition to presenting an overview of the Somali diaspora associations in Finland and their involvement in development cooperation, the article aims to explain how the broader field environment of Finland shapes diaspora associations and, in turn, how the current situation in Somalia defines the work of these associations. In addition, it also analyses the general challenges of diaspora involvement in the context of Somalia. As a conceptual framework, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism are applied.

The article starts by defining the concept of diaspora from the mobilization perspective, claiming that diasporas are not fixed entities but are involved in continuos construction processes and negotiations. The starting point for the analysis is that diasporas are not homogeneous, and that different groups within certain ethnic diaspora can mobilize themselves towards different goals. After this section, the article presents a very brief history of Somalia and Somalis in Finland. It goes on to shortly present the context in Finland regarding civil society and migrant associations. After this section the actual analysis begins by presenting an overview of Somali associations in Finland. The article argues that except for a few, most Somali associations in Finland are small with regard to their membership. The activities are often directed simultaneously towards Finland and the country of origin. The analysis also briefly tackles the patterns of organisations regarding regional and clan affiliations. Most associations,

when engaging in development work, do it in the area of their members' own clan. This is claimed to be due to security reasons, as clan networks provide secure access to certain areas in the conflict ridden country. The article also describes the networks of Somali associations in Finland. The Somali community in Finland is internally fragmented not only according to clan lines but also in relation to gender and generation, among other things. This constrains the collaboration between different Somali associations in Finland. However, a unique network of associations working for the development of Somalia, the Finnish Somalia Network (FSN) provides a forum for networking between different Somali associations. All associations interviewed for the article have several extensive networks at different levels: in Finland with native Finns/native Finnish associations, transnatioanlly (in other countries with other Somalis) and in the country of origin.

The article then presents the NGO development cooperation funding line of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (MFA), which some Somali associations in Finland have accessed. It shows that because of the conflict in Somalia, development cooperation by native Finnish actors is virtually impossible, and thus the MFA has recognized the importance of the Somali diaspora in carrying out development project in areas othwerwise inaccessible. However, the MFA has no specific quota for Somali diaspora associations which must compete with other associations, making their access to funding difficult. This is coupled with the fact that associations are run on a voluntary basis and the time of individuals active in them is limited. Some capacity building measures have been provided which have contributed to an increased capacity of the associations. The article argues that access to MFA development cooperation NGO project funding has helped Somali diaspora associations become more professional. At the end the article defines several challenges Somali diaspora associations are facing when they try to engage in development project work. These challeges are in relation to structures in Finland relating to complicated bureaucracy, to trust building with supporters as well as with individuals working in associations, to Somalia and its conflict and to the global discourse on the war on terror.

The second article, titled "Somali Associations' Trajectories in Italy and in Finland: Leaders building trust and finding legitimisation" (Pirkkalainen, Mezzetti & Guglielmo 2013) is co-written with Italian colleagues and examines Somali associations' trajectories over time in Finland and in Italy from a comparative perspective. Having researchers in each country made it possible to gather a sufficient amount of qualitative data allowing for comparative analysis. As a research strategy, this co-authoring has also ensured a high quality of analysis, as triangulation has been done between authors. I was the first author of this article, meaning that I took the responsibility to coordinate the writing process, put together the critiques and comments from reviewers, and suggested a way to address them with the co-authors. As for the content of the article, I collected the empirical material from Finland and was responsible for writing about

Finnish cases. As for the introduction, analysis parts and conclusion, all authors worked on them collaboratively.

The article focuses on the leaders of associations and their social capital in order to explain how associations function and how they have developed over time. Thus, the article focuses on the microfoundation of the associations, including leaders' social skills. It touches upon the fields of development cooperation as well as immigrant integration in Finland (see Figure 1) when analysing meanings of associations and discovering what affects the development of associations.

This analysis contributes to the theoretical discussion on migrants' social and political participation. Political opportunity structures (POS) in a dynamic perspective with a notion of social capital are applied as the theoretical framework. As the article widens the scope to two geographical sites, it is based on the data gathered by myself from Finland (interviews with Somali associations and key interviewees from ministries and native Finnish NGOs), and the data gathered in Italy by Italian collagues. In total 50 interviews in Finland, and 46 interviews in Italy were collected for the study.

The article starts by describing the POS theory and its recent applications in relation to migrant participation and inclusion. The latest theoretizations have combined individual characteristics of migrants and POS both at the country and the local levels. Next, the article presents the methdology and empirical data, and provides a rationale for comparison. The third section of the article contains the actual empirical analysis. First, Somali associations' general characteristics, namely diversity, fragmentation and switching orientation between settlement and origin countries and moving towards professionalism, are presented. Second, association leaders and the role of social capital are analysed. Two types of social capital are disaggragated: bonding, which here refers to inclusive networks within one's own ethnic/clan group, and bridging, referring to networks reaching country of settlement actors. Several of the leaders' characteristics were found to be similar in Italy and Finland, namely capacity for multipositionality and networking, a high level of education, knowledge of the language, culture and bureucratical procedures of the country of settlement, and possession of mediation capacities. The most drastic difference between leaders in the two countries is gender; most leaders of associations in Italy were women, while most in Finland were men. This difference relates partly to the different migration history of the countries and labour market opportunities, which have led to different formations of Somali communities. In Finland, whole families arrived in the country as refugees and through family reunification programmes, while in Italy mainly women arrived, due to the care sector dominance in labour market. The third section looks at the associations and their leaders' path to professionalism.

The main argument of the article is that while political opportunity structures do matter, they are not sufficient to explain Somali associations' trajectories. The findings show that the main difference between the two countries is the degree to which migrant associations are considered legitimate actors in

immigration issues and how they are supported. In Finland there are explicit opportunities to apply for funding for migrant associations and some capacity building measures, which in turn have contributed to the professionalism of the associations. This indicates that migrant associations are considered to have a stake in immigration issues by authorities. In Italy, in turn, opportunities are more informal and often relegated to the local level. The professionalism of associations often relates to leaders' ability to broaden the networks to native Italian organisations. This indicates that native Italian NGOs are often perceived by authorities as more legitimate partners than migrant associations. What is similar in both countries is the role of the associations' leaders and their social capital, which explains the professionalism of associations. Leaders in both countries have built trust among their own communities as well as with authorities, having made use of both bridging and bonding social capital. This has resulted in a legitimization process in which - through finding social, financial and human resources - leaders have developed strategies, making them 'professionals of mobilisation'. Some of this has had consequences for the professionalism of associations in terms of projects and partnerships.

In the third article, "Mechanisms of interaction between the Somali diaspora and Italian and Finnish development actors" (Mezzetti, Saggiomo & Pirkkalainen forthcoming), similar to the second article, co-writing was selected as the research strategy to carry out a comparative analysis, and to ensure a sufficient amount of qualitative data for analysis. An Italian collague is the first author of the article. This article and the second article were written simultaneously and in order to make the writing process equal to all, the decision was made to have an author from each country to lead the writing process of one article. The writing process of this article was truly a collaborative effort, all authors contributing equally in carrying out analysis, writing the introduction, theory and method parts and conclusions. I alone have written all the background information on Finland and all empirical cases from Finland. I have also collected the empirical data from Finland.

The article analyses engagement and interaction dynamics between the Somali diaspora and different actors in development cooperation field both in Italy and in Finland, thus contributing an academic voice to a widely debated topic in the policy domain. It describes cases which illustrate micro-level interactions between different actors (see Figure 1) involving not only Somali associations as actors, but also individual Somali diaspora people as strategic actors.

The research questions in the article are: 1) how the Somali diaspora is engaged by the host country institutions (governmental or non-governmental) for fostering peace and development in the country of origin and 2) how the Somali diaspora engages institutions by using different political opportunity structures for seeking support for peace and development activities in the country of origin. The article describes two geographical sites, Finland and Italy, and uses data similar to the second article. The rationale for comparison derives from several differences between the country contexts. As already mentioned in the description of second article, migration history and the historical relationship

between Somalia and Finland differ. Moreover, existing policies on integration, funding structures available for diaspora organizations and initiatives to engage the diaspora in development cooperation are also different.

The article starts with a presentation of the theoretical framework, methodology and empirical data. Next, background information from both country cases is presented. After this, the empirical analysis of the data is carried out: first the activities of Somali associations and Somali individuals are described and then, mechanisms of interaction between Somalis and institutional interlocutors are analysed based on three types of engagement mechanisms. The last section draws conclusive remarks.

In order to study engagement dynamics between migrants and institutional interlocutors, a conceptual framework drawing from the recent evolutions in social movement theory, namely contentious politics, has been applied in this article. This framework has been selected as it captures well the dynamisms of interaction between different actors – Somalis and governmental and non-governmental actors in the development field - showing that while opportunity structures matter when people mobilize, they are not sufficient to explain the pro-activeness and strategies of each side.

As for the analysis of the empirical material, the article examines mechanisms of interaction between Somalis and institutional interlocutors both in Finland and Italy. Three types of interactive mechanisms between the diaspora and institutional interlocutors, certification, brokerage and diffusion, have been identified and described in both country cases. As for the first type of mechanisms, certification, in both countries institutions have aimed at strengthening Somali diaspora associations in terms of capacity building, networking and funding. They have thus shown recognition of diaspora associations when they aim to work in development cooperation in Somalia. In other words, they have certified them to be actors in development cooperation when certain criteria are met. The second mechanism is brokerage, which here refers to Somalis both in Italy and Finland, often the leaders of associations, who have acted as brokers in connecting diaspora activities to the work of the country of settlement organization. The third mechanism, diffusion, refers to the circulation of claims on a particular issue from one site to another. As an example of this, the article analyses individual Somalis who are active in politics both in the country of settlement and of origin, and how diffusion of political ideas from one site to another has taken place.

As for the conclusions, the cases presented illustrate that engagement between the Somali diaspora and institutional interlocutors in both countries occurs in a dynamic manner; both actors are pro-active. The level of pro-activity of Somalis is notable. In both countries they actively approach institutions in the countries of settlement, and adopt strategies to become certified actors in the field of development cooperation. All in all, the article claims that despite the drastic differences in POS in Italy and Finland, similarities can be found in the engagement dynamics of Somalis in both countries, which can be explained by the Somalis' strategies in creating networks. In both countries the high level

of integration into the country of settlement was found to be a key to engaging with institutions.

The fourth article, titled "Homeland Perception and Recognition of the Diaspora Engagement: The Case of the Somali Diaspora" (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011), has been co-written with a Finnish colleague who is originally from Somalia. Co-authoring was selected to guarantee a suffient amount of interviews and a high quality of data for the analysis of a sensitive topic. Mahdi Abdile, being of Somali origin, was able to gather empirical data from regions in Somalia that I would not have been able to access for security reasons. Also, having two people conducting the analysis has ensured quality and accuracy through triangulation. The empirical data for this article was collected from several sites: different parts of Somalia, the UK, and Finland. I was responsible for gathering the data from the UK and Finland, and Mahdi Abdile has collected extensive data from Somalia. I have also conducted a field trip to Hargeisa, Somaliland, and some of the material collected there was utilized in this article. Both authors have worked equally in analysing the data, selecting the interview transcriptions to illustrate certain issues, and writing each section. That is why the names of the authors appear in alphabetical order.

This article analyses perceptions and interactions between the diaspora and the locals in the country of origin focusing on the micro-level in the country of origin, in other words, the broader field environment of Somalia/Somaliland where the clan plays an important role (see Figure 1). The article does not touch directly upon the issue of the organizing of voluntary associations, as they are not relevant actors in the Somali context to carry out interactions and legitimation, which are done on a more individual basis. Associations become more relevant in the context of Finland, because here they are important actors through which negotiations are carried out, projects are implemented and funding is applied for.

As for the contribution to the academic discussion, the article adds new elements, since local perceptions of diaspora engagement have not been researched extensively before. The article claims that depending on the position and interests of the locals and the diaspora members, the diaspora's activities can be either recognized or rejected. To address the phenomena of recognition and rejection, the differing perceptions of the Somali diaspora and local Somali communities are examined, and the conditions under which diaspora members and locals achieve mutual recognition are investigated. Conceptually, the article uses the notion of diaspora as a category for identification and claims making. In this article, recognition is understood as mutual acceptance and respect between locals and diaspora members.

The article starts by defining a theoretical understanding of the concept of diaspora, after which it shortly describes the Somali diaspora. The second section presents methods, which in this case are multi-sited methods, and empirical data consisting of interviews from different areas of Somalia, the UK and Finland. The interviews total 144, 7 focus group discussions and participant observation in all three locations. The third section describes diaspora-

homeland relations, which in the case of Somali diaspora are tight and frequent, making extensive use of internet. First, the self-perception of the Somali diaspora is described. Diaspora Somalis feel moral responsibility towards the country of origin and perceive their role as important in sending remittances to relatives, providing new and innovative ideas in development and participating in political and economic arenas. However, perceptions differ in terms of their actual role; some perceive their role as pro-active, which the opponents, those perceiving the role of diaspora as supporters, consider protagonistic. After this, the local perceptions of diaspora engagement, both negative and positive, are presented. As for the negative aspects, locals view diasporas as straining local resources, increasing competition over jobs, and raising the prices of eg. housing. They also include cultural differences of those diaspora who have been exposed to Western culture, who have political involvement without "knowing the realities of conflict", and who pose their own interest and a superior attitude. To balance the picture, positive perceptions are also presented. These include financial contributions, service provision and support, for example, for health and education facilities, political involvement in particular when new expertise is being brought from abroad, and fresh and innovative ideas on peacebuilding. The fourth section of the article analyses the recognition gaining process of the Somali diaspora's engagement. The context of conflict in some regions of Somalia, as well as poverty, a lack of resources and high unemployment in all regions provide a challenging context for diaspora engagement, and explain why locals recognize diasporas' activities when they support, bring resources and set up services. When diaspora people aim to take positions in the country and return, many of these activities become rejected by the locals as they perceive the diaspora as taking their already limited resources. However, since diaspora – local relations are made of micro-level contacts, negotiations, and interaction, also the members of diaspora and their behavior can contribute to achieving mutual recognition between the locals and the diaspora. Recognition relates to the honesty and motivation of diaspora members, and to their behavior in a culturally sensitive manner. The locals' position in society and interests also importantly define the recognition process. These acts can help in building a trusted position within a local community. One of the main arguments of the article is that as the diaspora is fragmented and heterogeneous interests exist, it is difficult to generalize whether the diaspora makes positive contributions in terms of development, or whether they fuel conflicts. The assumption is that in order for the diaspora to engage with the country of origin constructively, there must be a level of mutual recognition.

3 PREMISES OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 Previous research and finding my niche

3.1.1 Previous research on migrant associations and diaspora mobilization

This research is situated in the intersection of two rather distinct research areas: migrant associations in the countries of settlement and diaspora mobilization. A wide range of studies have been carried out from these two perspectives covering many ethnic and religious groups in different countries, and applying different data and theoretical perspectives. However, not much research has been done in this particular intersection (see exception Kleist 2007; Sökefeld 2006; 2008; Wahlbeck 1999).

The first studies on migrant associations in the 1960s and 1970s focused on ethnicity as an explanatory factor for immigrant organizing (see e.g. Rex, Joly & Wilpert 1987; Rex & Moore 1967). Since the late 1980s, research emerged focusing on policies and opportunities in the countries of settlement when explaining migrant mobilization, criticising earlier studies for placing too much emphasis on the cultural characteristics of migrants. At the start, these studies had their base in institutionalism, and often institutional theoretization of social movement concepts were applied. The concept of political opportunity structures (POS), in particular, has been applied to migration studies in the European context when studying migrant integration into political processes[2] (Ireland 1994; Koopmans & Statham 2000; Koopmans 2004; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni & Passy 2005; Hooghe 2005).

In his seminal study on POS applied to migration studies, Patrick Ireland (1994, 10) defines POS as consisting of migrants' legal situation, the social and

[2] In studies explaining migrants' organizing and participation, theoretical viewpoints from social movement theories other than POS have been less applied. One exception is the PhD research of Petra Mezzetti (2008) who in studying Eritreans and Senegalese in Milan applies the concept of contentious politics in order to emphasize the relational nature of factors that influence migrant mobilization.

political rights they enjoy, citizenship laws and naturalisation procedures, and education, housing, and labour and welfare policies. When comparing French and Swiss cities, he claims that institutional settings are more important determinants of migrants' participation than ethnic identity or class struggle.

Building on this line of research, further specifications on the concept of POS applied in migrant participation and mobilization have elaborated. The most important developments in this regard are first, comparative research on migrant claims-making in different European countries by Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (2005), who integrate institutional and cultural aspects as well as discoursive variables into the POS concept and second, Laura Morales and Marco Giugni's (2011) further development of Koopmans et al's (ibid.) position by merging individual, contextual and organizational factors relevant to migrant political incorporation and bridging the gap between macro-level and micro-level analysis.

Much of the research on migrant associations in European academia focuses on the political and social incorporation of migrants into the countries of settlement. Some of this research has studied the role of the social capital of migrants in political partipation in the settlement country (Fennema 2004; Fennema & Tillie 1999; Jacobs & Tillie 2004; Tillie 2004)[3]. Some of the recent studies applying POS to migrant organizations and inclusion in policy-making merges institutional-based research with studies on social capital, meaning links and ties with other migrant organizations, mainstream political, advocacy and civil-society organizations (Morales & Ramiro 2011). Laura Morales and Luis Ramiro (ibid., 149), for example, claim that, in the case of migrants' organizations in Spain, it is not financial or bureaucratic resources, but social capital that opens migrant associations' access to the policy domain.

Earlier studies on migrant political participation and associations did not take transnationalism much into account, but the inclusion of transnational aspects in research on migrant organizing has taken place in recent years. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen (2003, 764) has noted that European scholarship on migrant transnationalism tends to focus on the integration of different migrant groups into their countries of settlement, whereas North American research often sees Latin American migrants from the point of view of the countries of origin. Indeed, much of the previous research on collective activities towards the country of origin consist of the US based studies on hometown associations of migrants of Latin American origin (Levitt 2001; Landolt, Autler & Baires 1999; Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina & Vazquez 1999). In European academia, contrary to the USA, several studies have been carried out with the approach of "one group in several countries" (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 765; see eg. Østergaard-Nielsen 2001; Wahlbeck 1999). The more recent studies in European academia have also started to recognize the simultaneous involvement of migrants – and their associations – in both the country of origin and of settlement (see e.g. Kleist 2007; Hammond 2013a; Erdal & Oeppen 2013). The question on differences in ap-

[3] See also Pirkkalainen, Mezzetti & Guglielmo (2013) for the further explanations on this theoretical strand.

proaches is partly related to the research design and the type of data. There are different approaches to studying migrant organizations, for example those focusing on one ethnic group in one location, which have traditionally been criticized for focusing too much on ethnicity as explanatory factor, and thus not focusing on the structural features affecting associations. These critiques have been raised by those engaged in comparative research on different ethnic groups in one location (see e.g. Vermeulen 2005; 2006).

Another distinction is that some research is based on ethnographic data and research while other studies, such as comparative research, is based on quantitative surveys and analysis of written materials, such as newspapers. In studies based on statistics and written materials and involving more than one group, the following critical questions arise: Can a researcher capture - due to time and resources constraints – associational activities in an in-depth manner, focusing not only on formalized activities but also various transnational and sometimes also informal types of activities, for example?

In Finland migrant associations have been studied surprisingly little considering the significance of voluntary associations in the public life of Finland. Only a few extensive studies on migrant associations have been carried out (Saksela-Bergholm 2009; Pyykkönen 2007; Wahlbeck 1999) none of them focusing on Somali associations in particular, even though previous studies have noted that Somalis are the most active group of migrants forming associations. Somalis' associational activities have been studied in other countries, such as in the UK (London) and Canada (Toronto) (Hopkins 2006; Griffiths 2002) and in Denmark (Kleist 2007).

Somalis in Finland have been studied regarding, for example, the everyday Islam of Somali women (Tiilikainen 2003), Somali male youth (Hautaniemi 2004), varying transnational connections from the diaspora perspective (Hautaniemi 2011; Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011; Hoehne et al. 2011) and Somali youth education (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004). Currently there are plenty of ongoing research projects on Somalis. In addition to several individual PhD thesis research projects, the Academy of Finland funds projects on topics of diaspora citizenship between Finland and the USA (Päivi Harinen, University of Eastern Finland); on family reunification (Outi Fingerroos, University of Jyväskylä); Islam and security from the point of view of transnational Somali families in Finland, Canada and Somalia (Tiilikainen Marja, University of Helsinki) and on Islamic feminism (Mulki Al-Sharmani, University of Helsinki).

As for research on the diaspora mobilization, a wide range of studies looking at the role of diaspora in the country of origin exist on different groups. Many of these studies regarding the Somali case focus on transnational involvelment and in particular remittances sent by Somali individuals to their families or collective remittances in the form of development projects (Horst 2008; Lindley 2009; Hammond et al. 2011; Kleist 2007). In general, research literature on diaspora politics and their role in the country of origin, and in particular in conflict ridden areas, consists of numerous case studies (see e.g. Sheffer 2006; Wayland 2004; Smith & Stares 2007) as well as studies of diasporas from

the security perspective (see e.g. Adamson 2006; see more examples in a literature review on the diaspora-peace-conflict nexus Pirkkalainen & Abdile 2009).

Some of these studies have applied social movement theory in explaining diaspora relations, for example by analysing different stages of conflicts in the countries of origin and political opportunity structures available for diaspora groups in the countries of settlement and in the international sphere, explaining when and how diasporas engage with countries of origin (see e.g. Wayland 2004; Adamson 2005; Biswas 2004; Baser & Swain 2010). Fiona Adamson (2012, 32), for example, views mechanisms and mobilizations of diaspora as similar to other movements in terms of the deployment of frames as a component for political mobilization. However, she acknowledges a major difference between diaspora and broader transnational (political) movements, as the latter are constructed around shared beliefs, while the former are constructed around shared identity (ibid.). It has been claimed in other literature as well that in fact what distinguishes diaspora as a movement from other transnational social movements (see e.g. Della Porta & Tarrow 2005; Della Porta et al. 2006; Keck & Sikkink 1998) is their claim-making, which is based on particular nationalistic identities, whereas typical transnational movements promote universal values such as democracy, human rights and gender equality (Faist 2010, 15). However, Maria Koinova (2010, 156-157; 164), when studying how the Lebanese and Albanian diaspora frame issues and claims and how they relate to soveiregnty movements in the countries of origin, argues that diasporas not only frame their causes around shared identity based on nationalistic and ideological views, but also that they can act instrumentally and frame their issues around broader themes when looking for support from countries of settlement and from the international community.

However, even if a wide range of studies have been carried out on diasporas and associations, only limited research exists on diaspora associations merging the social movement perspective to diaspora (see e.g. Sökefeld 2008[4]).

3.1.2 Finding my niche

I was inspired to study Somali associations from the diaspora perspective when noticing the lack of research on the intersection of immigrant organization through voluntary associations and diaspora mobilization.

This was, however, not clear from the beginning of the PhD process, but evolved along with my increasing understanding of the lives of Somalis. I am now elaborating the research process a little bit.

I became familiar with the topic of the Somali diaspora in Finland when I started my MA thesis in 2004. During that time, I noticed the strong commitment of many Somalis to their country of origin, as well as their high level of pro-activity in associations in Finland. When I was first formulating the research questions for my PhD studies, I planned to do comparative research be-

[4] Martin Sökefeld researches the Alevi diaspora community which focuses on the diaspora identity formation and mobilization through associations.

tween different countries of settlement having in mind a hypothesis that their associations would be very different in different country contexts, such as in Finland and in Italy. I started my PhD work within the DIASPEACE project[5], which looked at the diaspora's linkages to the conflict-ridden areas of their countries of origin in the Horn of Africa. The aim of the project was, first, to carry out mapping and a survey of different organized diaspora groups in different European countries, and to look at them comparatively, having in mind a hypothesis that their modes of action might differ depending on the opportunities they have in the different countries. In the early phase of the research process it became clear that such a static approach to diaspora associations was not the best possible approach. First of all, the initial data collection involved mapping different organizations through data bases, registers, and individual contacts, and long lists of names of organizations that were collected in all countries. However, when I started contacting these organizations so that the survey questionnaire could be sent, several problems occurred. Many of the addresses were no longer valid, as many associations still appearing in the formal register were defunctioning, some of the leaders had moved out of the country, and many phone numbers and e-mail addresses were not valid any longer. Thus it was soon clear that the survey questionnaire via emails or mail would not reach many associations. Another issue was the motivation for associations' activitists to respond to such a questionnaire. It could be assumed to be low as activists running associations voluntarily were very busy. Soon it was clear that the best option to contact existing associations was through the snowball method (which will be described in the next chapter in more detail). Interestingly, by using this method, many new associations were found. In the course of the fieldwork, it was observed that many associations had changed their name, the same individuals were active in many different associations, and many associations were dormant and had not been able to function in the long run.

Analysis based on the official associations' registration data or survey questionnaires would have given too static a picture of Somali diaspora associations in Finland. As argued by Alberto Melucci (1988, 338) "quantitative studies based on events are concerned with the final effects of the action, not with the manner in which the action itself is produced, concentrating on the collective action as a "fact" and not as a process."

In many of the previous studies, in particular in comparative migrant association research, the data has been collected through quantitative methods, considering associations as units and looking at the institutional settings surrounding them when seeking explanations. When the focus is on processes of organizing from the grassroots, from the migrants' point of view applying qualitative methods, the results can be very different compared to those of quantitative survey studies. Thus, as is shown in the two articles comparing Finnish and

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5 "Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potential of Long-distance Diaspora Involvement in Conflict Settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa" (DIASPEACE), financed by the European Commission´s 7th Framework Programme and coordinated by the University of Jyväskylä (Finland).

Italian Somalis, when the approach to collective action is from the individual migrant's point of view and focus is on processes, similar mobilization patterns can be observed among the same ethnic group in different country contexts.

Because of this dynamic nature of associations, the research questions, research approach, methods and theories had to be refined to respond to the dynamic reality. During the data collection, it also became clear that Somalis in Finland participate in many kinds of organizations in several locations, sometimes also individually, without any organizational commitments. Thus the four articles in this PhD cover the participation and organizing of Somalis in Finland from a wider perspective, not limited to voluntary associations in Finland. As the voluntary associations are indeed an important way of participation in Finland, in this summary the units of analysis are voluntary associations and what is studied more in detail is how the associations evolve and function and what is behind organizing through voluntary associations in Finland. Thus, two interlinked main research questions for this summary were formed:

1) What affects the formation, transformation and functioning of Somali associations?
2) What are the functions and meaning of Somali associations in different contexts to different stakeholders?

The central hypothesis of this research is that as first generation Somalis in Finland can be defined as the diaspora, they have mobilized towards the wider aims of bettering the situation of a diaspora group in Finland and contributing to the development of the country of origin. In other words, the diaspora identity has materialized in voluntary associations in Finland. It will be shown in this summary that because of the corporatist type of relationship between the state and non-state fields in Finland, collective activities often take the form of voluntary associations. However, because of the continuos relations with the country of origin and the maintenance of the diaspora identity, the context in the country of origin also affects the way associations have developed. Equally important for the transformation of associations is their microfoundation, referring to leaders' individual characteristics and interactions with other actors in various locations.

Voluntary associations in this research, in line with previous research, are defined as joint ventures of more than two persons based on the common interest or aim of an association. They are considered to be independent from state and family life having a non-profit nature and consisting of non-salaried participants (Sills 1968; Siisiäinen 1986). I term Somalis' voluntary associations in Finland Somali diaspora associations, emphasizing that even if the assocations' official agenda does not include transnational activities, they often are, through their leaders, involved in Somali matters and thus carry the diaspora identity. Thus, contrary to many other previous studies on migrant associations, transnationalism is not only considered as one variable affecting the integration of the

Somalis into the country of settlement, but as an inherent part of Somalis and their associations' lives, having a relationship with the processes of integration.

In previous research the terms integration, inclusion and incorporation have been used interchangeably, referring to processes of immigrants becoming part of the country of settlement. In this research I am using the term integration *(kotoutuminen)* when talking about the processes of immigrants' inclusion and incorporation into Finnish society. By integration, I refer to a two way process in which immigrants take part in society and accept its norms, and in which also the receiving society actively takes part. Although integration is also a normative programme set up by the states (Erdal & Oeppen 2013, 876), in this research I understand integration as a process of participation including social, political and economic participation, which refer to a process in which "actors negotiate membership in a particular place" (Erdal & Oeppen 2013, 871).

The theoretical starting point of this research is merging diaspora mobilization and social movement theories. In this regard, associations will be analysed from both micro and macro perspectives. In other words, agency and structure perspectives will be examined in a dialectical relationship. Because of the empirical data consisting of interviews of people who have established and are maintainng associations, I am able to sketch out in detail the agency level in the formation and transformation of associations, as well as various, - also latent - meanings of associations to individuals (see Sills 1968). In order to include various levels as well as locations to the research and to merge the agency and structure aspects, the field approach to society and collective action is used in this summary (Fligstein & McAdam 2012).

Following this approach, from the starting point of the Somali diaspora association as an unit of analysis, associations are studied from two aspects: first, by considering associations as strategic action fields within which individual diaspora Somalis act towards certain goals and are driven by certain interests; and second, by considering associations as actors in several wider fields, focusing on the relations between associations and the broader field environments.

My contribution to the research field of the intersection between immigrant associations and diaspora mobilization is to provide comparative and collaborative research based on multi-sited qualitative data.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Opposing methodological nationalism

In the post World War era, migration studies concentrated on researching migrants from the perspective of the country of settlement. According to Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002, 309-310) in thinking of "nationalist doctrine and nation-building which maintain the view of container model of society", immigrants are perceived as "antinomies to an orderly working of state and

society". They are perceived to "destroy the isomorphism between people, sovereign and citizenry; between people and nation and between people and solidarity group" (ibid.). The Chicago School of Sociology started first to develop a systematic approach to migration between the two World Wars (ibid., 316). These theories were based on the nationalist approach, and were centered around concepts of assimilation and acculturation. In the 1950s and 1960s, assimilation theory in migration studies was powerful. The theory claims that the contact between ethnic minorities and the majority inevitably leads to a decrease in the meaning of ethnicity and, therefore, to assimilation into "the hegemony". Ethnic minorities' own cultures are not respected in this theory. (ibid., 315-317.)

From the 1970s onward, the theoretical model of different acculturation options created by John Berry gained attention. According to John Berry (1992) immigrants have four options in approaching the culture of the receiving society. These are assimilation, which emphasizes 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, marginalization, both from the culture of origin and the receiving society.

A conceptual shift in migration studies took place in the early 1990s. Since then, there is a growing volume of research on migrant transnationalism. Many of the first studies on transnationalism in the 1990s focused on Latin America, and were carried out the scholars from the USA (see e.g. Itzigsohn & Giorguli 2002; Goldring 2001; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999; Basch, Schiller & Blanc 1994; Smith & Guarnizo 1998). In many of these studies, migrant groups are studied from the point of view of the country of origin. Later the transnational approach was systemically applied to the European context, and to studies of refugees, but often in the context of integration into the country of settlement (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; see examples of studies conducted in Europe Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Al-Ali, Black & Koser 2001; Koopmans et al. 2005; Østergaard-Nielsen 2001).

Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller (2004, 1012) have stated that for a transnational framework of migration studies "we need methodology that allows us to move beyond the binaries, such as homeland/new land, citizen/non-citizen, migrant/non-migrant, acculturation/cultural persistence that have typified migration research in the past." Even if some scholars claim that there is nothing new in transnationalism, and that immigrants throughout times have been engaged with their countries of origin (see e.g. Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002, 312-315), it is fair to claim that the transnational perspective, both theoretical and methodological, is something rather new (Portes 2003, 874-5). The conceptual shift in migration studies towards the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora challenges the territorial nationalism that circumscribes the modern nation-state (Lie 1995, 304). "Transnational turn" is a shift from the "methodogical nationalism", meaning a dominant assumption in social sciences

"that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002, 302).

Research on transnationalism, particularly the first studies in the early 1990s, has received criticism. According to critics, these studies "tended to emphasize the counter-hegemonic potential of transnationalism, in the sense of providing an alternative to the assimilative pressures of receiving societes and the disadvantage or exclusion involved"(Anthias 2012, 103).

Firstly, critics claim that there is a tendency (in particular among cultural studies scholars) to envisage transnationalism "as something to celebrate, as an expression of a subversive popular resistance from below" (Smith & Guarnizo 1998, 5). Secondly, criticism is leveled for exaggerating the term by characterizing all migrants as "transmigrants" and transnationalism as an alternative to assimilation (Portes 2003, 876). These critics claim that transnationalism should be viewed as one possible outcome, and should not be presupposed. It has also been argued, that in certain cases, it is an exception that migrants participate in transnational activities (Portes 2003; Itzigsohn & Giorguli 2002). A third criticism concerns viewing transnational actors as unbounded while forgetting the continuing importance of nation-states. As Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002, 326) reiterate that "while it is important to push aside the blinders of methodological nationalism, it is just as important to remember the continued potency of nationalism."

Further studies have responded to various criticisms, and nowadays it is widely acknowledged that transnational actors are indeed always "bound" to certain localities. As Luis Guarnizo and Michael Smith (1998, 10) state: transnational actions are bound in two senses – first, by the understandings of "grounded reality" socially constructed within the transnational networks that people form and move through, and second, by the policies and practices of territorially-based sending and receiving local and national states and communities. They continue:

> 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. (ibid., 12-13.)

Other studies (Portes 2003; Itzigsohn & Giorguli 2002) have emphasized the importance of researching the contexts of exit and reception as well. Ruud Koopmans (2004; 2005) also maintains that in particular migrant political mobilisation and claims-making are strongly focused on and shaped by the nation states where migrants live.

Recent studies on transnationalism further reconcile the polarized perspectives of national and transnational by providing viewpoints and concepts which help to do specific analysis on transnationalism and global power relations. Floya Anthias (2012, 103) suggests that a transnational perspective should "locate relations between nations and nation-based social hierarchies as well as

those on a global level and then begin to think about how these are transformed when transnational processes are at work". She proposes a term "translocational" which:

> Denotes the ways in which social locations are products of particular constellations of social relations, and in terms of relationality and experience at determinate points in time; it considers them within a spatial and temporal context. It points to the existence of contradictory and shifting social locations where one might be in a position of dominance and subordination simultaneously on the one hand or at different times or spaces on the other (ibid., 108).

Nina Glick Schiller (2010, 113) criticizes current migration scholarship for not addressing the global exercise of power to a sufficient extent, and proposes "a global power perspective on transnational migration", which helps "to make sense of the contradictory policies that highlight and yet impede transnational migration, as well as to place migration within social theory in a way that is conceptually unconstrained by borders of nation-states".

Even if a transnational turn in migration studies has taken place, policies concerning migration continue to be nation-state based, and much of the debates and attitudes towards migrants are still, and even increasingly, nation-state based.

3.2.2 Doing multi-sited fieldwork

The transnational approach to migration emphasizes that migration is an ongoing process, and that emigration and immigration can not be researched or understood properly as separate phenomena. Thus, when studying transnational aspects of migrants lives, one needs "to focus on intersection between networks of those who have migrated and those who have stayed in place" as well as "to capture migrants' simultaneous engagement in and orientation toward their home and host countries"(Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, 1012). George Marcus (1995, 105), in his seminal article on multi-sited ethnography, writes that "multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of ethnography." He distinguishes six examples in which multi-sited methods can be used: "following the people (ie. migration studies), the thing, the metaphor, the plot, story or allegory, the life or biography and the conflict" (ibid., 106-110).

My starting point in this research has been the idea that in order to understand the mobilization of Somalis in the diaspora and their simultaneous engagements with the current country of settlement and the country of origin it is essential to focus on multiple sites, in other words this pheomenon "cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site" (Falzon 2009, 1). Moreover, these engagements can not be researched only "at one point in time", as transnational involvement of migrants is more of "a process than an event"; if an opportunity opens up in the country of origin, those that have not engaged before may become active; and if the conflict escalates in a certain place of origin, it may pre-

vent from engaging those that have previously engaged (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, 1012). As my data collection process took place over four years, and happened in several phases and intense periods in the field, I was able to check to some extent the engagements of Somalis in processual way, as well as to observe the activities of a few individuals and associations in two locations: Finland and Somaliland.

3.2.3 The process of collecting empirical data

In this research I have applied qualitative methods with the intention of deeply understanding the phenomenon of Somali diaspora associations. I have used several data collection methods. In addition to semi-structured interviews, which constitute the primary data for this research, observations have been done and various written materials have been collected, which complement the primary data. Semi-structured interviews were selected as the main source of data collection because they "allow for probing of views and opinions where it is desirable for respondents to expand their answers", which is essential in research aiming to explore "subjective meanings that respondens ascribe to concepts of event" (Gray 2004, 217). This probing also helps in acquiring deep enough information as it "allows for the diversion of the interview into new pathways which were not originally considered as part of the interview" (ibid.).

Combining different data collection methods helps in getting a fuller picture of the phenomenon under research. Martin Sökefeld (2008, 7-8) provides a concrete definition of the difference between the main ethnographical method of participant observation and interviewing by stating:

> By getting immersed in the life-world of those whom we are studying, by simply sharing their activities and conversations, participant observation enables an intimate knowledge of concerns and practices. In contrast with interviews, participant observation facilitates knowledge of what people actually do. This may be quite different from what they say they do, and discrepancies between telling and doing may provide important insights.

The issue of whether the interviewee is telling about what associations and people active in them actually do, or whether the interviewee tells what he/she thinks will present him/her in "the best light" or what he/she thinks the interviewer wants to hear has to be taken into consideration in interviews. The use of multiple methods can help overcome problems related to the issue of accuracy, which is why I have used multiple data collection methods (Willis 2006, 150).

My aim has been to listen to how Somalis themselves describe things. I have interviewed the associations' leaders, meaning those people who hold either a chair or vice-chair position or other position on the board. This focus on leaders is because I wanted to have a large coverage of Somali associations in Finland and thus wanted to include interviews from as many different associations as possible. I have mainly been interested in associations' leaders' way of making contacts outside associations, but have not looked into the issues con-

cerning associations' internal democracy and ordinary members' views on associations and their leaders, nor I was able to stretch the scope of research to those Somalis in Finland who do not participate in associations. Matters such as how and to what extent ordinary members are committed to associations, and to what extent the wider Somali community in Finland actually even takes part in voluntary associations and their activities would be important matters for future studies. By observation, I have also noticed considerable criticism towards voluntary associations and their leaders.

I have, however, ensured the authencity of the research by engaging in data triangulation. In order to gain as authentic picture of the phenomenon as possible, I have, for example, checked the official facts about associations from other sources, such as websites, reports, and brochures. I have discussed the activities of many associations with various people involved in them, or who know the associations. I have also observed some events. Through these mechanisms I have been able to construct a more full picture of associations, their activities, relations to other associations and interests of individuals active in them. As for the observations, I have participated in several events in different locations and venues which have contributed to my understanding of Somalis' transnational activities and associations. I use the term observation rather than participant observation as I have not directly participated in the events that I have attended, but been present listening, watching and taking notes.

In order to research the phenomenon taking place in multiple sites, being transnational in nature, I have applied multi-sited methods. I have been doing this research since 2008 as part of two research projects: "Diasporas for Peace: Patterns, Trends and Potential of Long-distance Diaspora Involvement in Conflict Settings. Case studies from the Horn of Africa" (DIASPEACE), which was financed by the European Commission´s 7th Framework Programme and lasted for three years. Another project in which I was involved in was the Academy of Finland financed "Security, Governance and Identities in Flux. The Role of Diaspora in Development in the Horn of Africa", which was ongoing for four years, 2008-2011. As part of the international EC-funded project I did research collaboration with partners from five different European countries and two countries from the Horn of Africa. Within this project, the comparisons between diaspora associations in different European countries were carried out and joint articles were written (see articles two and three).

Much of the data-gathering process took place in the framework of these projects, lasting in total four years (2008-2011). As mentioned above, I conducted several fieldwork periods in different geographical locations: Finland and Somalia/Somaliland.[6] In this summary article I consider the empirical data collected from Finland and Somaliland as the primary data.

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[6] I also conducted a two-week fieldwork trip to the United Kingdom in 2008, where I interviewed representatives of Somali associations. I interviewed in total 17 representatives of Somali associations: out of these two were of non-Somali origin, and out of the 15 people of Somali origin two were female and rest men I also participated in events on Somalia/Somalis as an observer. Two of the interviews were carried out in Sheffield and rest in London. Before the fieldwork I carried out the mapping of So-

I started collecting the data in early 2008 in Finland, when I met a few Finnish Somalis active in associations. In 2008 I carried out the mapping of Somali associations in Finland through the associations' register maintained by the National Board of Patents and Registration[7]. I did extensive searches on that register by using several different keywords (such as Somalia, Somali, Somalis, Somaliland, Somalimaa, Puntland etc.), both in Finnish and in English. Moreover, I contacted the Finnish Somalia Network, through which I got a list of their member organizations. I also contacted the Somalis I had interviewed for my MA thesis in 2005, and through them and their contacts got more names of Somalis active in associations. In the mapping exercise I identified more than 100 names of Somali associations. It was, however, not possible at that point to identify which ones were still functional – a point which I will elaborate more in section 4.1.2.

Thus, at the start, I had two major entry points to the field in Finland, which both provided me with more contacts through the snowball method. This enabled me to have access to different networks. Later, after the fieldtrip to Somaliland, I gained a third access point to Finnish Somalis active in associations (more on this below). I decided to collect interviews in the Helsinki metropolitan area as the majority of Somali associations were located there. During four years I spent several periods, lasting from a few days to a few weeks at a time in the Helsinki area doing fieldwork. I carried out the first semi-structured qualitative interviews in Summer 2008, and the last interviews in Finland were carried out in Spring 2011. During the fieldwork periods I also carried out observation in several seminars and events concerning Somalia/Somaliland and Somalis in Finland. I also participated in some associations' activities, such as board meetings. In addition to interview and observation material, I have gone through extensive written material on associations, including the material (reports, brochures etc.) I got from my informants and reports at the archive of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the associations that have received development cooperation funding for Somalia/Somaliland projects.

It is essential to note here that I have focused both on the associations that are involved in integration/multicultural issues in Finland and those involved in development activities in the areas of origin. In all of the associations, both of

mali associations in the UK through internet searchs, existing reports, contacts and by going thourgh the register of Charities in England and Wales (http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/) with different keywords, such as Somalia, Somaliland, Somali etc. In this mapping I found nearly 300 charities, but as was the case in Finland I was not able to confirm their actual functionality. Before entering the field, I had one Somali Londoner who helped me by putting me in contact with Somalis in associations and helped me in organizing interviews beforehand. This data was used by the DIASPEACE research project (see (Pirkkalainen 2010b). I have used some of this data in article four, where diasporas' perceptions of their engagement was analysed. For the other articles and for this summary article the data collected from the UK has not been used, as including one more country in which the broader field environment would be analysed would have been too much to cover time- and resource- wise. This data has, however, informed me about a several issues relating to Somali diaspora and their associations.

7 Available online at: http://www.prh.fi/fi/yhdistysrekisteri.html.

these levels are not the formal aim, but in reality all interviewees were engaged, to a varying degree, in both. I have not included any religious associations as such, but I have interviewed a few individuals who were active in some of the mosques in Finland. The religious lines of organizing are analysed to a limited extent in section 4.2.2., but it has to be noted that religion as an organizing principle would require a separate study with specific analytical tools.

In Finland I have interviewed 42 Somalis who are active in associations. These individuals represented 36 different Somali associations. The reason why the number of individuals is higher than the number of associations is, first, that in some cases I interviewed people from the same association in different phases, when there had been a change of the chair of the board. Second, in some cases in interview situations there were two or three active persons from an association present and they all participated in an interview, or in a couple of cases, I interviewed two or three active persons from the same association at different times. In most interviews only a single person, usually the chairperson from the association, was interviewed. Eleven of the interviewees I met and discussed with at least twice, often more. The majority of the interviewees, 38, were male, and four were female. The data is certainly gender-biased in that the majority of the interviewees are male, an issue I was struggling with at times. Mostly the bias is due to the simple fact that most Somali associations in Finland are chaired and led by men (the gender issue in associations is analysed in section 4.2.2.)

Interviewees were between the ages of 23 and 66 – the majority of respondents were around 40-50 years old. All interviewees had at least a vocational school degree, and most of them had higher education, at least a BA degree. Many respondents had received their degrees in Finland. Most interviewees arrived in Finland in the period of 1990-1992, only eight of them later and one earlier, and most of them were Finnish citizens. Most of the interviewees had a job at the time of the interview, however not all were employed in the jobs corresponding to their education and many worked in "ethno-specific jobs". Only three people were unemployed and one was retired.

In addition to multiple sites and methods, I have included multiple perspectives of the empirical data, meaning that in addition to representatives of Somali associations I have also talked with "key-informants". In Finland I carried out semi-structured interviews with representatives of Finnish authorities including the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior, as well as representatives of Finnish development NGOs who are working in Somalia/Somaliland. In total I have 17 of this kind of interviews from Finland: six authorities from the Ministries (two Ministry of Interior staff, four Ministry for Foreign Affairs staff) and 11 representatives of Finnish NGOs (10 development NGOs, and one capacity building project for migrant organizations).

As an important research strategy, three articles of this PhD are co-written. This strategy has allowed me to compare the data from Finland with cases in Italy in two articles (articles two and three). This would not have been possible alone, as extensive data collection in more than two sites would have been im-

possible given the limited time frame. The collaborative research was possible because of the international DIASPEACE-project, in which I got a chance to do research cooperation with experienced researchers. The last article (article four) is co-written with a Finnish-Somali collague, as already mentioned, who did extensive fieldwork in different parts of Somalia/Somaliland. Thus it was possible to analyse different perspectives on diaspora engagement in depth, something that I could not have done with my own data.

My own fieldwork in northern Somalia, in self-proclaimed Somaliland[8], took place in January 2011. I spent nearly four weeks in the capital city of Hargeisa interviewing Somalis who had returned to Somaliland from various countries, including Finland, visiting development project sites of Finnish Somalis and interviewing the partner organizations of Finland based Somali associations. Thus Finnish Somalis, either those visiting Hargeisa at same time as I was there or through their contacts from Finland, functioned as "gatekeepers", putting me in contact with their partners in Hargeisa. Moreover, I met a few very helpful politically engaged Somalis in Hargeisa who facilitated more contacts and with their help I interviewed returnees from different places, not only from Finland. In total I carried out 27 semi-structured interviews with Somalis (eight female, 19 male), and with three key informants of non-Somali origin representing international organizations. Six of the interviewees were Somalis from Finland, and three of them I had met and interviewed earlier in Finland. The rest of the interviewees were diaspora returnees or visitors from Canada, Sweden, Germany, the USA and Saudi-Arabia, or locals. The interviewees were from 20 to over 60 years old, and had at least a BA-level education (most of them having an MA degree). In Hargeisa I visited seven project sites that are run either by a Somali returnee from Finland, or with the support of the Finland-based Somali diaspora. In addition to actual interviews and observations, I met locals, was invited to a few people's houses, to dinners in restaurants, and drove around Hargeisa enjoying the sun and lively rhythm of the city. I encountered enourmous hospitality and friendliness from the people in Hargeisa. Seeing that corner of the Horn of Africa helped me to understand better Finnish Somalis and their associations' activities. With what I had seen in Hargeisa I could re-situate the empirical data I had collected from Finland and give it a whole new layer. Thus carrying out fieldwork in multiple sites was a cumulative process; it was not only adding sites to the research but deepening my own understanding of the transnational lives of Somalis (Horst 2009, 124).

In all of the interviews in all locations I used a loosely structured interview guide which involved certain common themes but which I adjusted from time to time. This kind of themed interview is called a semi-structured interview. In it the researcher defines themes but does not use a ready-made series of ques-

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8 The decision to gather the empirical data from Somaliland, and not from other parts of Somalia, was done due to the security of that region and thus its accessibility. I was lucky to be able to travel there with my collague, who had been in Somaliland previously and thus had extensive local contacts which greatly eased the practicalities of the fieldwork.

tions (Syrjälä et al. 1994, 138). In fact, in most interviews the interviewees spoke extensively around themes, but also introduced new themes, making each interview very unique and the probing of themes possible (see Gray 2004). I used a slightly different guide with Somalis active in associations in the various locations and with key interviewees.

I used the recorder in most interviews, but only when I had the interviewee's permission. In those interview situations where an interviewee did not feel comfortable with recording for one reason or another, I did not use it and instead took extensive notes. In those cases I transcribed the notes immediately after the interview, which ensured that I could still remember everything that was discussed in the interview. Interview records were all transcribed: most of the interviews I transcibed myself, but as the amount of recorded hours was extensive, two research assistants from the DIASPEACE-project helped me with transcriptions.

TABLE 1 Empirical data by country and type

Country Type of data	Finland	Somaliland
People of Somali origin interviewed	42. Interviews included themes such as associations' activities, networks, members; perceptions on the Somalia; experiences on the diaspora engagement and about the life in Finland	27[9]. Interviews included themes such as experiences and perceptions on the diaspora engagement; perception of the situation in Somalia/ Somaliland and the role of diaspora there
Key interviews	17 (Two Ministry of Interior; four Ministry for Foreign Affairs; 10 native Finn development NGOs; one capacity building project for migrant organizations). Interviews included themes such as cooperation and networks with the diaspora groups; perception and experience on the diaspora engagement; and migrant' integration in general	3 (staff of international organizations present in Hargeisa). Interviews included themes such as experiences and perceptions on the diaspora engagement
Observation	* Board meeting of Somalia Network (29.10.2009) * Wednesday club discussion forum (19.11.2009) * IOM MIDA Health project conference (7.12.2009) * Co-operation seminar for Horn of Africa organizations (5.10.2009) * Over the years several visits to venues of Somali associations and observing the activities taking place there	*Projects financed by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs including: maternity clinic; tuberculosis hospital; office of Finn Church Aid; orphanage school; bee farm and office of association * Several other sites that were either set up or supported by the diaspora from around the globe, including health and education institutions
Written Material	*Minutes of board meetings of Somalia Network (2004-2010) *Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (reports etc. of associations granted development cooperation money) *Memos of "Wednesday club" discussion forum *Annual reports, brochures etc. of associations that I have interviewed	*Field notes *Reports of partner associations of Finnish Somali associations *Reports and brochures by IOM

[9] Three of these people I had met and interviewed in Finland before, but the content of the interviews in the different locations was different. Because of this overlap of three people, the total number of different individual Somalis I interviewed for this research in the two locations is 66.

3.2.4 Tackling various challenges

The primary challenge at the start of the data collection was to reach the interviewees and to get up-dated contact information of Somalis active in associations. I noticed along the way, too, that sometimes people had moved abroad, or in many cases changed phone numbers, which made the maintenance of contact with interviewees challenging. Another challenge, partly related to the first one, was the difficulty agreeing on a meeting as many were often travelling or they were busy with work and other committments. This reflected the mobile and active lifestyle of most of my interviewees. The fact that I did not live in the Helsinki area, and the fact that the first two years I lived in Italy reduced my flexibility timewise. But this challenge was overcome as I did make fieldtrips over many years and when I was in the field I adjusted my timetables completely according to the interviewees' schedules.

Trust building became one of the first essential elements in data gathering, and was a challenge at first. I faced some doubts and hesitation about my research at the beginning. I also was asked many times why I was interested in Somalis, and what would happen after the research. I also faced some negative reactions to the interview request, which clearly showed that some Somalis were tired of being researched. In addition, in some cases it is possible that I - as a native Finn researcher - was identified with the authorities whose task is to assess the work of associations.

Trust between the researcher and interviewees is, of course, important in all kinds of research situations. But I felt that in the case of Somalis, often a negatively portrayed minority in Finland in a marginal position, trust became a central issue (see also Tiilikainen 2003, 95).

Trust building also relates directly to the validity of the research. In some cases the interaction with interviewees remained rather cautious, but in most cases the interviewees were openly telling not only about their associational activities but also about their personal life histories and situations, and were willing to find time to talk with me. I still feel indebted to them for this! It was clear that in the early stage of my data collection, interviews were relatively short and interviewees were not necessarily willing to share much of their personal information with me. But as the fieldwork proceeded, through the snowball method I found that people started to trust me more and told me things openly. The snowball method through different "gatekeepers" to different networks appeared to be an excellent way of establishing a trusted position among Somalis.

I met most of the interviewees either in the premises of their associations, in public cafes or restaurants, or in workplaces. On rare occasions I was invited to their homes. Because I was interviewing Somalis who were involved in associational activities, and those themes were the central part of the interviews, I felt that public places or offices were the most natural venues for meetings. In all occasions, when agreeing on a meeting, I asked the interviewee which venue he/she would prefer. As I was not primarily interested in the Somalis' private

lives – although of course they became part of the discussion – it was a little easier to form a trusted relationship (compare e.g. Tiilikainen 2003). I conducted the interviews in Finland in either Finnish or English, and in Somaliland in English. Because of this, the interviewees do not represent all Somalis in Finland, but focus on those that are active in associations and who also often possess good language skills.

Multi-sited methods have been criticized for possibly endangering the depth of research and empirical material. The concern has been raised that as multi-sitedness requires the researcher to move and work in more than one location, he/she is possibly prevented from gathering deep enough data. Often the concern is due to very practical matters, such as time and resources (Falzon 2009, 7; Horst 2009, 126). Indeed, the fieldwork carried out in different locations took a lot of time and required resources. In this kind of multi-sited approach the question of a field site viewed from the transnational perspective questions the traditional view of "in-depthness" (Horst 2009, 119). This means, as Cindy Horst (2009, 126) argues, that:

> Yet the purpose of multi-sited fieldwork is not a 'full', located, understanding of 'culture', but rather one which targets transnational networks and flows. … multi-sited research might not be able to provide 'thick' description of the individual nodes, but it does guarantee thick description of the network, its dynamics and the interplay of relations between people, things, activities and meanings. In my view the depth with which transnational practices are understood increases with expansion of sites.

This was exactly what I felt. Only after seeing the life of Somalis in the UK, and in particular in Somaliland, in addition to Finland did I understand what is a transnational, mobile life (Falzon 2009, 9). It was crucial for me to realize the context some of my interviewees had lived in previously in Somaliland in order to properly interpret the data and analyse the content. It was also thrilling to see that contacts in one site gave me access to another, and in particular helped in creating trusted a relationship with an interiewee (see also Horst 2009, 119). I was able to utilize the contacts in all sites, particularly between Finland and Somaliland, which considerably eased the fieldwork, trust building and therefore ensured access to in-depth data. In particular, the contacts of Finnish Somalis in Somaliland allowed me access to interviewees there - which enabled me to do a large amount of interviews in a relatively short time and ensured that interviewees trusted me. It also functioned well when I returned to Finland from Hargeisa; I had received more contacts of Somalis active in associations from Hargeisa-based Somalis and met them upon return. It seemed they trusted me right away and told me openly about everything (see also Horst 2009, 126). It also seemed that the visit to Somaliland was appreciated by the Somalilanders in Finland, and indicated to them that I was seriously interested in Somalis.

Even if the various sites can be themselves seen as depth, I still took seriously the concern of the possible thinness of the data from each location and used several techiques to overcome it. One possible solution to overcome concerns of "thinness" of the data is "to be very focused in the kinds of issues that are studied transnationally"(Horst 2009, 127). In my case it was mostly associa-

tional involvement and different meanings of associations what I was interested in and contexts bounding the activities of these associations. Another solution, which I also adopoted was to work as part of a team (Horst 2009, 128; Mazzucato 2009, 221). I worked as part of an international research project, which enabled the analysis of contexts and networks in two European locations: Italy and Finland. With the Italian team, I had continous cooperation in desigining the research, planning the interviews and drafting the interview guides. We collaborated closely during the fieldwork in both locations by discussing and exchanging views and preliminary findings. Continuous contact and exchange was possible because of the good personal relations between researchers, meetings in Italy or at the DIASPECE events around Europe, and regular phone or skype calls. This collaborative work also made it possible to overcome the challenge of following up how local contexts in different places affected Somalis and their associations.

3.2.5 Ethical aspects

Traditionally, ethical concerns in social sciences relate to the topics of informed consent, meaning the consent by the respondent after the researcher has truthfully informed him or her about the research is received, the right to privacy in terms of protection of the respondents' identity, and protection from emotional, physical or any other kind of harm (Fontana & Frey 2000, 15). Ethical issues in this study related first to informed consent, second to anonymity of interviewees, and third to the issue of how the research affects the community under research.

In a study concerning people from different cultural backgrounds, sensitivity to cultural differences becomes important, relating to all other aspects of research ethics and more importantly to trust building (Harrison 2006). Before entering the field I read extensively about Somali culture and discussed fieldwork and cultural issues with more experienced colleagues. In particular, cultural sensitivity was of utmost significance on the field in Somaliland. To this end I benefitted greatly from travelling with a more experience colleague, who gave me lots of very valuable tips. One of the most visible ways to act in a culturally sensitive way, although of course not the only and not the most important one, was to dress in Somali clothes in Somaliland, including a scarf covering the hair.

Informed consent was fully achieved in this research. I sent a request for an interview to all interviewees by email, which included short but detailed information about my research purposes. After the email I called and again told them about my intentions and research agenda. I sent eveyone lots of information on our research projects and throughout the fieldwork, when there were published reports and articles, I sent them to the interviewees in order for them to see what I was actually doing. Thus each interviewee had information about my agenda and time to think about whether they wanted to participate in my research or not.

As for the anonymity of interviewees, I promised to all interviewees that their identities would remain private. I have not put individual names in public data, and when quoting someone's interview I have not placed details that could make them identifiable. In general, only certain characteristics, or a position of a person either in an association or in a society have been put after the quote so that it gives the reader an understanding from whose perspective an issue is analysed. I have tried to find a balance between giving enough contextual information to the reader while preserving the anonymity of the interviewee. In rare cases, for example in article three, I have written about one individual and named a couple of associations. In these cases I have asked permission from the interviewees, and before publishing the quotations I have sent the texts to the interviewees so that they have had a chance to revise them if needed, and then approve them.

Lastly, critical questions relate to the impact of the research on the Somali community. I have aimed at applying the "empathetic approach" in interviewing in which I am not only "milking" information from Somalis, but trying to be partners with them in the research. According to Andrea Fontana and James Frey (2000, 696):

> New empathetic approaches in interviewing differ from the conventional approach; they see that it is time to stop treating the interviewee as a "clockwork orange" that is, looking for a better juicer, (techniques) to squeeze the juice (answers) out of the orange (living person/ interviewee). .. The new emphathetic approaches take an ethical stance in favor of the individual or group being studied. The interviewer becomes an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate the conditions of the interviewee.

I realized that these issues are to be taken seriously, especially in the context of a group which is in a vulnerable position in society (see also Tiilikainen 2003, 112). That is why I have chosen participatory methods whenever possible, such as being part of the team organizing seminars for the diaspora associations which have provided a platform for discussions, as well as circulated my texts among interviewees so that they could comment on them. To this end I would have certainly liked to engage more, but it was my difficult position living three hours away from the fieldwork site which inhibited my ability to engage in a continous manner in community work. However, I feel lucky to have been able to carry out this research as part of the international research project, in which one of the main tasks was to write policy relevant papers from the research results, as well as to engage in dialogue with different stakeholders. To this end, we organized joint workshops with practitioners and representatives of Somali associations, and produced several reports and a handbook on the new topics of diaspora and its participation in development cooperation, which were sent out to a wide range of policy makers and pracitioners, as well as diaspora associations.

One of my motivations for this research, which I have told my informants about too, has been trying to provide a counter voice to increasinly negative attitudes and claims towards migrants and in particular Somalis in Finland by

showing their committment and devotion to operate associations and help communities back in Somalia/Somaliland. These are the positive examples of migrant activities which are rarely brought up in the media. Moreover, in this regard I have carefully thought about how to conceptualize migration issues not only because of analytical needs but also in the light of the current very negative debate on immigration issues in Finland. My aim is to discuss Somalis' organizing in line with the general theories of collective action, which explain the processes of collective action in a broader sense, not searching for answers only from their culture.

3.2.6 Processing the data: analysis, validity and reliability

The data has been analysed in different phases focusing on certain themes in each article. As the data collection has been processual, taking place over many years, the first article (Pirkkalainen 2009) is based on the limited data that had been compiled at the time. Thus, in this summary certain issues presented in that article are analysed more thoroughly. For this summary I have organized and analysed the data from two locations and from the point of view of multiple fields consisting different actors (see Figure 1).

In the analysis I have emphasized inductive logic rather than deductive logic. I have not let the theory to decide, but rather have done theoretical reading besides data collection and analysis, and afterwards selected the theory which can group the different themes found in the empirical data.

For the analysis of each article as well as for this this summary, the similar technique of grouping the data according to major themes is used. After a draft thematizing of the data, I analysed the themes and organized them into subcategories, depending on the specific theme's relavance to the research questions of each article (Syrjälä et al. 1994, 89).

In the analysis I have looked for "the opinions and subjective accounts and interpretations" of interviewees, relying on rich qualitative data. In doing this I have not been that much concerned with generalizations to larger populations in quantitative terms, but with detailed contextual description and analysis (Gray 2004, 28). Through the contextual descriptions and analysis I have produced research results, which, however, can be analytically generalized (Yin 2003, 38). Validity in this research thus relates to the transferability of the theoretical concepts. As for the "analytic generalization", I have used a previously developed theory as a "template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (ibid.). By analysing the rich empirical data with the help of theories on collective action, such as different social movement concepts and the field approach in this summary, I have been able to abstract conclusions from the particularities of one case to the more general level phenomenon. In this research I have aimed at analysis which takes a balanced view between general patterns of collective action and the phenomenon's unique cultural and situational context (see Fligstein & McAdam 2011, 193).

Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba (1985, 290) suggest criteria for assessing reliability and validity in qualitative research, which have to be different from

those used to assess quantitative research. They propose the criteria of trustworthiness for assessing qualitative research. Trustworthiness consists of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility can be achieved if, first, the research is carried out "such a way that the probability that the findings will be found to be credible is enhanced" and second, the findings of the research can be demonstrated to be credible "by having them approved by the constructors of the multiple realities being studied" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 296). I have in all phases of research ensured crebility by prolonged engagement (ibid., 301) with the Somalis. First of all trustbuilding, related to the prolonged engagement, is one of the most important ways of ensuring that the interviewees have told me "the truth". As I described in the section on ethical issues, some interviewees were rather cautious in the first interviews. They sometimes talked about only positive issues related to their associations, and tried to convince me that their association was doing well. This could relate to the fact that they associated me with authorities assessing the work of associations, and that they did not trust me enough to be an objective researcher who was not using the information against them. But as more meetings took place and the snowball method took effect, interviewees started to tell me things in more detail and raised problems and challenges they had faced in associations. Most importanly, in order to achieve credibility, I have used data triangulation; using different types of data collected from different sources, which "eludicate and cover different aspects of a situation" (Bentz & Shapiro 1998, 88).

The transferability of the research is tricky in qualitative research such as mine, as it is so context specific. Whether findings "hold in other context or even in the same context at some other time, is an empirical issue" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 316). In my case I have aimed at producing 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of the contexts relevant to my research in order to provide "database that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 316). In addition, as mentioned, applying the general theoretical concepts on collective action has helped me in drawing conclusions about collective action from the particular case of Somalis in Finland. In this way I have been able to distinguish between issues of collective action of people in any context, which are of a more general nature, and specific issues concerning only this case in question.

Dependability and confirmability have been achieved by engaging in openness and collaboration with collagues as well as with informants in different phases of research. I was conducting most of the data gathering as part of the collaborative research project, in which extensive discussion on the decisions in many phases of research have been carried out. In this sense my collagues have functioned as peers "auditing" my research process. (ibid., 308.) I have also used member check (ibid., 314), meaning that I have "validated" my indicative research results by some of my respondents by sending them draft articles for comment. Moreover, I have ensured continous self-reflection in all phases of research as well as continous reflection between the empirical data

and the theoretical concepts. The various fieldwork trips over a long period of time have enabled me to go back and forth between the different data, cross-check it various times, and go back and forth between data and theoretical concepts. I have kept complete records of all the phases of research, and they are accessibile (to the extent that anonymity of interviewees is guaranteed). I have extensive fieldnotes from the beginning till the end of the research process about problem formulation, from the fieldwork experiences and from different phases of analysis. From each interview conducted I have either extensive notes or transcriptions.

Furthermore, regarding the quality criteria of research authencity refers to the degree to which researcher has been able to analyse and present the viewpoints of interviewees fairly and "truthfully" (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 114). Throughout my research I have reflected the issue of how have I managed to maintain my neutrality. Also, I have reflected on the question of who is the right person to approve my research interpretations. These issues have been evident in particular in contentious issues relating to Somalia and its politics. Because of the fragmentation of the community, many opposite (political) views remain. One of the most contentious that I have encounterd several times is the issue of the status of self-proclaimed Somaliland. It has sometimes been challenging to assure Somalis from different parts of Somalia that I am not favoring any political stance or any region of Somalia/Somaliland over the other. I have continuosly emphasized that as a researcher I cannot, nor do I want to, take any stance on those issues. My aim is to understand and hear different views. Some people have tried to "get me on board" their own agenda and have not always understood completely my reasons to "stay away" from a political agenda. There has been a continuos challenge to maintain a balance between achieving a trusted position by showing proximity to interviewees, but on the other hand staying objective regarding the political issues. In this regard I have tried to maintain high levels of reflexivity and awareness.

All this relates also to the concepts used in the research and their political bearing. It is essential to keep in mind in social research that the concepts we choose to use are not always politically irrelevant or neutral, particularly so in contentious and politicized topics such as immigration. The ways of representing immigrants and refugees shape our thinking and acting, and can have implications on what kind of policies are designed (Huttunen 2012, 13).

Ultimately, the issue of authencity goes back to the epistemological questions. In this research I understand the social reality as being socially constructed, and maintain the view that "reality" and "knowledge" are relative pertaining to specific social contexts (Berger & Luckmann 1994, 13). The aim of this research has been to understand the "reality" of the Somalis when it comes to their collective action, and also to look at the meanings and functions of their collective actions as they relate to other actors. All people, depending on their position in the society, life histories, attitudes and interests can have a very different understanding and viewpoint regarding Somali voluntary associations. My task has been to compile these different viewpoints and construct the co-

herent overall picture of the collective action of the Somali diaspora in Finland through voluntary associations. I have done this with the help of theories on collective action, which in turn have helped me in situating the phenomenon in the wider context. I am not claiming the superioiry of my interpretations, but putting them forth as one possible viewpoint provided by a researcher conducting analysis with the tools of social research.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The first article of this PhD builds on the concept of the diaspora from the mobilization perspective when explaining Somali associations' involvement in development cooperation activities. The second article applies the concept of Political Opportunity Structures (POS) in a dynamic perspecive by complementing it with the notion of social capital – which is understood as migrants' strategies and abilities to form networks and build alliances in the country of settlement. The third article leans theoretically on contentious politics in explaining the mechanisms of interaction between the Somali diaspora and institutional actors in the countries of settlement. The fourth article, by analysing the relations between the diaspora and locals in the country of origin, applies the diaspora concept. In this chapter I will first present the theoretical concepts used in the articles more widely, as in articles due to restricted space, theories were not able to be described in a very detailed manner. First, I will go through the theoretical concepts of diaspora, POS and contentious politics, as well shortly present other social movement theories in relation to these two concepts. Lastly, I am bringing in a new theoretical framework built on the most recent developments of the field theory in social sciences, namely a theory of fields, which is used in this summary as a tool for helping to explain systematically different aspects relevant to collective action of Somalis, thus bringing together in a conclusive manner the main research results from the articles.

3.3.1 Diaspora

Since the "transnational turn" in migration studies in the 1990s, the concept of diaspora has been applied extensively to describe the situation of several different groups of exiled people. The word diaspora is of Greek origin meaning "scattering of seeds" (Anthias 1998, 560) and has a long history having been used to describe the dispersal of the Jewish people. Nowadays, it has become a well established concept used in migration studies referring to different groups of people, from refugees and labour migrants (see e.g. Cohen 1997) to religious groups and movements (see e.g. Faist 2010).

The term as such is old, but what is new in diasporic phenomenon in today's world is global changes in technology, economic organizations, modes of travel and communication facilitating transnational relations and therefore in-

creasing the possibilities for diaspora formation (Cohen 1997, ix; Wahlbeck 1999, 30).

In the literature the terms transnationalism and diaspora are often confused and sometimes used interchangebly as they both refer to cross-border processes. In migration studies both concepts, to a varying degree, are dealing with dynamic relations between migrants and their relations to countries of origin and of settlement, but "they differ in their emphasis not in theory" (Faist 2010, 21). A general difference between transnationalism and diaspora is that diaspora is used to describe groups and actors whereas transnationalism has been used more widely to encompass also processes, activities and networks (ibid.), with the help of concepts such as transnational social space (Faist 2010, 13; see also Faist 2000) and transnational social field (Glick Schiller 2010; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; see more on this in the next section).

The earliest conceptualizations on diaspora refer to the physically existing homeland and a yearning for it (see e.g. Safran 1990). The approach of diaspora as a yearning for origin and as a social community has been critized for emphasizing origin and ethnicity too much, and for ignoring internal differences and power dynamics (see e.g. Anthias 1998; Axel 2004). Another possibility is to understand diaspora as a particular form of consciousness or identity; a view developed in particular within cultural studies (see e.g. ibid.; Brah 1996; Clifford 1994). Floya Anthias (1998, 560) has named this approach "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 diaspora identity are the issues that matter and define it. In other words, the people claiming it constitute diaspora. This approach to diaspora focuses thus not on the origin but on the constructions of diaspora, understanding it as "a globally mobile category of identification" (Axel 2004, 27).

These two lines of thought have dominated much of the writing on diaspora. However, this distinction has been critisized for separating "analytically what needs to be read as mutually constitutive" (Werbner 2000, 6). Pnina Werbner (2002, 121) elaborates the nature of diasporas by arguing that they are communities "being connected by ties of co-responsibility", but there is no central force which organizes and controls diaspora communities' and their multiple goals and concerns. Moreover, diasporas are not only "aesthetic communities" or "merely reflections of the displaced or hybrid consciousness of individual diasporic subjects", but often they are "highly politicised social formations". Werbner thus considers diaspora from the constructivist perspective, and pays attention to the important point of internal fragmentation of diasporas. She (ibid., 123) argues, when describing diaspora as chaordic, that "diasporic groups are characterised by multiple discourses, internal dissent, and competition for members between numerous sectarian, gendered or political groups, all identifying themselves with the same diaspora."

Werbner (ibid., 125) moves from recognizing the fragmentation of the diaspora group to the mobilization of diasporas by stating that "people `buy into'

`their' diaspora in quite different, materially embodied ways". She (ibid., 125) points out important material and organizational aspects of diaspora mobilization, and focuses on the activities based on certain "diaspora feelings"by claiming that:

> Beyond the imaginary, they exist through material flows of goods and money, though gestures of giving…. often these three dimenstions of materiality – culture, politics and philantrhopy- are intertwined. Members of diaspora mobilise politically to defend or protest against injustices and human rights abuses suffered by co-diasporics elsewhere… when people suffer elsewhere, it hurts. The pain demands action.

From this perspective further theorisation of diaspora as having a mobilization capacity has been developed (Kleist 2007 2008; Sökefeld 2006). This theorization mostly focuses on "the material, moral and organisational features that underpin the creation of diasporas" (Werbner 2002, 122), and recognizes the fact that the diaspora "has to be effected time and again by agents who employ a variety of mobilizing practices" (Sökefeld 2006, 277).

Seen from this mobilization perspective, diasporas are political actors. Thus in addition to diaspora studies in the fields of sociology, anthropology and cultural studies, political science researchers have been interested in examining diaspora, often viewing it as a non-state actor in transnational fields, thus having a stake in international politics, and analysing what kind of role it has in conflicts in the country of origin (see literature review Pirkkalainen & Abdile 2009). In particular, interest in diasporas increased after 9/11 as the terrorist attacks were carried out by people of migrant origin (Koinova 2010, 149), and diaspora became increasingly discussed within the framework of security.

Recently, the term has also entered into the policy realm. Diasporas are considered actors struggling for recognition in their new countries of settlement, as well as actors for "change" in their countries of origin (Kleist 2007, 46). International organizations and governments have been using the term to the extent that it has become a buzz word. Thus it is important to define how diaspora is used in the analysis of this study. I am approaching the diaspora from the perspective of a mobilization category, and in contrast to essentializing the term I am not defining diaspora in "substantialist terms as a bounded entity", but considering it "rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim" (Brubaker 2005, 12). Moreover, I maintain the view that the diaspora is given certain different roles, expectations and at times obligations by different actors in different fields: authorities in the country of settlement, the international community, local communities and the members of the diaspora themselves. In this sense the diaspora can be seen as "a potential moral community that can be mobilized at a transnational scale and to whom certain obligations and expectations apply" (Kleist 2008, 1134). The diaspora is maintaining ties with not only the country of origin, but also with other diaspora members living in other countries, thus the term diaspora emcompasses multi-locationality and multi-positionality – although in this research the focus is on the nodes to two locations, the country of origin and of

settlement. In this research 'the diaspora' is used when referring to actors, Somalis, and 'diaspora' when referring to theories of diaspora.

3.3.2 Theories on social movement: Political opportunity structures and contentious politics

Social movement in the literature has been defined as "collective challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow 1998, 4). A wide range of literature exists explaining how social movements are formed and how they function. In the 1960s social movement theories were structural thinking oriented and focused on political opportunity structures, which received criticism from more actor-oriented approaches in the 1970s emphasizing how available resources are mobilized. In the 1980s, more focus was put on the discoursive sides of movements, termed cultural framing (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996, xii). Since the 1990s, social movement scholars in the USA and Europe have moved closer to each other and different perspectives on social movements have "undercut the theoretical provincialism"(ibid.). The paradigm dominating most of the research on social movements from 1990s onward has been built around three key approaches, namely 1) political opportunity structures (POS), focusing on structures surrounding collective action (Eisinger 1973; Tarrow 1998); 2) resource mobilization, which has it focus on the meso-level looking at mobilization processes and the formal organizational manifestations in these processes (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996, 3; see initial proponents McCarthy & Zald 1973; Gamson 1975); and 3) cultural framing, which puts the emphasis on the shared meanings and definitions among people when acting collectively (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996, 5; see initial proponents Snow et al. 1986 who built the theory on the concept of frame by Goffman 1986).

I will here give a short description of the theoretical terms most relevant to this PhD, POS and contentious politics, and their recent developments. One of the most cited definition of POS in social movement literature is that of Sidney Tarrow (1998, 85): "by political opportunity structures, I mean consistent-but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure". POS theories have been popular in analysing new social movements from a comparative perspective (see e.g. Kriesi 1995). The basic idea of POS is that "social movements are shaped by the broader set of political constraints and opportunities unique to the national context in which they are embedded" (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996, 3).

The insitutional theory of social movement in particular has received heavy criticism (see e.g. Goodwin, Jasper & Khattra 1999) and it has been claimed that it misunderstands culture, puts too much emphasis on structures and considers movements as somewhat of an outsider actor (see e.g. Goldstone 2004). POS as a concept has been re-defined several times, and attempts to approach it from the framing perspective have also been made by, for example, William Gamson & David Meyer (1996, 276) who claim that "opportunities may

shape or constrain movements, but movements can create opportunities as well".

Political process theorists, those who intially came up with POS concepts, have further developed their concepts towards a more relational understanding of structures. Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow (2007, 260) have re-defined POS not as "existing, fixed external threats or opportunities", but as "routine interactions between governments and political actors that give origin to political opportunity structures, and in turn can limit the types of contentious forms the different challengers can actually decide to implement."

Considerable amounts of further theorising on the institutional aspects of social movement theories have been done in which other social movement paradigms are merged. Discourses have been, for example, regarded as an important element of POS in some of the general social movement theoretizations. William Gamson (1988), for example, writes about the presence of certain discourses, themes and counterthemes in political culture which affect the mobilization potential. He also talks about issue cultures, which refer to "the set of culturally available packages for carrying on such discourse" (ibid., 221). Ruud Koopmans et al. (2005, 17) have developed a specific theory combining elements from POS and framing approaches (ibid., 17-18). They start the specification of the POS theory by focusing on cultural aspects of movement theoretizations. According to them (ibid., 17), the issues relating to identities are particularly relevant in ethnic relations and migration; for example the national identity of the country receiving immigrants and its relationship to the migrants' group indentities. Through the identity point of view Koopmans et al. (ibid.) bring in the discourses. They claim that "discoursive constructions have important consequences [...] both for the self-definition of migrants and for the identities and aims of other collective actors who mobilise against or in support of them" (ibid., 19). These "discursive opportunities determine which collective identities and demands have a high likelihood to gain visibility in the mass media, to resonate with the claims of other collective actors, and to achieve legitimacy in the public disourses"(ibid.).

In particular, POS theory has been used much in studies of migrants political participation. The POS approach to immigrant associations and participation has been criticized first of all for being too general (Koopmans et al. 2005, 19). Koopmans et al (ibid.) claim that "opportunity structures can vary enomously from one issue field to another and may differ importantly between collective actors." Thus they put emphasis on the opportunity structures specific to ethnic relations and migration issues, such as citizenship and integraton regimes and call them field specific opportunities (ibid., 20). Second, POS have been criticized for being too static. Koopmans et al. (ibid., 21) argue that "collective actors never mobilise in a vacuum. They are always confronted with established actors who already occupy certain positions in the "playing field" with whom they enter into relations of competition, alliance or opposition". The POS approach has also been criticized for putting too much focus on institutional factors and forgetting the internal processes of organization and identity con-

struction within immigrant groups (Bousetta 2000; Morales & Giugni 2011) and for ignoring cultural and symbolic contextual aspects (Cinalli & Giugni 2011, 43)[10].

3.3.3 The field approach to collective activities

Finally, in this summary collective action is approached from the field perspective in order to balance an analysis between micro and macro levels and agency and structure perspectives. Here, one of the most recent developments of field theory in social sciences, namely elements from a theory of fields by Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam (2012), is used as a methodological tool helping to systematically explain different aspects relevant to the collective action of Somalis, thus bringing together in a conclusive manner the main research results from the articles. In this section, before describing the main elements of a theory of fields used in this research, I am shortly presenting its relation to other field theories. First, to the most developed one by Pierre Bourdieu, and then to the transnational social field perspective.

Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 97) defines a field as:

> A network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation *(situs)* in the structure of the distribution of specifies of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions.

For Bourdieu, the field is characterized by constant struggles (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 101), in which agents strive and compete for certain stakes in a game-like manner. This emphasis on competition and struggles is however too narrow in research on collective action, as much of the collective activities are made possible when people cooperate (Ibrahim 2013, 69). A theory of fields developed by Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam (2012) starts from the groundwork laid by Bourdieu. They widen the perspective from struggles and competition, which certainly are part of collective action, towards explaining cooperation and coordinated action. In the case of this research on a conflict ridden diaspora group, whose collective action is characterized both by collaboration and competition, it is important to acknowledge the efforts of the diaspora to build collaboration in new settings. In addition, as I am examining primarily what affects collective activities in the form of voluntary associations, the focus here is on the collaboration side of fields.

The second difference between Bourdieu's field theory and the theory of fields by Fligstein and McAdam concerns the limits of the field and formal organizations. Bourdieu is not focusing on organizations (Martin 2003, 25), but

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10 Applying social movement theories to migrant mobilisation may pose some challenges as initially those concepts are aimed at studying social movements which have the aim of change in the societies in the level that is not necessarily possible for migrant associations.

considers fields as more abstract relations between positions, and thus is not explicitly focusing on a field's relations to other fields. The theory of fields by Fligstein and McAdam, in turn, focuses on formal organizations and the state in explaining field relations and defines formal organizations as a specific kind of field which has formalized structures which define the relations within and between fields and rules regulating field conduct (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 64). Since in this research the aim is to explain formal voluntary associations and their relation to broader contexts, the theory of fields by Fligstein and McAdam provides concrete tools to carry out the analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the field perspective on collective action helps in understanding transnational aspects of Somalis' lives. The first conceptualizations on the transnational social field were provided by Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller (2004, 1008-1009), who build on the concept of field by Pierre Bourdieu and define the social field as:

> A set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed … National social fields are those that stay within national boundaries while transnational social fields connect actors through direct and indirect relations across borders (ibid., 1009).

In this view, although social fields can transcend national boundaries, individuals and institutions within these fields are influenced by national laws and institutions (ibid., 1010), as well as by "the hegemonic culture of more than one state" (ibid., 1013). These multiple political and legal institutions determine action of individuals as well as organize and legitimate class, race and gender status (ibid., 103). In later writings, Nina Glick Schiller (2010, 112) proposes using the concept of social field not metaphorically, and not in the Bourdieun sense as a field of struggles, but as:

> A means of locating individual migrants within territorially situated social relationships: taxation, employment, education, policing, property ownership, law and public policy, for example. The transnational social fields of migrants can contribute to, be shaped by or contest the local or transnational reach of various states' military, economic and cultural powers.

Following this line of thought, in this research the Somali diaspora are considered as part of forming the transnational social field, which has various territorial nodes, both to Finland and Somalia/Somaliland. Through this conceptualization of transnational social field in which the diaspora Somalis are actors, it is possible to analyse simultaneity and positioning in different field nodes at the same time as well as different repercussions of voluntary associations in different fields.

Here in the next chapters, the micro- and macro level aspects relevant to Somali diaspora associations are analysed in a conclusive manner by using elements of a theory of fields. Now I am shortly presenting the key elements of the

theory of fields relevant to this research[11], which are the concepts of the field of strategic action, social skill and broader field environment, after which I will present the way in which the analysis is organized around these concepts.

First, the theory considers all collective action as being made up of strategic action fields, which are defined as:

> Constructed mesolevel social order in which actors – individual or collective – are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared understanding about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field, and the rules governing legitimate action in the field (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 8).

The second element concerns the microfoundation of the collective action. From this perspective the theory seeks to eplain how social actors in any given field are fashioning and maintaining order. The concept of the social skill of individual actors in the associations is used in analysing how collective action is formed and maintained from the microlevel. Social skill refers to the capacity of individuals to make people cooperate (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 46)[12].

The third element is the broader field environment, which means that any given field has relations with the broader environment consisting of various fields and often the state(s), also considered a field. This broader field environment is a source for opportunities and challenges to any given field (ibid., 18), and in fact refers to the same issues as the concepts of POS and discoursive structures (see above). As the study focuses on the voluntary associations of Somalis in Finland, the broader field environment means that they are linked to a formal bureaucracy in Finland. Moreover, as the case concerned is transnational in nature, the associations are also linked with the country of origin, Somalia/Somaliland. States, according to the theory of fields, are specific kinds of fields, which have the legitimate authority to enforce laws and monitor nonstate fields (ibid., 206). However, in my research I am paying close attention to the specific, context related dynamics between the state and non-state fields as they differ drastically in two relevant contexts, Finland and Somalia/Somaliland.

In the following chapters the analysis of Somali diaspora associations with the help of the elements of the theory of fields is carried out in the following way. First, as backgroud information I will give an overview of Somali migration and Somalis in Finland, their participation in different arenas of society including the labor market and political participation, as well as their own associations.

Second, I will move into the analysis of Somali diaspora associations using the theory of fields, starting from the microperspective. In this part I consider Somali diaspora associations as strategic action fields (SAF) within which indi-

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11 The theory of fields is composed of several other key components, such as incumbents, challengers and governance units, exogeneous shocks, field ruptures and the onset of contention, episodes of contention and settlement. These aspects and concepts are not applied in this study as they are, on my opinion, more suitable to explain societal level change and stability, something which is on a wider level than my focus on Somali diaspora associations.

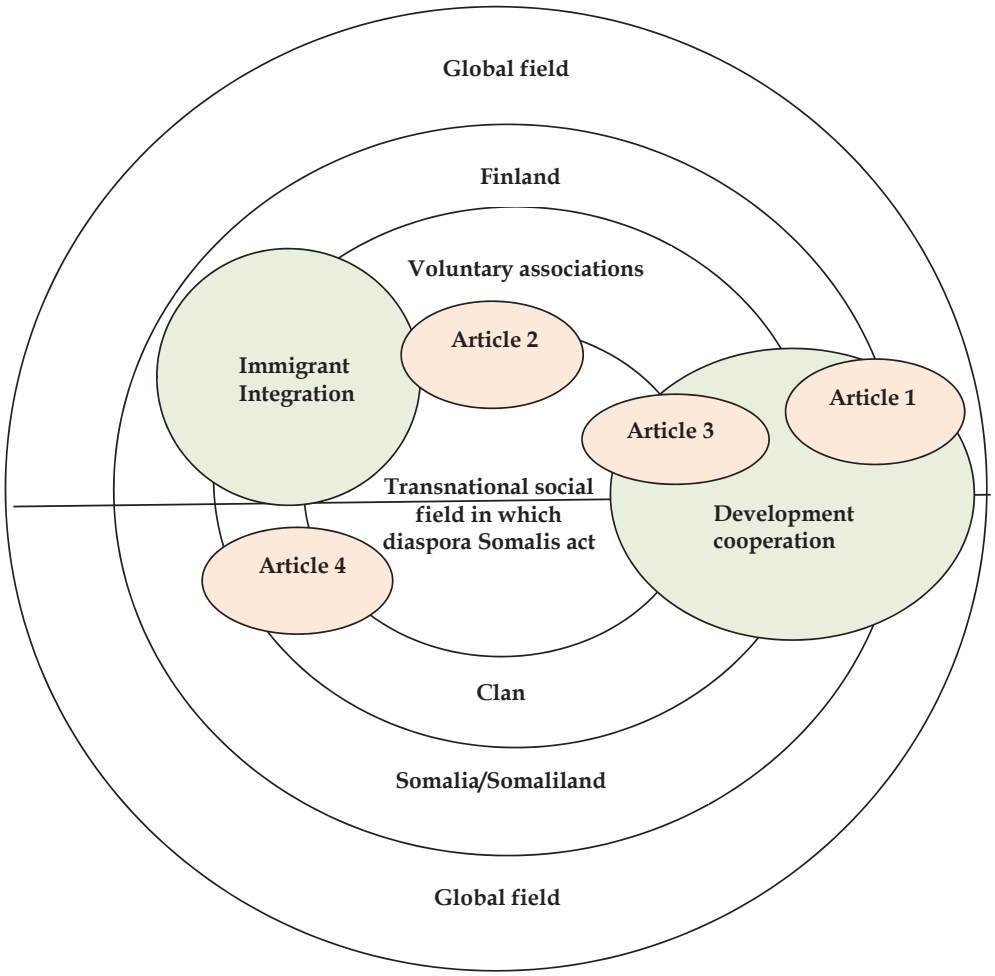
12 Fligstein and McAdam in their conception of social skill draw on the symbolic interactionism (see Goffman 1959; 1986; Mead & Morris 1934).

vidual Somalis act and jockey for positions and status. Here the associations are analysed as fields of fragmentation but also as fields of cooperation. I will analyse from the microperspective, applying the notion of social skill; how the Somali associations and their leaders put in place shared meanings with diaspora Somalis in Finland ranging from very particularised identities to more wider, shared interests. After this I will analyse the various meanings and functions, both manifest and latent, that associations carry for individual diaspora Somalis as well as pay attention to transnational positioning in two different contexts.

Third, from microperspective I will move to the macroperspective. In this section I will analyse how, and to what fields, Somali diaspora are linked. Here Somali diaspora associations are considere actors (collective actors which are made up of individuals) in several fields – in Finland and in Somalia/Somaliland. In the case of a broader field environment, it is important to clearly define what it consists of. In my research much of the definitions of the broader field environments derive from the empirical data, and consist of not only structures and policies, but also prevailing discourses in societies (see Koopmans et al. 2005 for discoursive structures). The state field of Finland consists of a corporatist polity regime and specific policy fields relevant to Somali diaspora associations, namely development cooperation and immigrant integration, in which they are new actors vis-à-vis the native Finnish and other migrant associations. The field in Somalia/Somaliland is characterized by state failure and weak institutions forming thus a specific relationship between the state and non-state fields.

States in this summary are characterized as fields because it allows for a dynamic perspective on structures. From the field perspective, certain structures, institutions and policies are made of and made by actors who continuously maintain them and interact with other actors. Moreover, the state fields in this research are considered to be affected by the global field. In this research, according to the empirical data, the global field affecting Somali associations' activities in transnational fields refer to international organizations (such as UN organizations), and norms and discourses they maintain. This field is not included in the analysis as a field of its own, but it is maintained that the global field is reflected in the state field.

FIGURE 1 Fields relevant to this research and the way the four articles relate to the wider theoretical framework



4 EXPLAINING DIASPORA MOBILIZATION THROUGH FINNISH VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

4.1 Somalis and their participation in Finland

4.1.1 Somali migration and Somalis in Finland

Somalis, due to nomadic pastoralism and trade being their main livelihoods, have always been mobile (see e.g. Lewis 1994). During the colonial times new migratory patterns arose when Somalis moved to the UK and Italy (Griffiths 2002, 77-83). In 1977 General Siad Barre invaded the Somali inhabited region of Ethiopia, called Ogaden, but was soon defeated. This resulted in large refugee flows from Ogaden to Somalia, and to some extent also to the West (Bradbury 1997). Also in the 1970s, a new type of international migration emerged when Somalis, in particular men from Northern Somalia started to migrate to the Gulf countries to work in the oil industry. Migrant workers sent remittances to relatives who stayed in Somalia. Already at that time remittances were important in the Somali context (Healy 2010, 379).

The most significant international migration from Somali regions started when a civil war broke out in 1988, escalated after the state collapse in 1991 and continued after that. Most Somalis fleeing the war became internally displaced or settled in refugee camps in the neighboring countries such as Kenya and Ethiopia, where large camps still remain today. The number of Somali refugees in neigboring countries is by far larger than the number of Somalis having found asylum in the Western countries. According to UNHCR (2011, 24), in Sub-Saharan Africa there are around 2.7 million refugees, out of which a great number (760,800) originate from Somalia. In 2011 Somalia was, after Afghanistan and Iraq, the third largest country of origin of refugees, estimated at 1.1 million refugees (UNHCR 2011, 6).

Historical contacts between Finland and Somalia relate to development cooperation during the 1980s: in 1986 Finland was the fourth largest development aid funder and was active in particular in establishing a tuberculosis prevention programme, which later had to be closed due to the civil war (Aallas 1991, 7-8; 13).

The first asylum seekers of Somali origin arrived in Finland in the late 1980s, and from 1990 onwards the numbers increased, with many arriving via (at that time) the Soviet Union (ibid., 5). The first asylum seekers were students in universities in Moscow, who were unable to return to Somalia because of the civil war. When the war broke out and continued in Somalia, the Somali Embassy in Moscow was granting visas to Somalis fleeing the war. From Moscow then, in particular when the Soviet Union started its own turmoil and subsequent collapse, people started to look for asylum in Nordic countries. Finland happened to be the closest one, and many ended up staying. After that, more Somalis have arrived through family reunification programmes. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, 24-25.) However, due to the various restrictions on criteria for family reunification, it has become more challenging. For example, an application for family reunification can no longer be filed by a person living in Finland, but must be filed by the family member intending to immigrate. A person from Somalia has to submit the application to the closest Finnish diplomatic mission, in practice to either the embassy in Ethiopia or in Kenya. This has lowered the number of Somalis' residence permit applications: in 2011 they were still the second largest group applying for residence permits from Finland, but in 2012 they had dropped to the ninth position (Finnish Immigration Service 2013). Moreover, nowadays most of the applications, about 80%, for family reunifications are rejected as applications do not meet the criteria for family reunifications; for example the applicant for family reunification is not a member of the nuclear family. There is also a long queue of applications for family reunification: 4500 applications are waiting to be processed and authorities of the Finnish Immigration Service work hard to tackle this queue. (Hammar 2013, 11.)

As the Somali community has been formed by asylum seekers and through family reunification programmes, the community consist of entire families – male, female and children/youth. In 2011 there were about 14 000 Somali mother tongue speakers out of which almost 7 500 were Somali nationals. Almost 9 000 people living in Finland were born in Somalia. Somalis are the first and largest group of migrants coming from Africa and the third largest group of all foreign language speakers in Finland. (Statistics Finland 2012a; Statistics Finland 2012b.) As the figures above show, a considerable number of the Somalis who arrived in the 1990s have obtained Finnish citizenship.

Out of the Somali mother tongue speakersm about 55 per cent were male and nearly 40 per cent of the Somali community is under 15 years of age (Statistics Finland 2012b). This age structure, which is also common to many other immigrant groups, is very different from the native population (Martikainen, Saari & Korkiasaari 2013, 48).

As asylum seekers, Somalis had initially been settled all around the country, but once they gained residence permits they moved to large cities, in particular to the Helsinki area, something which is also common among other immigrant background groups (Martikainen, Saari & Korkiasaari 2013, 40). Thus currently most Somalis in Finland reside in the Helsinki area, with some larger concentrations also in other large cities such as Turku and Tampere. Naturally, most of the Somali associations are also located in Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo, but can also be found in Tampere and Turku, and one to two associations in cities such as Jyväskylä, Oulu and Kajaani (Tiilikainen & Mohamed 2013, 44).

4.1.2 Participation of Somalis in Finland

Labour market participation

As a community, Somalis in Finland are often associated in the media with marginalization and social problems. Problems relating in particular to employment are indeed real. In 2011 among the Somali mother tongue speakers (14 045) 1 690 people were employed, 1 805 were not employed making the unemployment rate 52 per cent[13]. Most Somalis, 10 550 of them, were outside of labour force: under 15 years old, students, pensioners or other persons outside the labor force. In the same year among Somali nationals (7 421), 1 265 were unemployed and 640 employed making the unemployment rate 66 per cent. Again in this group, most of them – 5 516 - were outside the labour force (Statistics Finland 2012c). Enterpreneurship of Somalis in Finland is very low; among Somali citizens at the end of 2011 only six were enterpreneurs, and among Somali mother tongue speakers 27 were enterpreneurs (Statistics Finland 2012c).

Employment is seen as a key to integration into Finnish society and unemployed people are regarded as a problem. The problem of Somalis is not only unemployment, but also "underemployment". The case for many Somalis who had received their university degrees in Somalia has been that their degrees are not recognized in Finland. Many of the educated Somalis have thus had to study all over again for another degree in Finland. Interviewees stated that studying in Finland has been rather easy because of the free education and state allowances for studying.

When Somalis have entered the labour market, in many cases it has happened through the so called "entry occupations", referring to jobs that are easy to access by people coming from outside the Finnish labour market, or people who have been marginalized from the labour market. Often these jobs are precarious and susceptible to changing economic situations. These jobs offer a way for youth and migrants, for example, to gain experience which then facilitates getting jobs matching their education. (Forsander 2013, 222.) Sometimes, how-

13 The official unemployment rate in Finland is the share of unemployed from the labour force (consisting of unemployed and employed people between the ages 15-74).

ever, these occupations can cause mobility restrictions, meaning the situation in which mobility in the labour market is not happening for one reason or another (Ahmad 2005). Some of these entry occupations can be classified as ethnospecific occupations such as jobs and assignments created because of immigration services requiring specific language skills, knowledge of a specific culture and often belonging to a specific ethnic group. These occupations are, for example, interpreters and language teachers. Often these jobs are also precarious and there are no formal qualifications for these jobs in Finland. (Forsander 2013, 222-223.)

Political participation

Regarding the direct political participation in Finland, similar to the labour market, the political sphere and high level positions in society are rather difficult to enter for Somalis. In general, international norms and organizations stress the importance of migrants being able to participate in societal decision-making, including political arenas, but the realization of this is not always easy in the countries of settlement. Access to political participation depends on citizenship in the country of settlement since participation in voting and standing as a candidate in national elections are open to only citizens. However, in reality, even for naturalized migrants the established political arenas such as political parties may not be very inclusive, and different forms of discrimination may prevail.

People of immigrant background in Finland including Somalis are, however, increasingly participating in party politics, yet not possessing high level positions in national politics. In the 2007 parliamentary elections there were two candidates whose mother tongue was Somali, and in the 2011 parliamentary elections there were eight Somali language candidates. In Finland so far, none of the candidates who speak a foreign language as their mother tongue have been elected to the parliament. In 2007 a Somali woman, the Green party's Zahra Abdulla from Helsinki, got closest with 4198 votes and got the second reserve seat, and in 2011 the Social Democrat Party's candidate Nasim Razmyar with 4295 votes got to the first reserve seat (Weide & Saukkonen 2013, 276-77). Immigrants including Somalis have, however, been elected to municipal councils, and in fact some of associations' leaders interviewed for this research are active in local politics. In the recent comparative study on the health and well-being of immigrants of Russian, Somali and Kurdish origin in Finland, it is stated that Somali men were the most active in voting in parliamentary elections among the three groups, whereas the least active were Somali women (Castaneda et al. 2012, 219).

An overview of Somali diaspora associations in Finland

In the comparative study of Russians, Somalis and Kurds in Finland, Somalis scored high in many categories of participation; two thirds of people of Somali origin participated regularly in associations, whereas only less than a third of

people of Kurdish origin took part in associations (Castaneda et al. 2012)[14]. It has been confirmed in other studies, too, that Somalis in Finland have been among the most active group of immigrants in establishing voluntary associations (see Pyykkönen 2007; Pyykkönen & Martikainen 2013). Based on interviews and the association's register I estimate that there are more than 100 registered Somali associations in Finland, out of which about 40-50 are functional. The exact number is very difficult to set as the field is so diverse and dynamic, and simultaneous engagement in many initiatives exist.

The first Somalia related association was the Finland-Somalia association registered in 1986, which is a friendship organization founded by Finns who were active in development cooperation work in Somalia in the 1980s. When more Somalis came to Finland, some of them started to participate in it. Still today diaspora Somalis are active in the association and development projects by the diaspora Somalis have been implemented in Somalia through it. The first Somali association founded by the Somali diaspora in Finland was registered in 1992. (See also Tiilikainen & Mohamed 2013, 44.)

In general the membership base varies from associations with 30 members to one association with 900 members. Most associations are small, with less than 100 members, and they are completely based on voluntary work, not having salaried staff. However, there are a couple of examples of youth associations which are very well established and have developed into organizations which have paid staff, thus being NGOs rather than voluntary associations. In some cases when an association has managed to get significant external project funding, there might be a coordinator for running that project. Also, in some associations people are employed with allowances from the Finnish labour authorities. It is worth noting here that a voluntary nature and lack of paid staff are typical for most Finnish associations (Salamon & Sokolowski 2004, 41).

When looking at the official agenda of associations, a rough distinction can be made between so called community organizations and what can be called development project oriented organizations (Pirkkalainen 2010b; Pirkkalainen 2010a). The latter refers to those associations that have development activities as part of their official agenda. Some of these associations have received project funding from the NGO development unit of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA). Somali diaspora associations' activities in Somalia/Somaliland include support for a variety of beneficiaries such as orphans, farmers, unversities, schools and other educational institutions, and hospitals, including tuberculosis clinics and maternity clinics. Most projects are in the fields of basic services such as education and health.

According to the MFA, the first development project carried out by a Somali association received funding in 2000. In early 2013 there were 37 different development cooperation projects in Somalia/Somaliland financed by the Min-

[14] The study acknowledges that this level of activity of Somalis may also include participation in mosque activities, as the question on participation in associations included also religious associations, and notes that if participation takes part mainly within one's own ethnic community, its impact on integration is very different than when participating in associations outside the ethnic community (Castaneda et al. 2012).

istry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. Out of these, 22 projects were carried out by organizations having an active Somali or Somalis on their board. Ten Somali associations received finance for their projects in early 2013. The rest of the associations were either native Finnish development organizations or multicultural organizations having diaspora Somalis active in projects carried out in Somalia. In addition, a unique cooperative project run by three Somali associations has received finance (see more on this in section 4.2.3).

Associations having an official scope to their work in Finland can be called community organizations (see ibid.). These associations carry out projects on integration and multicultural issues, arrange language (Finnish and Somali), IT, and sports training, arrange multicultural events and seminars on Somalia/Somaliland, and engage in youth work and homework clubs.

Such classifications of the associations official agenda do not, however, recognize one of the key characters of Somali associations; when looking at their activities more widely, not limited to the official and reported activities, in most cases associations are simultaneously involved in activities concerning the Somali community in Finland (integration and multiculturalism) and development and humanitarian work in the country of origin (see also Kleist 2007). The development project oriented associations often also engage in activities in Finland, or if they do not have concrete activities in Finland usually the leader(s) of these associations are active in community matters in Finland. Many associations which officially function in Finland in integration and multicultural issues do engage also in the country of origin. As for these acitivites a lot of them are done purely with the funding of the associations' members and their transnational networks. These activities include support for health and education facilities, support for peace talks and reconciliation between different clans, and lobbying and information dissemination activities concerning Somalia/Somaliland in Finland. Some of the associations in Finland are in fact branches of transnational Somali associations – or started as branches of wider transnational organizations, which have later formalized their activities in Finland as voluntary associations. In these cases money pooling takes place internationally among members. In many cases these transnational relations are based on clan linkages, people coming from the same area pooling funds together to help their area of origin.

Many of these associations engaging in different places are mono-ethnic associations involving only people of ethnic Somali origin (see typology of migrant associations, Pyykkönen 2007). There are, however, several associations set up and maintained by Somalis, which can be classified as multi-ethnic organizations (see also Pirkkalainen 2010b, Pirkkalainen 2010a). In many cases these multi-ethnic associations are formed by youth and women. Somalis' associational involvement is not only confined to associations set up by themselves, but also extends to participation in native Finnish associations – both those working in Finland and those working in development cooperation in different parts of Somalia/Somaliland.

How are the Somali diaspora associations' activities funded? First, they collect membership fees and arrange fundraising activities. Some Somali associations in Finland have also accessed project based funding from the Ministry of Education for multicultural activities, from cities for activities in Finland relating, for example, to integration, and - as mentioned previously - from the MFA.

Many challenges remain related to running and administering associations. From the Somalis' point of view, bureacracy is one of the major challenges. In particular in the case of external project funding, there are specific and often demanding reporting and auditing requirements. Sometimes, as is the case of the MFA, a contribution from the NGO itself (in the MFA case 15% of the project budget) is required, which can pose challenges to associations.

Because of administrative issues and stiff competition, it is difficult to access funding for projects, and there seems to be a general lack of resources for implementing activities. Often the administrative capacity is in the hands of a few, or at times only one individual who has been trained in several courses on how to run associations and administer projects. Sometimes the people who have the knowledge move away, quit, or are too busy with other tasks. Organizational capacity, in other words, is often in the hands of individuals.

Challenges relate also to the lack of time. In general people active in associations are busy people, they have lots of other committments such as family and work and/or studying responsibilities, which makes it challenging to find enough time for associations. Multiple engagements in different levels also add to the challenges; making a change either in Somalia/Somaliland or in Finland requires a great deal of commitment and work over a long period of time.

Challenges remain also in motivating members to be committed to associations and in particular to motivate them to pay membership fees and contribute to fundraising. As will be seen in the following chapter, it is often up to the associations' leaders to motivate members and to show that the association is doing good and important work. Sometimes members get tired or loose trust in an association. There is also a general lack of money as many of the members are outside the labour market or unemployed.

From the funders' point of view, there is a related challenge, a lack of capacity to manage associations and projects according to the Finnish administrative procedures. The lack of capacity partly relates to claimed issues of mismanagement in Somali diaspora associations, which have gained some media attention[15]. Most of the claims of Somalis having misused money have been found in investigations relating to a lack of admininistrative capacity rather than an intended misuse of funds.

After this detailed description of the Somalis' associational field, I will turn to an analysis of their birth and evolvement, explaining what affects their

15 Some examples of this kind of media coverage are a documentary on the Somali League and its problems which was broadcasted on the Finnish TV channel, MOT (19.11.2012), and an article in Helsingin Sanomat on the development cooperation projects run by Somali associations (Helsingin Sanomat 11.12.2012).

functioning. This analysis is done with the help of the theory of fields, looking both the micro- and macroperspetives of Somali diaspora associations.

4.2 The Microfoundation of Somali Diaspora Associations

4.2.1 Leaders and their social skill

In this chapter the Somali diaspora associations in Finland are considered to be strategic action fields (SAF) in which Somali individuals interact with each other based on "the shared (which is not to say consensual) understanding about the purposes of the field, relationships with others in the field (including who has power and why), and the rules governing the legitimate action in the field" (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 9), and within which jockeying for position and status takes place.

Collective actors, such as voluntary associations, once formed function and develop through the individuals acting within them. From this perspective, voluntary associations can be conceptualized as fields for individual strategic action, within which individuals strive to achieve their personal visions and strive for positions (Sökefeld 2008, 65). Part of the invididuals' actions in voluntary associations are defined by the formal associations' rules, but they are never exhausted by these formal structures. "Interstitial practises", such as building networks and alliances, can become essential for a particular association and its faith, at times even subverting formal rules (Sökefeld 2008, 66).

Although the role of individual actors, often leaders, is important and inherent in all kinds of collective action, it is particularly important in defining long term function in the case of non-institutionalized collective actions (see e.g. Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 17). When Somalis arrived in Finland, they had no experience in voluntary associations as they came from the context of weak or non-existing institutions. Civil war had caused internal fragmentation which was reflected by causing competition among several small Somali associations in Finland. Still today some of these fragmentary lines are reflected in associations. It can be claimed that Somalis' associations are not (yet) well institutionalized in Finland and thus the role of individuals in associations is key in keeping the association functioning.

From the microperspective, following the theory of fields, the concept of "social skill" is helpful in analysing how individual Somalis in associations, most often the leaders of associations, affect the functioning of an association. "Social skill" in short means "the ability to induce cooperation by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities" (ibid., 46). Actors who are socially skilled can emphatically relate to other people's situtions and provide them reasons to cooperate, both within the group and vis-à-vis actors in broader field environments (ibid. 46). Social skill in the theory of fields emphasizes an actor's ability "to transcend individual and narrow group interests and to take the role of the other as a prerequisite for shaping a broader con-

ception of the collective rooted in an emergent worldview and shared identity" (see Mead & Morris 1934 as cited in Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 17-18). This view is not thus limited to the individuals' instrumental way of striving for his/her own interests, but considers "strategic action as inextricably linked to the distinctive human capacity and need to fashion shared meanings and identities to ensure a viable existential ground for existence" (ibid., 18). In other words, when people produce meanings for others, they also produce meanings for themselves. Skilled social actors are thus not striving for their narrow self interests, but focus on collective ends (ibid., 47).

How leaders in Somali diaspora associations use their social skill for cooperation is a key in explaining how and why certain associations evolve and others do not. Leaders need to secure the cooperation and find legitimacy with both the ordinary members within the association and the actors in external fields (see Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1217).

In these processes of legitimation gaining and collaboration forming, both the existential needs of people for shared meanings as well as instrumental interests, power and status are at play simultaneously, or are in fact "inextricably linked" (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 46). In practice in the case of Somali diaspora, the instrumental interests on the associational level are tied to gaining resources for associations. Access to resources is one of the key factors in making an association functional on a long term basis. However, resources are not limited only to funding, but include others such as networks and knowledge. According to my interview material there are two key interlinked elements in accessing resources: the first is to build the capacity of the association to meet the formal requirements of external project funding in Finland (see Pirkkalainen 2009, 81-83; Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1275) and the second is to form networks and coalitions from which to draw resources – either to directly raise funds, or, even more importantly, to gain knowledge and competence to build the capacity of the association (see Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1273).

As for the external actors, meaning the authorities in Finland in this case, in the process of forming cooperation it is important for leaders show openness not only exclusively towards their own ethnic community but also towards the authorities (Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1271-73). In other words, the type of social capital which leaders possess, whether it is bridging (referring to inclusive capital with institutions and actors outside the own ethnic group) or bonding (referring to exclusive capital within their own ethnic group), is key in explaining the processes of network building (see Putnam 2000, 22). In this process leaders learning the Finnish organizational culture and project management, which includes proper bookkeeping and reporting among other things, is one of the key aspects for an association to gain trust among authorities. As we stated in the article on associations' leaders (Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1271):

> Leaders using briding social capital seem better equipped for acting strategically as brokers, building bridges and bringing together actors not used to working together. In this way, they move their associations towards new forms of professionalism. These leaders seem capable of building trust among authorities and institutions in the countries of settlement.

Among the associations, leaders use their social skill to keep the members committed and motivated. Leaders' social skill is important in forming an association in terms of drawing people together by maintaining identity and interest based bonds. As long as leaders can serve the community and members, and deliver what the members need, they can maintain their power (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 110). A leader who can act as a broker and can convince others while not being driven by narrow self-interests can gain legitimacy and trust (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 52). However, if members see a leader striving for narrow self-interests, the legitimacy is soon gone and opposition arises.

There are remaining challenges related to the process of gaining a trusted position on one hand in the eyes of Somali community in Finland and on the other hand in the eyes of the officials in Finland. Claimed misuse of public funds by some associations in the past has "casted a slur" on other associations, and it takes time and effort for leaders to rebuild trust and to convince others that their association is "doing good work" and "functioning efficiently" (Pirkkalainen 2009, 84; Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 1275). Moreover, cases where members of associations have contributed towards a certain goal, which then has not been realized have raised criticism, and decreased trust towards associations and their leaders.

Leaders of Somali diaspora associations that are functiong on a more or less sustainable basis have several common charateristics that have contributed to their social skill. Socially skilled leaders have a capacity for multipositionality and networking, which enrich personal social capital and can be used in advancing the aims of associations. They also possess mediating capacity, referring to an ability to maintain relationships, develop a collaborative climate and solve conflicts within organizations (Pirkkalainen et al., 2013, 1272). These leaders possess a high level of education and social status, and are knoweledgeble about the language, culture and bureaucratical procedures of Finland. In fact, these attributes have helped them to get into a certain position in the society and in associations so that they can make use of their social skill. This is because, according to the theory of fields, "social skill may be a property of individuals, but the use of social skill is heavily constrained by the individuals' position in the field in question" (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 48). In the Somali case this means that in order to build collaboration, not only within one's "own community", but with native Finns, one needs to be integrated into the Finnish society and language in this regard is one of the key features.

Regarding collaboration on the basis of shared meaning and identity, in the case of Somali associations in Finland important issues are the fragmentation of the associational field as well as collaborations. Next, I am going into detail about the fragmentary lines of Somalis in Finland and then will explain the ways and mechanisms of collaboration which are carried out by skilled social actors through the usage of certain claims, identities and frames.

4.2.2 Associations as fields of fragmentation

Following the theory of fields, Somali diaspora associations are often constructed on a situational basis when actors define new issues and concerns, and use social skill to employ shared meanings and identities, depending on the situation at stake (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 10). Thus the associational field of Somalis in Finland is characterized both by fragmentation and collaboration. There are several Somali diaspora associations in Finland competing for the same resources and project money, but when it comes to the external "threat" or "call", they may come together to find a common voice based on a shared identity and interest which makes them able to collaborate to reach that certain end (ibid., 47). First I will go into detail regarding fragmentary lines, then I will explain the collaborative attempts of Somalis in Finland.

Fragmentation of the Somali community in Finland relates to several different issues touching on both the country of origin and of settlement. Many of the fragmentary lines have changed and been revised during the migration experience and process; and in fact they should be seen as dynamic and in continous "change" rather than essentialized factors and characteristics.

The most visible lines of fragmentation among the Somali community in Finland, which are reflected in associations, are clan, political vision of Somalia/Somaliland, generation, gender and different interpretations of Islam.

Clan refers to the patrilinear lineage system structuring kinship, which follow the father's line of descent (Lewis 1994; Bradbury 2008; Barnes 2006). Clan structure has been described as the principle of social organization in the Somali context, and defines Somalis relations to each others while providing an important source of identity. These genealogies are, however, not static forms, but change – form collaborations and divide in response to external or internal events. A persons' identification with a clan depends on the context and the issue at stake. (Bradbury 2008, 13.)

Anthropologist Ian M. Lewis has been the most influential writer on Somali culture and history since the 1950s. In his view the segmentary kinship system explains political dynamics in Somalia. However, this view has been criticized by other scholars as being too primordial and reductionist, and not taking into consideration other factors such as class, economic and political forces or individual agency (Bradbury 2008, 14; on different views on the clan system see for example Samatar 1989; Besteman & Cassanelli 2000).

Clans were manipulated by political elites in the civil war that broke out in Somalia in the late 1980s, and still today clans carry contested political meanings. During the war clan affiliations affected people's access to protection and resources, and after the state collapse, and due to lack of state institutions, clan structure has provided an alternative structure for governance (Bradbury 2008, 14-15).

I am here not analysing clan structure in detail, but instead focus on how clan is reflected in the Somali associations in Finland. In the Finnish context clan

in general is a tricky issue, as clan bears different meanings and discources depending on the "audience". In Finland, in discussions with native Finns, clans are often not discussed as Somalis perceive that Finns do not understand the meanings and significance of clan (Tiilikainen & Mohamed 2013, 44). This was indeed the case in many of my interviews, too. All interviewees claimed their association not to be based on clan, which in some cases may be true, but in other cases it was clear that they did not want to discuss the clan issue further. Partly due to this fact, and partly because I did not want to carry out detailed research on Somali clans, I do not have detailed information on the clan lineages of all interviewed people. However, in a few interviews people talked openly about the clan in relation to their association and their partners, and I could draw some general observations. Based on my interview material, I can argue that even if people do not intentionally organize around a certain clan, the clan has an indirect effect on mobilization (see also Kleist 2007, 169).

The clan issue came up in the interviews most explicitly when we talked about the engagement with the country of origin. Interviewees raised the importance of clan when talking about the development work in the area of origin; most of the interviewees, though not all, explicitly said they work in their clan areas because of safe access. They, however, raised arguments that they are not clan based because they have widened their networks to officials and native Finns. In some cases if the association carried out development activities in the area of their clan origin, they emphasized that beneficiaries of the project included members of other clans, too (Pirkkalainen 2009, 80).

When we talk about the clan, it is essential to distinguish the different meanings and discourses of it. Through this kind of approach, opening up what actually the meaning of clan is, we can understand better the role it plays in Somali diaspora associations. When we perceive it from the family and relatives' point of view, as an unit providing security to people and not as a political unit which has a role in civil war, it has a significant positive meaning to people – in the country of origin but also in the diaspora. Some even say that clan is more relevant for diaspora people (see e.g. Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011) and when the diaspora engage with the communities of origin, often at least the initial contacts and collaboration patterns are based on clan. These contacts are very important in the local context. Many of the interviewees however stated that they engage with the area of origin through clan linkages because that is the only way to do it safely given the reality in Somalia. In fact many criticize the diaspora and the fragmentation of Somalia and for that reason were not interested in taking part in politics in Somalia.

Sometimes tensioned belonging between "*u dhashay – ku dhashay*", being born to a clan and born in a place (Barnes 2006, 487) was evident in Somali diaspora associations when they engaged in development work in Somalia/Somaliland. Often certain places and regions in Somalia were accessed through the clan affiliations and in some cases those places were not the places of upbringing of the associations' activists in Finland. Many had been raised for

example in Mogadishu, from which they had fled during the civil war without ever actually living in the area of origin (of their clan).

Second, fragmentation can to some extent be seen in different visions and political alliances towards Somalia. The most burning issue coming up in my data was the status of the self-proclaimed independent Somaliland, which partly relates to the clan issue. It is important to note here that the political stances, alliances and visions are very dynamic and changing, far from static positions. In particular in the case of Somalia, where the changes in poltics and conflict are constant, and in particular as major changes in the governance of southern Somalia have taken place since I conducted interviews, the analysis of political stances and disagreements have to be situated a few years back, when the political climate in Somalia was different from that of today. The questions of political loyalties sometimes link to the clan issue through tensions between the clan origin and the place/region: – the tension between being born to a lineage and in a place (Kleist 2007, 171; Barnes 2006). For example, many belonging to the Isaaq clan are in favor of an independent Somaliland, but not all (see also Kleist 2007, 171).

Generation is the third line of fragmentation. Here generation relates to the migration process and the age when migrants left Somalia and settled in Finland. All of the interviewees in this research are first generation migrants, who were born in Somalia/Somaliland. Most of the interviewees moved from the country in early adulthood, but some as children and youth.

Different generations may have differing relations with and feelings towards the country of origin, as well as to their future in the country of settlement. These differences in turn are reflected in the types of associations youth – i.e. people who were either born in Finland or moved here as children - and older generations form. In Finland there are associations formed by Somali youth, which focus in particular on youth issues in Finland, but also on development projects focusing on youth in the country of origin. Often these organizations are not exclusively Somali associations, but include either board members of other immigrant groups, or activities directed to all immigrant youth, and not only Somalis.

Gender is the fourth line of fragmentation. The male dominance of formal Somali associations in Finland was observed. Most of the interviewees were men, and only a few women active in associations were interviewed. This reflects the reality that there are not that many very active and visible Somali women working in associations in Finland. This is also confirmed in the study on immigrants' health and wellbeing in Finland, which states that 82 per cent of Somali men respondents to the study are very active in participating in associational activities, whereas 53 per cent of women respondents are active in associations (Castaneda et al. 2012, 222)[16].

16 However, as the above figures state, women do participate, and in fact their level of activity can be even more significant when informal networks are taken into consideration. The general problem of focusing on formal associations is that one looses sight of the wider associational activities of women (Vermeulen 2006).

Nauja Kleist (2007, 165-66) similarly observed the male dominance of Somali associations in Denmark, noting that "the gender division might not be deliberate, in the sense of purposefully excluding women, but rather be a result of cultural and practical impediments which reinforce each other". This can be applied to the Finnish case, too.

Despite the quantitative male dominance, active Somali women exist in Finland. Often studies on diaspora activities focus on the male dominance of organizations and activities. Thus it is important to raise examples of successful diaspora women's activities, which at times may be far more successful in terms of publicity in the countries of settlement, even if few in number (Werbner 2002, 127). In general, in the traditional Somali culture, due to the clan structure and to some extent to religious views, women are not supposed to represent their clan, and in many Somali families women are thus regarded as having the role of taking care of household matters rather than getting organized outside the home. A few active Somali women in Finland have encounterd Somali male resistance to their activities in the public sphere, but it has not stopped them acting. In interviews it was observed that there are gendered patterns in organizing in terms of the type of networks they have been able to form. Women tend to form associations that stretch the membership and the focus of activities to other immigrants and often have wide networks among the native Finns. One possible explanation to this is that women's causes are more easily heard by Finns since Muslim women, for example in the media, can be represented as victims, and suitable targets for empathy, which in turn helps to mirror and reconstruct the view of egalitarian Nordic countries (Horsti 2013, 308; see also Horsti 2009; Werbner 2002).

Lastly, a few observations are drawn on religious fragmentation although in this research a detailed analysis on the religious convictions and elements in associations was not included as they were outside the scope of this research. In interviews, questions were asked regarding the religious aims of associations, but all associations claimed not to have religious aims. Religion was considered the personal issue of leaders and members not affecting the associations' functions as such. An interview was conducted with one person in the role of mosque's representative. In some other interviews I was aware of the association leaders' activity in the mosque, but the interview was conducted in the role of Somali associations' leader.

The majority of Somalis are Sunni Muslims. This is often considered to be a uniting "force" for Somalis. However, in particular in recent years, different religious interpretations and "levels of conviction" have been a growing source of disagreement due to the increasing influence of religious elements in the conflict in Somalia. This reflects the rise of political Islam as well as the spreading of the global jihad to Somalia, something which is not a Somali-grown ideology.

In Finland, some Somalis also participate in religious associations which are often linked to mosques in Finland. Mosques in Finland, in particular the Islamic Society of Finland, Rabita[17], served as an important space for the partici-

17 Formed in 1987 by Muslim students from several countries.

pation for Somalis before any associations were set up. A Somali was selected as an Imam of Rabita in the mid-1990s. Since the early 1990s, with an increasing number of different mosques in which Somalis are active and with the proliferation of Somali associations, the linkages between participation in mosques and associations have become complex and difficult to trace.

One of my key interviewees estimated that there are around ten voluntary Somali associations based on religion in Finland, but, as mentioned, among the associations interviewed in this research, none claimed to have religious aims. In some of the associations active individuals, leaders or other members of the board have a role in the administration of mosques. In this way religion can affect associations even if there are no direct and official religious aims. In some cases different religious convictions and views have contributed to disagreements over what associations can do.

There are several mosques in the Helsinki metropolitan area of Finland which Somalis attend. The most popular among Somalis are Helsinki Islamic Centre, Islamic Society of Finland, and Islamic Rahma Center. All the mosques are multi-cultural/ethnic and not exclusively for Somalis, although in some mosques Somalis form the majority of board members. According to interviewees there are differences in religious ideology, some following the Quran more strictly than others. In interviews people gave different evaluations on whether clan lineage mattered when people choose which mosque they go to. Some perceived certain mosques being occupied by certain clans, for example through the Imam's clan, but others perceived clan as having little influence.

The rise of radical Islamist group(s) in the Somali conflict and the radicalization of the youth, both in the diaspora and in Somali regions, were issues that came up in the interviews. Recruitment of youth by terrorist groups is a great concern for Somali diaspora associations in Finland, and many associations are taking concrete actions to prevent it. Moreover, Somali diaspora associations working in development and humanitarian fields in Somalia are being threathned by Al-Shabab – defined as a terrorist group by Western states. The diaspora Somalis consider this a major security concern. Religious elements in the conflict of Somalia and in particular the rise of radical Islamists have resonance in Finland and affect diaspora Somalis in terms of the fear of terrorist and the labeling ordinary muslims (see more on this in section 4.3.1.). In Finland this issue came to the forefront in particular in 2011 when for the first time ever two persons of Somali origin were arrested for sending money to Al-Shabab. However, suppor for Muslim radicalism from Finland is a very marginal, individual level phenomenon, as a report released by the Ministry of Interior on violent extremism states (Ministry of Interior 2013)[18]. The report states further that supporters of radical Islamist groups often direct their activities not towards Finland but towards raising funds for these organizations and recruiting members from

[18] The report concludes that the threat of violence caused by organized extreme Islamist groups is minimal in Finland, and that in Finland radical Islamism is an individual-level phenomenon concerning some individuals, but not groups belonging to a certain ethnic group.

among the diaspora. There have also been cases of people, often youth, who have travelled to take part in conflicts among the groups of radical Islamists. This could possibly pose a threat to the general security in Finland; upon arrival back to Finland they might have gained an increasingly anti-western view of world, gained networks and skills for performing terrorist acts or have been traumatized so that it becomes easier for them to engage in ideological extremist violence in Finland (Ministry of Interior 2013).

Somali diaspora associations have often been accused of driving the particular interests of the leaders' own clan and for being tools for gathering resources for certain clans. In some interviews some women claim men to be striving for their own interests. And the same holds true to other lines of fragmentation. In line with the theory of field, all these aspects of Somalis' lives provide them possible sources of identity, and organizing in Finland around these particular identities brings them not only, or often not any, instrumental or material rewards, but fulfills the function of the existential need to be part of something larger. Despite the various lines of fragmentation, Somalis in Finland engage in various forms of collaboration, to which I turn now.

4.2.3 Associations as fields of collaboration

Collaborative forms of collective action transcending fragmentary lines are made possible, in the first place, by skilled social actors who produce meanings and identities based on wider interests and identities and not on particularistic identities. In the case of the fragmented group of migrants, it is often also facilitation by the settlement country authorities of this kind of umbrella type of organization which strengthens collaborative organizations (see also Horst 2013, 7). Somalis in Finland strategically form collaborations and strive for neutrality and unity concerning development work in the country of origin, for example, as they believe this brings them legitimacy in the eyes of authorities. And as will be seen, it often indeed does so. Thus, collaborative organizations in the Somali case in Finland are both born of and sustained by the simultaneous interplay between individuals' strategic action and broader field environment, in other words, certain kinds of opportunities. I am elaborating these issues further by presenting two examples of collaborations among Somalis.

Different fragmentary lines do not automatically mean a lack of collaboration, but they do affect it by adding hindrances in particular to finding a common voice among Somalis in Finland. Fragmentation of associational life may, in the end, diminish public recognition of Somalis in Finland (see also Kleist 2007; Hopkins 2006). Fragmentation of the Somali community in Finland affects the ways many small Somali associations function. For example, competition among associations over limited resources, especially when they have relatively similar goals, hinders the development of associations.

Somalis active in associations are very aware of the downsides of fragmentation, and thus many work towards community cohesion. In fact, some of the interviewees stated that now the generation of Somalis leading the associations has changed – or is changing, and that for the new generation of leaders and

activists collaboration is easier as clan relations can be left in the background, and claims can be framed around wider issues and around wider identities – such as Somalis in Finland, a minority in Finland or humanitarian workers.

The first example is the umbrella organization for Somalis in Finland, the Somali League. The formation of this organization dates back to the 1990s, when Somalis started the process of creating an umbrella body which would serve a mediating function between the Finnish authorities and the Somali community[19]. In particular in the early 1990s, the fragmentation within the Somali community made it challenging for authorities to know whom to talk to. The Somali League in Finland was formed officially in 1996, but the planning of an umbrella body took place for a few years before the actual formation of the organization by some active Somalis in the community who wanted to help the Somali voice be heard in society and bring all numerous small, often sub-clan based associations under one umbrella.

In the formation and maintenance of the Somali League the driving force has been to overcome fragmentation to find a common voice vis-à-vis the external field of the Finnish state and authorities. Here identities have been formed around Somalis in Finland as a minority, but the process is ongoing and under constant changes as the organization suffers from continuos internal disagreements. To some extent the situation, because of the prevailing fragmentation, is still characterized by the issue of representation; authorities not knowing always with whom to engage, whom to listen to and consult with as the community is fragmented along various different lines.

The leaders' ability to reconcile and negotiate between different groups and people with differing interests is a key in making an organization functional. In the Somali League the leader, in practise the chair of the board, is required to have excellent social skill including mediating capacity to frame issues and claims so that they get approval from the Somali community, in other words to gain legitimation between different groups within the community which in this case consists of very different interests. Leading this kind of umbrella organization is very difficult task, as so many disagreements and differing particularistic identities exist. Also in this case, a good leader is one who is not being driven by his/her own particular interests but by the community's interest.

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19 Currently there are also ongoing discussions about the possibility of forming an advisory board for Somali issues in Finland for the purpose of mediating between the community and the authorities. The Advisory Board idea stems from the Somalis themselves as they are concerned with certain problems remaining in the community. The Ministry of Interior had set up an expert group consisting of Somalis, Finnish authorities in the integration and immigration field as well as representatives of native Finnish associations which met several times and discussed issues relating to the Somali community in Finland. The most burning concerns in these debates were, for example, how to take into account the differing needs of different age groups, such as Somali youth, the smaller, but rising ageing Somali population, mothers who take care of children at home and others whose Finnish skills are not that good, problems of employment and the issues of participation in Finland. The Ministry of Employment and the Economy will continue inviting representatives of this discussion group to forums tackling the issues regarding integration, but no exact plans regarding the forming of an Advisory Board have yet been made.

The second example of an umbrella type of organization in Finland is the Finnish Somalia Network, which focuses on development cooperation in Somali regions. This network was set up in 2004 by Somali associations and native Finnish associations involved in development work in different parts of Somalia/Somaliland. It is a unique network compared to those in other countries, consisting of 34 member organisations in 2013. It was coordinated until 2010 by a large native Finnish development NGO, and got funding from the MFA between 2005-2010. In 2010 a native Finnish person was employed as executive director of the Network. This can be seen as a strategy to strengthen the credibility of the Network in the eyes of the external actors, meaning authorities and other actors in development cooperation, as well as to increase neutrality among member organizations.

The Network was formed in order to increase the exchange of information between different associations working in Somalia as well as to increase trust between actors. Moreover, the Network also provides capacity building for associations. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (MFA) has recognized the important role of the Network which in a way "manages" the Somali associations, and in particular raises the capacity of associations for writing good quality proposals and for managing projects. Thus it can be seen as carrying a mediating function between the authorities at the MFA and Somali associations.

A challenge in the Network, in particular at the beginning, has been the trust between members so that they could cooperate: There has been for example misunderstandings and disagreements regarding the purpose of the Network, on the use of money, and on the leadership, which circulates between member associations. The voluntary work nature of the Network is also a challenge; how to develop such a new form of collaboration and organiaation if it is based on voluntary work. Moreover, not all interviewees belonged to the network and some questioned its usefulness (Pirkkalainen 2009, 80).

As for the strategies used to form collaboration, Somalis active in the Network re-frame the issue of clan, the most important fragmentary line among the associations in the Network, so that they emphasize collaboration and downplay the issues that are known to add to fragmentation. In the Finnish Somalia Network, in order to do cooperation, Somali politics and clans related to politics are kept out of the agenda and the collaboration is done on the basis of associations being actors in the humanitarian and development fields. When the Network is arranging seminars relating to Somalia/Somaliland, it is agreed that they be centered around issues of development and not politics.

This partly relates to the negative image of clan and politics in Somalia which are associated with conflict. In all of the interviews with activists in Somali associations in Finland it was emphasized that the association was not politically oriented. Humanitarian and development discources were used in framing the activities of associations, and they were distinguished explicitly from Somali politics. Also the discourses of clan are related to the politics of Somalia, and the emphasis of interviewees about their associations not being based on clan can be understood from this perspective. Here the specific situa-

tion of Somalia must be mentioned and politics and clan issues must be understood in that light. The years of dictatorship, the state collapse and the prolonged civil war have caused Somali politics to often be associated with corruption and violence; warlords becoming politicians and clan linegages being "used" in politics. Thus it is understandable that the distinction between dirty and violent warlords business and politics are distinguished from civic, humanitarian activities. (See also Kleist 2007, 203.)

Downplaying the meaning of clan as related to politics and conflict and perceiving it from the family point of view as providing safety nets to people and access to certain areas of the country of origin was done strategically so that there would be room for different kinds of collaborations both with the native Finns and their organizations as well as with other Somali associations.

The discources on the diaspora as educated with skills, knowhow and experience on the democratic states was also used by some of the key actors in associations. In this way they distanced themselves from clan politics, and thought of themselves as being part of something wider; the worldwide community of educated Somali diaspora which could bring about peaceful change in Somalia (see also ibid., 207). People who considered themselves educated, intellectual people also positioned themselves in Finland as a group of people who are trying to downplay internal disagreements and find a common Somali voice.

A practical sign of success in forming collaboration within the Network is funding from the MFA in 2012 for a collaborative development project carried out in the three different areas of Somalia by three different Finnish based Somali associations. The realization of the collaborative project in three locations of Somalia is telling when it comes to increasing openness and trust among Somali associations.

In both of these examples the development of umbrella associations relates not only to the technical learning process of bureacratic measures, meaning that the evolvement is not only up to access to external funding, but also to the actors ability to form alliances and cooperation using certain discourse by framing claims around non-contentious themes.

4.2.4 Agency, positioning and power in the transnational perspective

In practice many Somalis active in associations participate in different kinds of associational activities towards different goals simultaneously: in associations functioning in development cooperation work in the country of origin, and in associations functioning in Finland. Often times, active Somalis in umbrella type of associations framing causes and issues around 'the Somaliness' in Finland are also engaging in more particularistic identity based associations engaged in development work in the area of origin.

This relates to the question of simultaneous, transnational participation, positioning and power which are bound by structures. Somalis in Finland, when engaging in different types of associations, show a strong level of agency and strategic action. But it is the structures that determine what kind of action is

possible and makes sense. Thus, the positions they occupy in different fields, namely in Finland and Somalia/Somaliland, has an effect on how they enact their capacity for agency. To a varying degree, Somalis in Finland are able to try to improve their situation as a minority in Finland and as actors in development cooperation, but action depends on their position within the structures (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 49).

When Somalis in Finland participate in voluntary associations, they have in mind manifest functions and meanings, referring to those that are intended and also recognized by participants. But when participating, there are also latent functions, meaning non-intended functions which are not recognized by participants as such, but which can be observed by the researcher, for example (Sills 1968, 372). David Sills (ibid.) distinguishes functions for individuals into these two categories by defining the functions of satisfaction of sociability, service, political action or recreation as manifest functions of associations. As latent functions he defines training in organizational skills and social integration. Social integration according to Sills refers to voluntary associations serving the similar integrative functions that "primary groups" serve, such as family and neighbourhood (ibid., 373), which is similar to the notion of the exisential need of social according to the theory of fields. Training in organizational skills, meaning those skills that an individual needs to be able to function efficiently in an organization, is another latent function of associations. He states "the more fragmented the organisational structure is, the more individuals are trained" (ibid., 374). In practise, when Somalis are trained to serve as leaders in associations, they at the same time can latently advance their careers in Finnish society by getting skills needed in that context. Associational engagement can facilitate, for example, the direct political participation of individuals. In some cases associations' leaders are active in politics in Finland at the local level, and in those cases it is rather clear that networks gained within associations are useful in the political career of individuals (see also Mezzetti 2008, 22).

Recognising these multiple meanings for individuals helps us understand from one angle the large number of Somali associations. One latent meaning of associational involvement in the Somali case relates to social status.

Regarding participation of immigrants in the county of settlement, labour market participation is seen as key in achieving integration. As was seen earlier, unemployment is an issue in particular for refugee communities in Finland, and Somalis in Finland have not been very succesful in accessing labour markets. Among the interviewees of this research, most of the leaders of associations were working, but rarely in occupations for which they had been initially trained. Many of them had found employment in ethno-specific jobs. In this marginalized position in the labor market, voluntary associations have the function of serving as a compensatory mechanism for the lack of other forms of participation (see also Kleist 2007, 190; Mezzetti 2008, 180). In particular Somali men, many of them which have high education levels and possibly also had a high level position in the country of origin before the civil war, have experienced a significant loss of social status in Finland (see also Kleist 2007, 231).

Moreover, because of the negative perceptions of Somalis in Finland as a group difficult to integrate and a security threat, and because of being perceived as a homogeneous collectivity which eclipses the individuality and agency of Somalis, the situation of Somalis in Finland is affected by social subordination which hinders their full inclusion and participation (see also Kleist 2007, 234). By engaging in voluntary associations in Finland Somalis can gain recognition, social esteem and restore their individuality (ibid, 235).

This restoring of social status does not refer only to the instrumental use of associations, but more to the existential grounds of humans who need fashioning of shared meanings and identities. Voluntary associations can provide fields to fashion these meanings and identities. (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 18.)

However, even if the theory of fields, by emphasizing agency and strategic action describes well the involvement of Somalis in voluntary associations in Finland, it does not take into account explicitly the issues of class, ethnicity, racism or other factors that might be sources of inquality in a society. In the case of Somalis in Finland, although I am emphasizing their agency and strategic action in this research, I am also maintaining the view that this immigrant minority is in a marginalized position in Finnish society as problems remain in finding employment. In the Finnish context, being a productive citizen is considered the most valuable form of participation in society and thus provides an easy way to gain societal recognition (see also Kleist 2007, 235). Voluntary work through associations is often not recognized as being productive work, thus participation through them does not provide the kind of societal recognition gained from employment. Therefore, involvement in associations produces group-specific recognition rather than larger societal recognition. (Kleist 2007, 236.)

As already stated several times, voluntary associations in Finland have also become a means to participate transnationally in the country of origin, thus raising important questions on simultaneous positioning in different locations as well as on the interlinkages between integration in the country of settlement and transnational activities. I am arguing that voluntary associations set up by Somalis in Finland "materialize" the diaspora identity, and indeed leaders at times employ the diaspora identity, in other words the responsibility of people towards their community in the country of origin, when mobilizing people to support the association and its activities in the country of origin. Voluntary diaspora associations are one of the ways to stay in touch with the community in the country of origin, and to fulfil moral obligations towards relatives and communities in Somalia/Somaliland (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 57; see also Kleist 2007, 223-224; 268). In practice, this has been realized through development cooperation in the areas of origin. Many Somalis have in fact started their diaspora engagement well before formalizing their activities. It is partly the desire to gain more resources and external funding that have led many Somalis to formalize associations in Finland and to apply for project funding (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 55). Diaspora Somalis who can contribute remittances and also services to Somalia/Somaliland are most easily given recognition among

locals. This can relate to the social status of individual Somalis in Finland by providing a meaningful role as important humanitarian actors.

There is a wide range of literature tackling the question on the relation between integration into the country of settlement and transnational activities. Some of the older studies claim that transnational ties and identities hinder integration (see e.g. Lamm & Imhoff 1985; Huntington 2004), whereas many of the more recent studies argue that there is no contradiction between them. On the contrary, they can facilitate each other (see e.g. Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; see below). It has been stated that context specific studies are needed in order to fully understand the relationship between the two (see e.g. Joppke & Morawska 2003). In addition, the relationship depends on the type of transnational activities, such as political or non-political transnationalism, and the type of incorporation. These relations are complex, making it impossible to claim whether all forms of transnationalism hinder or foster integration in the country of settlement (see ibid.; see also Erdal & Oeppen 2013). In the Somali case several studies have confirmed the mutual reinforcment between integration into the country of settlement and transnational activities (see e.g. Kleist 2007; Hammond 2013a).

In my research, the question of relations between integration and transnationalism centres around the structures and positions in the country of settlement, as the position of a person in the country of settlement affect the resources that can be drawn on for engagement. Even if in general Somalis are not in high positions in labour and political arenas in Finland, still those individuals who are active in associations and engage transnationally are among the most advantaged. Transnational engagement requires resources, in particular on the organizational level, and if a person is completely marginalized in Finland, constructive contribution to the country of origin is rarely possible. Moreover, virtually all of the interviewees were also active in community issues in Finland, indicating simultaneous involvement and mutual reinforcement. In fact, to make an association functional in Finland, leaders need knowledge of the bureaucratic system of Finland, as well as contacts, networks and an ability to frame the claims of an association so that it receives legitimation. These are aspects that need already a certain level of integration into the society, and for many aquiring these has been a long learning processes, eventually supporting even further integration to Finnish society.

While this is true for people active in associations, the case may be different at the individual level, when people who have a marginal position in Finland and are poor and not active in organizational activities might still need to remit money to their relatives. In these cases transnational involvement may become a burden rather than an asset facilitating integration.

Some of the marginalized people, when overwhelmed by these burdens, may feel that they have no control over their lives and future. Moreover, transnational engagement may not always be centred around contributions to development, neither is it always voluntary. There are also diaspora people suffering from various mental and/or drug problems who have even engaged in criminal

activities in the countries of settlement and who are then sent by relatives to rehabilitate in the country of origin. This is the so called failed diaspora (Tiilikainen 2011), which is consided a burden in both locations: in the country of origin and of settlement.

4.3 The Macrofoundation of Somali Diaspora Associations: The Broader Field Environment

All strategic action fields are part of the broader field environment (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 18), which affects the field in question. In this research Somali diaspora associations are functioning within two broader field environments, Finland and Somalia/Somaliland, which themselves consist of many fields. In this chapter I am presenting the context in both locations which affects Somali diaspora associations, and analysing how the contexts affect Somali diaspora associations. States in the theory of fields are understood as specific kinds of fields, which have the legitimate authority to enforce laws and monitor the non-state fields (ibid., 206). However, in my research I am paying close attention to the specific, context related dynamics between the state and non-state fields and analysing how the different contexts of Finland and Somalia/Somaliland simultaneously affect Somali diaspora associations. When analysing field relations, I am paying attention to whether links between the Somali diaspora associations and the state field in Finland and in Somalia/Somaliland are characterized by dependency or reciprocity/cooperation (ibid., 59; 80). The field approach helps in understanding state structures as dynamic, and field relations as being maintained by actors with social skill (ibid., 80).

In the first part of the chapter, the state field of Finland is presented. The state field of Finland is understood as consisting of a corporatist polity regime and the fields of immigrant integration and development cooperation – which both consist of policies and discourses that are relevant to Somali diaspora associations.

In the second part of the chapter, the field of Somalia/Somaliland is presented through a glance over its colorful history focusing in particular on the relation between the state and civil society followed by an analysis of how the context affect the Somali diaspora's engagement in their areas of origin.

4.3.1 The state field of Finland

Finland: A country of voluntary associations

Polity regime models address the different dimensions of the relations between the state and civil society. In these models (see e.g. Soysal 1994; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001) Finland is defined as corporatist, meaning that the state encourages collective organizing as the main channel for political incorporation, and provides support for associations with which public institutions can then

negotiate. Finland is also defined as non-statist, referring to the political culture which is centred around the idea of a self-governing society, being autonomous from the state and the principle locus of public life (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001). According to Evan Schofer and Marion Fourcade-Gourinchas (ibid., 823), statism constrains associational activity, and corporateness facilitates it (see also Blom and Siisiäinen 1992). Thus Finland provides an optimal context for associational activities. In Finland the particularity of associational activity is the high number of registered voluntary associations: Between 1919 and 2006 more than 170 000 associations were registered in Finland, out of which estimated 80 000-90 000 were active in 2009 (Siisiäinen 2009). Since 2009 many more associations have been registered making the total number of associations nowadays estimated something around 100 000. In Nordic welfare states, Finland included, civil society organizations are characterized by voluntary work and non-paid staff (Salamon & Sokolowski 2004, 41).

In the context of this corporatist polity regime, bureaucracy and procedures are well in place defining the forms of collective action through voluntary associations. Associations have their base in the Associations Act (503/1989, last amended 2010), which was first formed in 1919. The new act came into power in 1989 and was last amended in 2010. Thus, Somali diaspora associations in this context as voluntary associations have formalized structures defining the field relations (see also Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 64).

In this case Somalis in Finland interact, make allies and cooperate with authorities in Finland through registered voluntary associations. When Somalis form voluntary associations in Finland they enter the existing fields of immigrant integration and development cooperation as new actors. They thus need to adapt existing rules and procedures in order to manage in these fields. In fact, the organization and mobilization of Somalis has not always, and still is not always, taking place within the formal structures of Finland. Many associations I interviewed started their activities by informally fundraising for communities in need in Somalia/Somaliland and sending these collective remittances to areas of origin. Later, for different reasons, some relating to increasing suspicions regarding sending money to Somali regions, some relating to the desire to attract external funding for development activities, these activities have been formalized in Finland as registered voluntary associations.

In the following chapters I look more in detail the linkages between Somali diaspora associations and the specific state fields of immigrant integration and development cooperation.

The field of immigrant integration

In this chapter the policies and laws on immigration issues will be briefly described, with a special focus on the policy of integration which will be presented more in detail. In Finland these policies form the field of immigrant integration, which defines the opportunities for participation for migrants in Finland. In addition to concrete policies, discourses about immigration issues are also considered relevant aspects of this field in Finland, which at times conflict with

the official policies thus adding to the challenges for Somalis associational activities.

Policies

The field of immigration policies in Finland is rather new compared to many other European countries, which is due to a relatively short history of immigration. Until the 1980s, Finland was a country of emigration (labour migration from Finland to Sweden, Australia and North America) and it never experienced large-scale labour immigration. Ethnic relations until 1990 pertained to old minorities: the Swedish-speaking minority, the Sami people, and smaller cultural minorities such as the Roma, Jews and Muslim Tartars. These old minorities were hardly visible in the wider society and hardly recognized as distinct entities. The number of foreign citizens in Finland was very small until the 1980s. During the 1980s, migration patterns changed when more foreign citizens migrated to Finland and the attention towards forming policies on immigration rose. (Wahlbeck 1999; Saukkonen 2007.)

Since then laws and policies to deal with increasing diversity and immigration have been enacted. The first law in this regard was The Aliens Act (400/83), which came into force for the first time in 1983, and which has since been amended in 1991, 2004 and 2010.

The rights of foreign citizens were restricted until the mid-1990s as basic rights belonged only to Finnish citizens, and even the freedom of association and assembly of foreigners was restricted. In 1995 basic rights including the protection of assests and the right for association and assembly were guaranteed to all residents in Finland, not only citizens. (Makkonen & Koskenniemi 2013, 76.) Thus foreign citizens do have rights, although not as wide as Finnish citizens. Foreigners' entry into and residence in Finland can be restricted by legislation, and only Finnish citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote in national elections. Depending on the type of residence permit, foreigners have, however, the right to vote in municipal elections. Statutory provisions can be set for access to various public services, such as social welfare and health care services. Depending on the type of the residence permit, foreigners can access public services, such as social welfare and health care, and can work in Finland. Foreigners legally resident in Finland have the right to move freely in the country and to choose their place of residence. A foreigner may not be deported, extradited or returned to another country if he or she is in danger of a death sentence, torture or other treatment violating human dignity in that country.

As seen, the question of citizenship relates to the openness of different forums for participation in the country of settlement. Thus laws on citizienship are of relevance here. Laws on citizenship and their changes reflect the society and its political values: In Finland the citizenship laws of 1968 and before were very general, lacking exact requirements for obtaining citizenship and perceiving dual-citizenship negatively (Makkonen & Koskenniemi 2013, 76). The Na-

tionality Act of 1 June 2003 (359/2003) in turn is much better defined and allows dual citizenship. The Nationality Act was most recently amended in 2011 and the changes included a shorter residential period requirement.

Another important law governing the rights of migrants is Non-Discrimination Act (21/2004), which obligates authorities to promote non-discrimination in all their acts and includes a wide ban on discrimination (Makkonen & Koskenniemi 2013, 77).

A specific law directing integration issues is the Act of Integration (493/1999), which was adopted for the first time in 1999. It has since been amended a number of times, the last time in 2011. One of the main aims of the law is to encourage migrants to adopt the main characteristics of Finnish culture, while maintaining their own culture, language and religion.

The Finnish government adopted a migration policy programme in 2006, which set an active immigration policy for the first time in Finland's history. This programme aims to increase participation of immigrants in Finnish society, focusing in particular on labour market participation. This programme states that not only asylum seekers and refugees need support in integration matters, but also other migrants. In order to implement this programme, the Act of Integration needed to be amended, which was, as already mentioned, realized in 2011. (Saukkonen 2013, 95.)

There is a range of actors in this field of immigrant integration whose responsibilities have been changing over time, making the field unstable. Integration matters in Finland have been taken care of cross-administratively: the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, and Ministry of Employment and the Economy all have roles in it (Saukkonen 2013, 93). There have been changes in responsibilities regarding integration policies, the main responsibility being either in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the Ministry of Employment and the Economy or the Ministry of Interior. Currently, integration issues are handled by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy. Immigration issues – other than those integration related - are the Ministry of Interior's responsibility. Multicultural issues are also dealt with in the cultural policy. The Ministry of Education is responsible for that policy area, however it does not have any specific division for issues concerning ethno-cultural diversity. In general the Ministry of Education deals with affairs relating to education, sports, youth, and culture. (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008, 55.) The local level is also important in immigrant integration issues, because the cities/municipalities are free to decide how they implement integration policy in practice (ibid, 56).

Compared to other European countries, the integration policy of Finland (together with Sweden) is the "most multicultural". Its main strength is specific laws safeguarding immigrants and minorities from discrimination and providing rights and good opportunitites for political participation (Tolley 2011; Huddleston et al. 2011).

Finnish multicultural policy has supported minorities' aims by recognizing their linguistic, cultural and religious specificities while supporting their

integration into Finnish society. In practice this has meant public allowances and offering venues or other resources. Moreover, the openness of authorities has created specific channels for influence, such as the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO), and the Islamic council of Finland (SINE), which have been set up for the purpose of helping minorities' voices be heard in society and policy making.

The Act on Integration emphasized already in 1999 the role of immigrants own networks in the integration process. After that, new associations focusing on integration issues were established and many other migrant associations have taken integration issues as part of their official agenda since this law (Pyykkönen & Martikainen 2013, 288). In the amended Act of Integration, there was even more focus on the role of immigrant associations, and it was stated that immigrant, religious and labour associations can take part in the defintion, implementation and monitoring of Integration programmes. Even more emphasis was put on the associations as forums of participation and thus as a channel to integrate into Finnish society in the first ever Government Integration Programme for 2012–2015, based on the Act of Integration, which defines the following integration routes: learning language (Finnish or Swedish), receiving training and finding a job. Being active in organizations, local politics and having hobbies are considered to making integration into Finnish society easier (Ministry of Employment 2012).

These policies provide good opportuntities for immigrants to form associations. On the one hand in Finland voluntary associations are regarded as important "tools" to continue, maintain and define the culture and language, as well as the religion of origin (Pyykkönen & Martikainen 2013, 283), and on the other hand as facilitating integration to Finnish society. The roles of immigrant associations of providing activities in line with the integration programme and of furthering multiculturalism in Finland open up some – although limited - funding opportunities for associations.

However, how these policies are turned into concrete actions is another story. One of the largest challenges is how communes and cities, which are responsible for implementing the integration policies, are able to implement them with rather modest resources from the central administration. It has been stated that the resources available do not match the real needs. (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008, 60.) Even if the official policies in Finland are multicultural, emphasizing the maintenance of the original culture and language as well as integration into Finnish culture and language, in reality activities can be seen as the "assimilation" of migrants into the Finnish system. In practice, for example, the maintenance of the language and culture of origin is in the hands of immigrants' own associations with very little resources (Saukkonen 2013, 97).

External project funding from different units of Ministries or municipalities often has no specific quota for migrant associations, but migrant associations compete with other associations. Thus it is often difficult to obtain funding for Somali associations since the complex bureaucratical system and requirements are not easy to learn (Pirkkalainen 2009, 83; Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 10).

To this end, a few capacity building measures have been put in place in Finland, and they have helped some associations to build their capacity and thus access the external funding (ibid., 21).

According to Alexis de Tocqueville (1951), the basis for political participation in democratic societies is created in civil society, and voluntary associations can be important catalysts for participation. Following Tocqueville's idea, Robert Putnam (2000, 338) has claimed that associations carry a role as "schools of democracy", in which people can learn and practise democratic participation, and that participation in associations develops cooperation skills and solidarity (see also Sills 1968). From this perspective involvement in associations for Somalis can be a learning process about how one can influence issues in the Finnish political system, and from the authorities' point of view participation through associations can facilitate integration into the wider society.

In this regard it is worth noting that not all kinds of immigrant associations necessarily serve the integrative function. In previous studies on migrant associations from the point of view of their contribution to political participation in the country of settlement, the engagement in ethnic based associations and its effect on integration is contested (Morales 2011; Fennema & Tillie 1999; Tillie 2004; Fennema 2004). In these studies it has been claimed that cross ethnic associations, those that possess bridging social capital, can serve the function of facilitating integration to the country of settlement, whereas ethnic associations based on bonding social capital do not carry that integrative function (Giugni & Morales 2011, 269).

The role of the Finnish authorities in facilitating the formation of immigrant associations in order to negotiate and ultimately govern migrant groups has been prevalent in the Somali case. In interviews it came up that in the early 1990s Finnish authorities in cultural and integration fields were prompting Somalis to form associations so that they could have influence regarding the issues related to them. For some interviewed Somalis, this was seen as one of the primary reasons why there are so many separate associations in Finland. When Somalis arrived in Finland in the early 1990s, authorities advised Somalis to get organized. But as Somalis were not familiar with the Finnish "meaning" of associations, and as clan lineage fragmentation was prominent because of the recent experience of civil war in Somalia, the formation of associations went along clan lines and many separate Somali associations were formed. The initial idea of the officials was probably to have a good partner to negotiate with and to support the integration of Somalis. (Pirkkalainen et al. 2013, 14.)

Perceived from the governing point of view, immigrants establishing their associations and pledging some degree of loyalty to their country of settlement creates migrant groups easier to monitor than innumerable individuals (Sheffer 2006, 127). In the Finnish case it has been argued by Miikka Pyykkönen (2007, 122) that immigrant associations form an important field of cooperation with administration in which liberal goverance techniques can be applied. These cooperation patterns between associations and administration diminish the inter-

vening role of the state in the lives of migrants, and activate migrants to take responsibility for their lives.

The relations between Somali diaspora associations and the officials administering integration matters are characterized both by aspects of hierarchy and cooperation. Voluntary associations are dependent on this policy field when it comes to resources, and authorities define priorities in funding, in other words what kind of activities are funded. But authorities also need these associations in terms of gaining important information about the Somali matters in Finland for the purposes of implementing efficient integration policies and practices, as well as for governing purposes. In this regard, it is hoped that migrant associations implement policies as partners, that thus that the relations are partly characterized by reciprocity (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 59-60).

Discourses

Aside from policies, the prevailing discourses on immigration issues are also importantly defining the broader field environment in Finland. Even when all forums of participation are open for Finnish citizens and non-discrimination is guaranteed by a separate law, the attitudes of people and authorities, which are related to prevailing discourses, can hinder the full participation of people with migration backgrounds and thus affect the way Somali diaspora associations function in Finland, particularly in terms of them finding networks and allies to support their activities and claims. Koopmans et al. (2005, 19) argue that "discoursive constructions have important consequences both for the self-definition of migrants and for the identities and aims of other collective actors who mobilise against or in support of them". These "discursive opportunities determine which collective identities and demands and have a high likelihood to gain visibility in the mass media, to resonate with the claims of other collective actors, and to achieve legitimacy in the public discourses" (ibid.).

Somalis have been among the groups of immigrants who have faced racism the most (Janiskaja-Lahti et al. 2002). Somalis, as a visible group of migrants in Finland, have at times been targets of the cultural racism[20] (Puuronen 2011, 57), which explains social problems with ethnicity and culture. In this way the discourse prevents seeing structural and political reasons for problems (Puuronen 2011, 21), and presents people of immigrant origin as "prisons of their culture" (Huttunen 2012, 11). This is seen clearly in particular on the internet (in blogs and social media) in which "immigrant critiques" (*maahanmuuttokriittiset*) have been very active, and is also reflected to some extent in the wider media such as TV and printed media.

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[20] Vesa Puuronen (2011, 62) has distinguished between different forms of racism: old racism, which is an ideology based on a hierarchy of people according to race in a biological sense; new racism, which means an ideology according to which people can be distinguished in hierchial groups following their cultural traits; institutional racism, referring to institutional practices and norms which discriminate certain ethnic or cultural groups; and everyday racism, meaning the discriminative practices putting people in a different position and showing their inferiority.

Somalis gained media coverage from the beginning of the arrival of the first asylum seekers in the late 1980s. At that time the discussion was framed around Finland's relationship to the Soviet Union, from where Somali asylum seekers entered the country, and concentrated on the issue of whether asylum seekers should be returned there. This humanitarian discourse soon changed into a threat discourse, in which asylum seekers were featured as problems. Instead of protection and humanitarianism, asylum seeking was linked with smuggling and crimes. During the 1990s immigration issues in the media were covered mainly from the point of view of refugees and asylum seekers. (Horsti 2013, 306.)

In the mid-2000s the views on immigration started to pluralize so that the debate was not centred exclusively on refugees but also included integration and multiculturalism as well as other categories of migration, such as the division between humanitarian migration and work related migration. The way asylum seekers were represented also diversified, including for example the discourse of a victim. Often however, categories of migrants, whether humanitarian or work related, are still represented in a way which denies human agency, and the term immigrant in general is often used with negative connotations. (ibid., 308-9.)

The most recent period of immigrants' media representation started in 2008 at the time of the municipal elections, when the debate on immigration started to polarize. Immigration issues politicized and the problems related to immigration became the centre of these debates. (ibid., 309-310; Keskinen 2009, 33.) In the 2011 parliamentary elections, the party critical towards immigration "the Finns"party (*Perussuomalaiset*), attained exceptional success and became the third largest party in the Parliament. In those elections other parties, too, raised critical voices towards immigration. Since then, a continuos discussions around migration issues has remained, and some critical voices have been labelled "hate speech". Immigration critics have countered by arguing that they are not racist but critical of immigration and multicultural policies, and argue that they have nothing against migrants who come here to work and integrate into Finnish society. In this regard racism is defined as "old racism" referring to biological racism but not to the processes of the racialization of cultural or religious traits (see Puuronen 2011). Concerning the Somali case, even if the wider printed and tv-media is dominated by the negative perceptions on immigration, there is a positive example of a journalist of Somali origin who makes TV programmes for Finnish national TV on Somali issues: thoroughly tackling difficult issues such as piracy, but also showing positive examples of Somali diaspora's work in the country of origin.

The rise of political voices and movements opposing immigration and criticizing multiculturalism – in particular conservative multiculturalism - for having failed and produced segrationism among ethnic minorities is prevalent not only in Finland but in Europe in general. In many countries there has been a turn "toward a more assimilationist discourse" (Wright & Bloemraad 2012, 77). In the anti-immigrant parties of European countries, the political rhetoric focus-

es on immigrants', and in particular Muslims' cultural "inability to assimilate", having led to wider sceptisim of the benefits of multicultural policies (Koopmans et al. 2005, 243-44).

My interviewees stated that the negative discourses on Somalis in Finland have affected their lives and their associations. From my interviews I was able to specify two partly interlinked negative discourses on Somalis which have an effect on Somalis and the work of their associations.

The first prevailing discourse on Somalis in Finland is about a minority difficult to integrate. They are often accused of failing to integrate into Finnish society, having many social problems and relying on social security – and all these aspects are framed around their ethnicity and/or religion. The information in the media on the mismanagement and claimed misuse of money by Somali associations is used as proof against migrants by immigrant critique proponents in their claims that Somalis are here only to misuse the system and that Finnish authorities are stupid and blind. Claimed misuse of public funds has also contributed to the Somali community's suspicious attitude towards Somali associations and in some cases resulted in a reluctancy to join associations. Moreover, in the media Somali associations as actors giving their opinions on immigration issues are absent. As already mentioned, very rarely the positive aspects of Somalis' associations are presented in the media, and it is often the case that the visibility of associations relates to their claimed misuse of funds.

Second, and related to the first discourse, is the discourse on Muslims as the dangerous other. In Europe, particularly after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Muslim populations have been increasingly being seen as security threaths, and governments have sought to set up policies to accommodate Muslims in order to prevent radicalization. It is a complex task for authorities to take seriously the public anxiety about the radicalization of some individuals, and at the same time to protect religious freedom, which is so essential to liberal societies. This discourse has affected the transnational activities of Somali diaspora associations in Finland. In some cases a Finnish based association's bank accounts have been frozen by the police for an investigation of whether the money was being channelled to conflicting criminal groups in Somalia. These charges have after investigation been proven to be false, but the actual investigations have caused troubles in the running of development projects in Somalia. (Pirkkalainen 2009, 84.)

The field of development cooperation

In this chapter the policies of Finland's official development cooperation will be described, after which discourses on the migration-development nexus are explained. These policies and discources form a field of development cooperation, which Somali diaspora associations in recent years have managed to access, and which provides new opportunitities for them to take up activities (see Pirkkalainen 2009; Pirkkalainen et al. 2013; Mezzetti et al. forthcoming).

Development cooperation is based on development policy, which is part of the foreign and security policy of Finland. Finland implements development policy goals through various forms of aid and assistance, namely bilateral development cooperation, regional cooperation, multilateral cooperation, the European Union, NGO development cooperation, private sector cooperation and humanitarian aid. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland is responsible for development cooperation, and the allocation of development cooperation appropriations is guided by the Development Policy Programme of 2012. (MFA 2012.)

When diaspora associations apply for funding they are faced with formal requirements and bureaucratic procedures. In order to get funding, they have to meet the requirements of the Ministry's funding lines and reach a capacity to handle project funding so that they can become certified as legitimate actors in development cooperation (Mezzetti et al. forthcoming, 18-24). Somalis have been strategic in thinking and acting when they develop their associations in order to become qualified in accessing MFA funding. This includes getting Finnish experts on board to help and support them in activities, drafting and planning the projects, and to do audits (Mezzetti et al. forthcoming, 24).

Moreover, as a sign of strategic action, individual Somalis have also taken their project ideas to small Finnish CSOs (Mezzetti et al. forthcoming) while large professional development NGOs have recruited people of Somali origin for their activities in Somalia. For example, one large native Finnish development NGO with significant projects in Somaliland had diaspora Somalis involved in the planning of the activities in the early phase. These individual diaspora Somalis were active in one large political party in Finland, and through these contacts, the ties were made with the large development NGO related to that party. Another example is a tuberculosis programme carried out by a native Finnish organization in Somalia. This has historical roots with the Finnish funded tuberculosis programmes in Somalia in the 1980s. Cooperation ceased when the war broke in Somalia, but some of the contacts from those days are still alive. Some Somalis who worked in those projects in Somalia in the 1980s are nowadays continuing tuberculosis work through Finland-based associations. Some of these contacts have also been instrumental in intitating the Finnish Somalia Network.

I am arguing that Somalis in Finland have been able to frame their claims around the disource of the "migration-development nexus", which has been widespread on the global level in international organizations. There are a large number of documents on the subject by UN agencies, the World Bank, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as well as commissioned research on the positive role of immigrants in the development of their countries of origin. The UN High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in 2006 and 2013, the Global Forum on Migration and Development and Global Migration Group have been important forums in discussing the ways the positive impact of immigrants in their countries of origin can be facilitated and how the negative impacts of immigration can be minimized. In these

forums and reports, the diaspora has become a buzz word, often identified with ancestry, but not referring to the most recent academic discussions or problematizations of the concept (Weinar 2010, 74). In the policy realm the diaspora is often considered an instrumental resource, and in particular the remittances as developmental money have received much attention (see e.g. De Haas 2005; UNDP 2009).

The Development Policy programme of Finland (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2012, 19) under the theme "support for the development cooperation of Finnish civil society organizations"states that "the expertise and connections of immigrant organisations will be utilised in development cooperation". It has to be noted, however, that the role and share of development cooperation by actors with immigrant backgrounds is minimal.

The MFA clearly has an interest in supporting development work carried out by Somali diaspora and their associations, as many areas in the conflict-ridden country of Somalia are simply inaccessible by native Finnish actors. Thus the Somali diaspora is considered a key actor in delivering Finnish development aid to Somalia (Pirkkalainen 2009, 83). Moreover, it was also stated by the representative of the MFA that it is typical of diaspora associations that the majority of the project money is directed to Somalia and not being used in administrative costs in Finland, because of the large amount of voluntary work. In the case of native Finnish professional development NGOs, administration costs often take a significant share of the budget.

Migration-development nexus discourse and policies can be seen as affecting Somali associations in Finland by providing them source of external funding and legitimation as actors in development cooperation. Thus, the relations between Somali associations and authorities in the development cooperation field are characterized both by dependency and reciprocity. It can be argued that Somali associations serve the function of the MFA's need to implement activities under the migration-development nexus and to direct official development aid to regions otherwise inaccessible by the MFA. Although it is clear that Somali associations are resource dependent on the Finnish authorities, the relationship can be to some extent be defined in terms of cooperation (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 59).

4.3.2 The broader field environment of turbulent regions in the Horn of Africa

In this last chapter, the broader field environment in which Somali diaspora associations relate when engaging transnationally is presented. The context in Somalia/Somaliland affects Somali associations in Finland first by reflecting some of the fragmentary lines in organizing processes, and second, by defining the way in which Somali diaspora associations engage in Somalia/ Somaliland.

As mentioned earlier, a core distinction in the theory of fields regarding the broader field environment is between state and non-state fields. States in the theory are understood as having a legitimate authority to enforce laws and monitor the non-state fields (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 206). Thus it views the

states and non-state actors from the liberal western state point of view. However, the situation is different in the case of a fragile, conflict-ridden state. In this section I will present the context of Somalia/Somaliland and the relations between the state and non-state fields by offering first an overview of historical developments and different conflict stages from the point of view of civil society. After this, I will analyse the way in which Somali diaspora associations engage with the country of origin and how that context affects the associations.

Civil society in a fragile state

Regarding the history of the modern state formation in Somalia, three different periods can be distinguished, followed by a prolonged period of the state failure. During each of the periods, civil society in Somali regions has had a different stance. First is the colonial period (1827-1960) during which France, Britain and Italy colonialized Somali regions. In this period formal civic associations were very limited because of the repressive policies of colonial powers and limited local capacity to become organized (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 328).

The second period from 1960 to 1969 was the first phase of the independent Somali Republic, governed by a civilian government. Around the time of independence in 1960, several young civil society organizations formed by trade groups and students existed, although much of the social organization took place around the clan-based political parties (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 328).

The third period started in 1969 when General Muhammad Siad Barre assumed power in a coup, declaring Somalia socialist state in 1970. Barre's regime was characterized by oppressive traits such as human rights abuses, widespread corruption and manipulation of clannism. During Barre's regime it was forbidden to run associations, or if they existed they were brought under state control. Freedom of expression was also controlled. (Bradbury 2008, 37.) In the late 1980s only about 15 local NGOs existed in the country (Little 2003, 47).

During the years of Barre's regime opposition rose and became more organized, leading eventually to a civil war which broke out in 1988, and led to the state collapse in 1991. After the state collapse, civil society organizations could have been formed freely, but because of the displacement and insecurity due to the civil war it was difficult for the civil society to operate or develop new forms. Clan politics in the civil war led to the high levels of distrust making it difficult for people to cross clan alliances. At that time most Somali professionals who would have been actors in civic organizations left the country. Some new organizations were, however, established in 1991-1992, and many of them were led by women. (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 329.)

Between 1992 and 1995 UN operations intervened in Somalia but eventually failed miserably. In this period international organizations, in trying to tackle the famine and other problems related to the state collapse, needed local partners to implement projects. Thus forming an NGO became a profitable business leading to the "mushrooming of new "local NGOs"", often clan or sub-clan based, competing for funding. (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 329.) In 1995 there were more than 320 registered NGOs in the UN office in Mogadishu (Lit-

tle 2003, 47). However, due to the lack of capacity and experience in running associations, often they were not long-lived; in fact the majority of them disappeared when UN operations left Somalia (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 330).

From the mid-1990s until 2006 the situation of south-central Somalia could be characterized as "not peace not war", in which localized governance structures were put in place, but where localized "less lethal armed conflicts" still took place (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 323). During these years several attempts to form a centralized government in Somalia were carried out, none of them succeeding. In this period commerce rapidly expanded. In the northwest region, Somaliland, formal administration gained capacity to govern, and several elections were held. In Puntland regional admininistration also functioned to some extent, and that region declared its autonomy in 1998. In this period Somali civil society started blossoming and came to play important roles in providing social services, advocating for human rights and in local governance. It was in this era that the diaspora started investing in businesses and established or funded local NGOs and development projects (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 331). Another, even more important actor in the civil society since 1995 has been Islamic organizations, such as local sharia courts, providing governance and services, often with the support of external Islamic funders. Lastly, the shift in policies of international NGOs and Nairobi-based donors towards the effort to support local ownership of priorities and agendas contributed to the rise of civil society. (Ibid., 332-3.)

In 2006 the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), consisting of Salafists, Sufi clerics and hard-line Islamists, took control over most parts of south-central Somalia and gained wide support (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 325). Among the diaspora and business people the support was particularly strong. For the civil society associations the rise of ICU on the one hand was positive since they defeated the warlords and brought public order, but on the other hand was problematic when hard-line Islamists started to dominate the movement and were silencing civil society leaders in policy discussions. In particular the belligerent rhetoric of Islamists against Ethiopia was troubling to civil society leaders, and something that eventually provoked Ethiopia to attack and occupy the capital in 2007. (Menhkaus et al. 2010, 324.) Later Ethiopia joined the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces and opposed the ICU, leading to its dissolution. This led to protracted violent attacks, humanitarian catastrophe and new refugee flows. Civil society associations and their leaders continued to be targeted not only by hard-line Islamists, but also the TFG forces to the extent that by the summer of 2008 most of these leaders were either keeping a low profile or had fled the country. (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 325.)

Even though Ethiopian troops withdrew from Somalia in 2009 and a new leader, moderate Islamist Sheikh Sharif Ahmad, was chosen for the TFG, the conflict continued and the targeted attacks on the civil society activists and aid workers continued (ibid.). These attacks continue still today. Moreover, Al-Shabab has been banning international humanitarian organizations from functioning in areas they control, and some international humanitarian orgnizations

have withdrawn because of the poor security situation. The humanitarian crisis in the past years has deepened in the area: in 2011 a famine was declared in many parts of Somalia. The fighting between government troops and Al-Shabab has continued, and external actors keep intervening. In 2011 Kenya, for example, intervened Southern Somalia to fight against Al-Shabab.

After decades of continuosly failed efforts to build a legitimate government in Somalia, a sign of hope was seen in 2012 when the tenure of the Transitional Federal Government ended, and first formal parliament in more than 20 years was formed. Hassan Sheikh Mohamed, a civil society activist and teacher, was elected as the new president. The Somali diaspora worldwide and widely has welcomed these new changes, and in fact many Somalis from the diaspora around the world have been going back to Mogadishu to start doing business and participate in development.[21]

These are positive signs of the situation changing, but there are plenty of challenges for the government, such as the continuing potency of Al-Shabab, which keeps conducting violent attacks both inside and also outside Somali borders, dealing with regional states and the self-proclaimed Somaliland, issue of extending control over rural areas, repatriation of refugees and corruption (Hammond 2013b, 188-192).

Even if the increasing involvement of civil society figures in solving political problems in Somalia can be seen as positive sign, the ongoing conflict still restricts civil society activists. In general, in this kind of situation characterized by a complex blend of politics, conflict and poverty, civil society is difficult to define. Civil society by definition is outside government control and is non-profit making, self-governing and voluntarily constituted and supported, thus outside family life (Salamon & Sokolowski 2004, 66). The voluntary nature of the civil society means that people can choose which group they belong to, and thus there is the freedom of getting involved and resigning from the group.

It has been claimed that in Somalia/Somaliland, any social organization because of the weak or even non-existing central government has been part of civil society (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 325-6). However, by the definition of the civil society three issues are complex in the Somali case. First is an issue relating to non-profit making. Because of the state collapse and weak state, prolonged conflict, lack of services and widespread poverty, civil society organizations need to generate revenue themselves in order to keep projects and programmes running. Thus many non-profit organizations become indistinguishable from for profit businesses (ibid.). In this context the NGO business has become a booming industry, and obtaining international funding very competitive in the

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21 The international community has also welcomed these changes in Somali politics, and optimism about the future of Somalia with the new leader Hassan Sheikh Mohamud has been widespeard. Finland, among other countries, has, for example, expressed support for the new President and the President of Finland decided in early 2013 to accreditate the Finnish Diplomat in Kenya to represent Somalia also. Finnish Ministries for Foreign Affairs' Erkki Tuomioja and the Minister for International Development, at that time Heidi Hautala also visited Mogadishu and met with the new President in 2013. These are the first steps Finnish authorities have taken towards direct diplomatic relations with Somalia since the start of the civil war.

Somali context (see also Tiilikainen and Mohamed 2013, 40). The second issue concerns the voluntary nature of participation in civil society and pluralism in terms of arenas for participation. As was already written earlier, much of the political and social life in Somalia is organized along clan lines, which also characterize the civil society in the Somali context. This raises questions about the voluntary nature of participation. According to the definition of civil society, if one is born into a group, it is not a voluntary decision and thus is outside civil society. Taking these two critical aspects into consideration, in the Somali context there are actors who do not easily fit into the definition of civil society, such as movements that have become (quasi)political parties, such as the ICU, groups using violence and thus having negative social impact including warlord militias and jihadists; and finally social organizations based on pure clannish manifestations (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 327). Third issue concerns the relation with the state. Even if civil society by nature is distinct from the state, strong civil society infact needs a strong state. Support for civil society by the governments is one of the main factors explaining the sustainability and growth of civil society in many Western European countries (Salamon & Sokolowski 2004, 70).

Even if the boundaries between non-profit and profit making, as well as the voluntary and non-voluntary participation base are at times blurred in the Somali case, there are various groups and organizations which qualify as civil society actors in the Somali context. They include larger development NGOs, small community based organizations, informal self help groups, professional associations, such as in the area of medical health care, traditional clan elders, businesspeople and many Islamic organizations and charities (but not those that have engaged in political and military roles) (Menkhaus et al. 2010, 326).

Challenges remain in Somalia's civil society organizations such as a lack of funding, difficulties in transcending clan lines, being viewed as elitists in the eyes of Somalis, weak collaboration between Western-backed and Islamic-backed organizations, reliance on charismatic leaders and weak organizational capacity. Most of all in particular in recent years, the rise of the radical group Al-Shabab, and "rogue TFG forces" add to security challenges. Somalia has become "the most dangerous place in the world for aid workers" and is thus also a challenging place for civil society activities. (Ibid., 334; 345.) This context in many ways restricts the activities of the Somali diaspora associations.

Diaspora associations engaging in Somalia/Somaliland

In this section it is explained how the context of the fragile state and the prolonged conflict affect diaspora engagement through associations.

To start with, the conflict is a challenge for the diaspora to engage and can lead to "limited engagement" by the diaspora (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 53). Diaspora members may be concerned about the lack of peace and development, droughts and the general situation of the country, but their remitting patterns and collective activities, remain irregular. Some members of the diaspora do not find a meaningful way to engage and they may also be worried that their en-

gagements are counterproductive or make people dependent on their help (Hoehne, Feyissa & Abdile 2011, 77). A few Somali associations are not able to carry out long-term development projects in Somalia because of the poor security situation.

To make the picture look more complex, the changing nature of conflict in Somalia continuously affects Somali diaspora associations' ways of doing development work and access to areas. For example, the rise of the extreme Islamist insurgency of Al-Shabab has forced certain diaspora-supported projects to halt, or at least caused trouble for them in areas controlled by Al-Shabab.

In the areas in which there is relative stability, such as in Somaliland, the context for engagement is different for the diaspora. These areas are, however, not free from problems. They suffer from widespread poverty and massive unemployment. In Somaliland, for example, there has been a boom in the NGO sector. In a situation of very high unemployment and a lack of income opportunities, setting up an NGO is seen as a good opportunity to try get external funding and thus an income (see also Menkhaus et al. 2010). The NGO sector is fragmented and often criticized for being corrupt, incompetent and being used to serve the interests of selected people, making the NGO business a kind of elitism (Tiilikainen & Mohamed 2013, 41).

Difficult problems in Somali areas are also in the background and a starting point for different perceptions and discourses locals have on the diaspora (see Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 57). As was seen earlier, the activities of the diaspora are framed not only by policies but also by discourses articulated by different actors in Finland, by the diaspora itself, and also are articulated by the locals in Somalia/Somaliland (see also Kleist 2007, 227-8).

The locals have both negative and positive perceptions of the diaspora, depending on the position of the local people and type of activites of the diaspora. The negative perceptions by the locals include views that the diaspora returning to the country strain local resources, that they increase competition over already scarce resources and positions, such as jobs, that they are too westernized and thus culturally different. They also include the view that diaspora people are out of touch with reality, not having experienced suffering from the dire conflict and are imposing their own fantasies and contributing thus to the conflict (Abdile and Pirkkalainen 2011, 59-62). Positive perceptions include views such as the diaspora being a lifeline to people by sending remittances and their skills and knowhow being useful in contributing to peace and development (ibid., 62-64).

In all these perceptions the diaspora refers to Somali people in the West (and in some cases in Gulf countries), who remit money and engage in development projects. The diaspora from the West is thus framed locally as a wealthy group and this diaspora discourse translates into different kind of expectations and requirements towards the diaspora (see also Kleist 2007, 220-221).

Associations, when they set up critical services in Somalia/Somaliland, such as health and education facilities, are well perceived by locals as they

bring essential, otherwise lacking services to many parts of Somalia/Somaliland (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011). In order for a diaspora association to carry out long term activities in the Somali context, they need a legitimized position to engage in a certain area. Security and access were often mentioned as key challenges by respondents, and it was often explained that project sites were selected because of clan relations due to the safe access (Pikkalainen 2009, 79-80). In the Somali context the contacts, even if with already established organizations, are often done on an individual basis, as organizations are personalized more than they are in Finland in a regime of corporatism. The ties on this basis, with someone you really can trust, are key in making any activities real and to not getting "fooled". Often in the Somali context, clan relations are organizing principles in the society and thus provide trusted relationships in the context of weak institutions. For the diaspora members the engagement means a way to fulfil social expectation, at times obligations, which affirm their membership in that community (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 50). Thus the relationship between the diaspora and broader field environment of Somalia/Somaliland is not only one sided flow of diaspora's contributions, but a reciprocal relationship in which both sides need each other (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, 59).

In the context where most of the people in Somalia live on remittances to the extent that in some cases one can talk of a diaspora dependency syndrome, people are keen to keep the flows of resources continuing (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 53; on remittances see Sheikh & Healy 2009; Lindley 2009; Hammond et al. 2011). This context creates critical stances towards the actual return of the diaspora people. The return of the diaspora and its engagement in more critical aspects, such as political engagement, are thus not always directly welcomed by the locals. These contentious fields of engagement may lead locals to use negative discources about the returnees, such them being criminals in the countries of settlement and being expelled to the country of origin, being morally corrupted in the West, and being in need of cultural reorientation, so called *dhaqan celis* (Abdile & Pirkkalainen 2011, 60-62). These perceptions of the locals in turn affect how the diaspora members frame their engagement. Often in my data, diaspora members equated themselves with "humananitarian actors", thus pointing out their engagement with civil society rather than politics in the strict sense.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This PhD study has focused on the collective activities of the Somali diaspora, covering the variety of ways of organizing and participating in the country of settlement and in the country of origin. Consisting of four articles and the summary, this PhD has presented an analysis based on collaborative, comparative and multi-sited research on Somalis' organizing processes in the diaspora. This research topic is situated in the intersection of two research strands, namely those of immigrant associations and diaspora mobilization, which is still today a rather uncovered research area. By studying Somalis from the diaspora point of view, the aim has been to overcome methodological nationalism and to show how important – both at the level of identity and at the level of activities - the country of origin is for first generation migrants.

This summary part in particular focused on the voluntary associations of Somalis in Finland and attempted to respond to two interlinked questions. First, what affects the formation and transformation of the Somali diaspora associations in Finland? Second, what are the functions and meanings of Somali diaspora associations in different contexts to different actors?

To respond to the first research question, I start by claiming that diaspora identity and events in the country of origin are often the driving forces for mobilization. Thus voluntary associations in Finland can be seen as tools to materialize and maintain the diaspora identity. However, since the diaspora live outside the country of origin, they are surrounded by new opportunities and repertoires for collective actions. In Finland the state field consists of a corporatist regime, referring to the relations between the state and civil society facilitating collective activities. This context provides an optimal environment for Somalis to form voluntary associations. Policies on immigrant integration and development cooperation provide opportunities in terms of funding and partnerships for diaspora associations. Discourses framing the Somali diaspora in Finland, from negative images of margninalized and dangerous "others" to more posivitive action-oriented development cooperation actors in turn influence how and

with what kind of claims Somali diaspora associations find legitimation for their causes.

It was observed in this study that leaders of associations are pro-active and strategic in developing cooperation, framing the claims around different causes and building trust among authorities in the country of settlement, among their own community as well as among locals in the country of origin. This ability to use agency and strategic action to make use of the available opportunities is one of the key elements in making associations functional in the long term.

Theoretically speaking, when approaching the diaspora from the mobilezation point of view, tying it in with the social movement theories, it was observed that Somalis' are not only basing their organizing on a particularistic identity, such as clan or nationalistic ideology, but frame the claims through more universalistic ideas such as humanitarianism. This allows them to gain networks with native Finns and their organizations as well as other Somali diaspora associations. Some of the earlier conceptualizations of diaspora mobilization and social movements have stated that diaspora movements differ from other transnational movements by being based on particularistic, often nationalistic ideologies, whereas other transnational movements base their claims on universal claims and ideologies. My findings in this research call for further merging of theories in order to understand the various aspects of diaspora mobilization more in detail.

The response to the second research question on functions and meanings of associations relates to the positioning and power in the transnational perspective. Voluntary associations carry both manifest and latent functions for individuals involved in them, as well as for the actors in the broader field environments: for authorities in Finland and locals in Somalia/Somaliland. I claim first that voluntary associations from the individual Somalis' point of view can function as a correction of social status. Somalis are a minority in Finland and have a "bad reputation". They are often portrayed as culturally essentialized groups in which certain problems "caused" by the individuals, come to characterize the whole group. They are also by and large outside the labour market. All this means that there is a low level of societal recognition for Somalis in Finland. Involvement in voluntary associations provides them venues to strive for their aspirations, work for important causes and thus be part of something meaningful.

Voluntary associations in the Finnish context can be seen from the authorities' point of view as intermediaries in making contacts with minority groups, in this case Somalis. They provide venues for negotiations and consultations on, for example, integration issues, and ultimately can be seen as fulfilling a governing function towards the minority.

In the transnational perspective, Finland-based voluntary associations function as "vechiles" for diaspora Somalis to get involved in development work in the country of origin, and thus are a way to respond to obligations coming from the country of origin. Diasporas who have primarily been formed

by forced migration because of conflict, as in the Somali case, are themselves prime examples of global inequalities. Their activities in terms of remittances, engageing in development projects and contributing their skills and knowhow can be seen as "correcting" global inequalities. In this world characterized by huge gaps between the countries and between people in different countries, in poorer countries transnational migration – having a relative abroad sending remittances - has become a strategy for some families to meet their daily needs.

However, the view of the diaspora as a "resource", thus having an enourmous responsibility for maintaining lives of people, is not to be "celebrated". Often Somalis in this research had suffered from great losses because of the conflict and felt helpless towards the situation in Somalia/Somaliland, which has become a stage for proxy wars. This diaspora identity has very different implications for different people, depending on their situation and position in the country of settlement. Fulfilling continuos obligations towards relatives in the country of origin may in the best case offer a meaningful role in terms of raising the social status for the diaspora person, but in the worst case it can become a burden on individuals who struggle with meeting their needs in Finland and lack many resources and time to contribute to Somalia/Somaliland. This can lead to very grave situations for individuals.

In this summary, the field approach has been used in order to clarify complex interrelations between structures affecting Somalis' collective action and the agency of individual Somalis in a transnational perspective. The field approach has helped in producing a balanced analysis in which both agency and structures as well as micro and macro levels are simultaneously at play, having a dialectical and dynamic relationship. Thus, it is neither solely the opportunity structures of Finland, nor the strategic action of Somalis, nor the feeling of responsibility towards the country of origin that shape the Somali diaspora associations in Finland, but the combination of all these factors on several levels.

This research has raised many new questions which could be tackled in future research. First broad area for further research concerns the further combination of diaspora theories and social movement theories which can be applied to countless empirical cases. In the case of Somalis it would be interesting to study around which issues they centre their claims and towards which causes they mobilize. In this regard an interesting topic that could be focused on includes youth/second generation, women and religious organizing and their relations to the other than ethnic/clan based networks and movements. By studying these using social movement theories of opportunity structures, contentious politics, framing and resource mobilization in a combined manner, theoretical contributions to the diaspora concept could be made. What qualifies a person/group to be a diaspora? What are the limits of the diaspora concept? By focusing simultaneously on the micro and macro levels in research on collective action, contributions to social movement theories could be made by showing how collaborations are formed in the micro level.

The second broad area for future research concerns immigrants' interlinkages between different arenas of participation, positions and power relations in

different locations simultaneously. From perspective of the country of settlement relevant questions are whether participation in different arenas of society – civil society, the labour market and politics - facilitate or restrict each other. What about the exclusion of immigrants in all of these spheres of participation? In the Somali case more ethnographic research could be carried out on people who do not participate, and compare their lives, views and attachments to those of people active in many spheres of the Finnish society. In addition, as many Somalis in Finland are outside the labour market, their (lack of) participation in the labour market in Finland vis-à-vis associational and transnational participation could be researched. From the country of origin point of view, relevant questions include the contributions of the diaspora, and their positioning in the society: whose interests are they representing when engaging in politics and/or development, and what kind of society do they aim to build?

Lastly, as regards theories, all kinds of immigration and diaspora related studies would benefit greatly from being studied as part of wider themes and general social theories, which would help to situate and relativize phenomena. This would be important in particular in times of polarizing public debates on immigration issues which perceive immigrants and diasporas as dangerous threats bound by their culture of origin and which have totally ignored multiple and complex phenomena, including a global inequality perspective, affecting the immigration issues.

YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Maahanmuuttajat ovat olleet yhteiskuntapoliittisten keskustelujen keskiössä jo kauan, ja viime vuosina kysymykset monikulttuurisuudesta sekä integraatiosta ovat tulleet myös poliittiselle agendalle. Julkisuudessa keskustelut maahanmuuttajista usein polarisoituvat yhtäältä jopa rasismin tasolle, toisaalta monikulttuurisuuden juhlallisiin lausumiin. Suomen somalit, jotka ovat pääosin pakolaisia sodan edelleen runtelemasta maasta, ovat usein negatiivisten asenteiden ja syrjivien käytäntöjen kohteena. Usein julkisuuskuva heistä on hyvin ongelmakeskeinen, eikä heidän aktiivista toimijuuttaan Suomessa tai laajemmin maailmalla tuoda esiin kuin korkeintaan negatiivisessa valossa terrorismin tukijoina tai rikosten tekijöinä.

Nämä valitettavat yksittäistapaukset eivät kuitenkaan ole totuus koko somaliyhteisöstä Suomessa. Todellisuudessa Suomen somalit ovat yksi aktiivisimmista maahanmuuttajataustaisista ryhmistä yhdistystoiminnassa, jonka kautta he ilmaisevat huoliaan ja toimivat aktiivisesti syrjäytymisen ehkäisemisessä, integroitumisen edistämisessä sekä myös entisen kotimaansa asioiden parantamisessa.

Tämä artikkeliväitöskirja käsittelee Suomen somalidiasporan kollektiivista toimintaa ylirajaisesta näkökulmasta. Väitöskirjassa lähdetään ajatuksesta, että ensimmäisen polven maahanmuuttajille entinen kotimaa on tärkeä osa elämää ja identiteettiä. Yhdistysten kautta Suomen somalit ylläpitävät tätä diasporaidentiteettiä, joka konkretisoituu kehitysyhteistyössä Somaliassa. Tutkimuksessa on tarkasteltu somalidiasporan moninaisia tapoja olla yhteydessä entiseen kotimaahansa sekä diasporan suhteita ja yhteyksiä eri kehitysyhteistyötoimijoihin, Suomen viranomaisiin ja paikallisiin yhteisöihin eri osissa Somaliaa. Tutkimus on selvittänyt yhtäältä mikä vaikuttaa somalien kollektiiviseen toimintaan ja erityisesti yhdistystoimintaan, ja toisaalta mille tahoille sillä on minkäkinlaisia merkityksiä.

Tutkimus perustuu laajaan empiiriseen aineistoon, joka on kerätty käyttäen monipaikkaista etnografiaa. Kenttätöitä on tehty Suomessa pääkaupunkiseudulla ja itsenäiseksi julistautuneessa Somalimaassa. Aineistonkeräysmetodina on ollut teemahaastattelut sekä havainnointi. Lisäksi on käyty läpi kirjallista aineistoa yhdistyksistä ja hankkeista. Haastatteluja näistä kahdesta paikasta on kerätty yhteensä 89. Näistä 69 on somalitaustaisten haastatteluja ja 20 niin sanottujen avaininformanttien haastatteluja, eli tahojen, jotka ovat yhteydessä somalien yhdistystoimintaan, mutta eivät ole somalitaustaisia. Tutkimuksessa on lisäksi tehty yhteistyötä ja vertailevaa tutkimusta. Vertailevat aspektit Italian somalidiasporan kanssa on tarkoitettu nostamaan esiin Suomen somalidiasporan yhdistystoiminnan erityispiirteitä. Teoreettisesti tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään diasporan käsitettä, yhteiskunnallisten liikkeiden teoriaa sekä kenttien teoriaa.

Tutkimuksessa osoitettiin, että Suomen korporatistinen regiimi ja yhdistystoiminnan painotus yhteiskunnallisessa osallistumisessa luo mahdollisuuk-

sia somalien kollektiiviselle toiminnalle. Maahanmuuttajien yhdistykset myös nähdään tärkeinä toimijoina integraation edistämisessä. Viime aikoina myös globaalilta tasolta Suomeen rantautunut ajatus maahanmuuttajien toiminnasta alkuperäisen kotimaan kehityksen edistäjänä on osaltaan luomassa mahdollisuuksia yhdistystoiminnan edistämiseen. Suomen somalit ovat strategisia toimijoita, jotka aktiivisesti lähestyvät eri rahoittajatahoja, luovat suhteita ja verkostoja saaden näin yhdistyksensä toimimaan.

Ylirajaisesta näkökulmasta katsottuna somaliyhdistysten toimintaan vaikuttavat kuitenkin näiden lisäksi myös Somalian tilanne. Pitkittyneen sisällissodan seurauksena klaanien välinen luottamuspula heijastuu Suomen yhdistystoimintaan. Toisaalta äärimmäinen köyhyys, palvelujen, resurssien ja työpaikkojen puute Somaliassa on luonut tilanteen, jossa ulkomailla asuvilta somaleilta odotetaan yhä suurempaa panostusta. Suomessa perustetut yhdistykset ja kehitysyhteistyö niiden puitteissa on yksi tapa vastata näihin ylirajaisiin velvollisuuksiin.

Globaalista näkökulmasta somaliyhdistysten tekemä kehitysyhteistyö: peruspalvelujen tuottaminen, tietotaidon siirto ja rahallinen tuki ovat globaalia maiden välistä eriarvoisuutta paikkaavia mekanismeja. Todellisuudessa köyhissä maissa yksi selviytymisstrategia on luottaa ulkomailla asuvien sukulaisten apuun. Diaspora ihmisten roolia elämän ylläpitäjänä alkuperäisissä kotimaissa ei kuitenkaan pitäisi nähdä ainoastaan positiivisena asiana: joissakin tapauksissa ylirajaiset velvollisuudet muuttuvat taakaksi, joista on vaikea selviytyä vähillä resursseilla.

Suomessa yhdistyksillä on myös monia tehtäviä ja vaikutuksia sekä yksilöille että yhteiskunnan eri toimijoille. Somaleiden työllisyystilanne Suomessa on huono, ja tämä on osaltaan johtanut erityisesti korkeasti koulutettujen taholta sosiaalisen statuksen alenemista. Yhdistystoiminta voi osaltaan paikata tätä aukkoa tarjoamalla väylän tehdä mielekästä työtä, joskin vapaaehtoista. Suomen maahanmuutto- ja integraatioasioista vastaavien viranomaisten kannalta yhdistykset ovat hyvä väylä neuvotella ja konsultoida somaliyhteisöä koskevissa kysymyksissä sekä viime kädessä myös hallinnoida vähemmistöä.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I

THE FINLAND- BASED SOMALI DIASPORA - ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN CO-DEVELOPMENT

by

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In Weiss, Thomas (Ed.) Migration for Development in the Horn of Africa: Health expertise from the Somali diaspora in Finland. Helsinki: IOM Helsinki, 74-90.

THE FINLAND-BASED SOMALI DIASPORA – ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN CO-DEVELOPMENT

Päivi Pirkkalainen

Diaspora engagement in the country of origin is a dynamic and context-specific phenomenon, particularly in light of on-going conflicts in countries of origin. In the literature discussing the diaspora-conflict nexus, the negative impact of diasporas on conflicts is often emphasized. However, in recent years, research focusing on the positive aspects of diaspora involvement in the conflict has emerged and balances the picture.[1] Due to their heterogeneity, it is certainly questionable to generally state whether diasporas are "risk factors" fuelling conflict or elements of stability. Depending on a country-specific conflict cycle, a diaspora can be both "peace-wrecker" and "peace-maker" in different periods. In addition, the definition of "peace" is problematic as all aspire to peace but might not be willing to pay the price that often comes along with it (Smith, 2007).

In order to understand the engagement of a diaspora in the country of origin, it is essential to look at specific and illustrative examples with due consideration to the situation in the country of origin as well as the host country. This chapter examines the case of Somali associations in Finland working towards development in Somalia. In addition to presenting an overview of the Somali diaspora associations in Finland and their involvement in co-development initiatives[2], the chapter aims at explaining how the Finnish institutional context shapes diaspora associations and, in turn, how the current situation in Somalia defines the work of these associations. In addition, it also analyses the general challenges of diaspora involvement in the context of Somalia.

Concerning the Finnish context, a special focus is placed on existing funding structures within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (MFA) for NGO development cooperation, which a few Finland-based Somali associations have managed to access. Support to NGO development cooperation is part of Finland's official development aid and represents the third largest yearly share out of the nine overseas-development aid budget lines[3]. It will be argued in the chapter that access to such funding and available capacity building measures have shaped the associations to become more professional.

Concerning Somalia, while research on transnational[4] activities and the role of diaspora in development and peace building in the country of origin has been carried out in recent years, most of this research focuses on the individual level, such as on individual/family remittances.[5] Remittances sent by the diaspora exceed official development aid and direct investments and are very important livelihood strategies for families.[6] Collective activities of Somali diaspora associations remain however rather unexplored.[7] Diaspora associations are important actors through which development activities are carried out. Studies on migrant/diaspora associations have been focusing on Home Town Associations (HTAs)[8], and on the political opportunity structures in the host country as well as their impact on migrants' organization structures[9]. However, much of the literature, in particular on HTAs, is concentrating on the USA and migrants from Latin America. Much less has been written on African diaspora associations (Kleist, 2009).

The chapter defines the concept of diaspora, followed by a short introduction on Somalia and Somalis in Finland, a general description on civil society and migrant associations in Finland, as well as an overview of Somali diaspora associations and their development projects. It finishes on the existing co-development initiatives under the MFA's NGO development support structures and the challenges of diaspora involvement in the Somali context.

The chapter is based on 16 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Somali diaspora associations in Finland (2 women, 14 men), an interview with a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as well as an extensive mapping of Somali diaspora associations through internet, association databases[10], and reports[11].

Diaspora and mobilisation

The concept of diaspora has been analyzed extensively in migration studies in recent years, leading to a variety of definitions and interpretations. The classical approach is to refer to diaspora as a community outside of a homeland and yearning for it.[12] Diaspora can also be understood as a particular form of consciousness or identity. This view challenges the first one by claiming that diasporas are not always defined by their focus on a singular national homeland, but individuals' own narratives and perceptions of their own identity (Hall, 1993; Brah, 1996; Clifford, 1994). The third way of analyzing the concept is to examine claims made in the name of diaspora, in other words "to perceive diaspora as a concept of a political nature that might be at once claimed by and attributed to different groups and subjects, rather than migrant communities defined by dispersion" (Kleist, 2008). As Sökefeld (2006) puts it; "the development of diaspora identity is not simply a natural and inevitable result of migration but a historical contingency that frequently develops out of mobilization in response to specific critical events. Diaspora [...] is not

an issue of naturally felt roots but of specific political circumstances that suggest the mobilization of a transnational imagined community".

Thus diaspora communities are as much growing out of differences than out of solidarity or cohesion. Diasporas are involved in continuous construction processes; they are about negotiations, claiming, positioning and power struggling. While much has been written on diaspora cultures and consciousness, there has been a lesser focus on organizations that shape the consciousness, drive development and in a way embody diaspora consciousness (Leroy and Mohan 2003; Oussatcheva, 2001; Sökefeld and Schwalgin, 2000).

A brief history of Somalia

Somali-inhabited lands were colonized by Britain (Northern parts of Somalia), Italy (Southern parts) and France (Djibouti). The British-administered northwestern region and the Italian administered southern region merged in 1960 to form the independent Somali Republic. French-administered Djibouti became independent later, in 1977. Ethnic Somalis also inhabit the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya.[13]

After nine years of civilian rule, General Siyad Barre arranged a bloodless coup in 1969.[14] In 1977, the Somali army attacked Ethiopia in the name of pan-Somali unity trying to conquer the Ogaden region. Somalia lost the war leading to massive refugee flows from Ethiopia to Somalia (Waldron and Hasci, 1995). After the loss of the Ogaden war dissatisfaction with the Barre regime grew and a general economic and political breakdown became apparent. Organized opposition to Barre's regime started to grow in particular in the northwestern region, and political movements such as the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the Somali National Movement (SNM) were formed in 1981. The SNM and government forces clashed in the North in 1988, and a civil war spread from there throughout the country. Siyad Barre was removed from power by the United Somalia Congress, and the Republic of Somalia collapsed in 1991.

Later in 1991, the northwestern region of Somalia proclaimed the independent Republic of Somaliland which, however, has not received international recognition. The northeastern region of Puntland declared its autonomy in 1998, but is not secessionist.[15] Various attempts have been made during the past two decades to halt the violence and reconstruct Somalia, but so far unsuccessfully. The ongoing conflict in southern and central parts of Somalia has evolved in recent years and seen the intervention of external players such as Ethiopia which sent troops in 2006 in order to halt the Islamic Courts Union. At present, the situation in Somalia is characterized by clashes in the southern and central parts of the country between the Transitional Federal Government, under

Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed who was elected President in 2009, and the opposition consisting of the radical Islamic movements Al-Shabaab and Hisbul-Islam.

Somalis in Finland

The conflict in Somalia has caused massive refugee movements and led to the dispersal of an estimated one million Somalis all around the world. Somalis started to enter Finland in the early 1990's as asylum seekers, many of them arriving via the then Soviet Union (Aallas, 1991). One factor linking Somalis and Finland was Finland's geographic proximity to the Soviet Union. When the Somali civil war broke out, Somalis studying in the former Soviet Union represented a pull factor for other Somalis who were seeking asylum. When the Soviet Union eventually collapsed and was therefore no longer able to host Somalis, Finland was the closest Western country. It has been claimed that the majority of Somalis who entered Finland between 1990 and 1992 did not consider Finland as their primary destination (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004). Somalis arriving from the early 1990s onwards have been the largest single ethnic group applying for asylum in Finland and this period forms a milestone in the Finnish history of immigration (ibid.). After 1992, more Somalis have entered Finland through official family reunification programmes (ibid.) or as asylum seekers, although small in numbers[16]. With 1.181 applications in 2008, there was a considerable increase in Somali asylum applications compared to earlier years, turning this group into the second largest group of asylum seekers after Iraqis (1.255) (FIS, 2009).

In 2008, Finland had a community of 10.647 (SF, 2008) people who spoke Somali as their mother tongue, and 4.919 (SF, 2008b) citizens of Somali descent. Somalis are the fourth largest group of immigrants in Finland, and the largest group of immigrants originating from Africa (SF, 2007). A considerable part of the Somali community in Finland consists of youth and children (Tiilikainen, 2003; Hautaniemi, 2004). Most Somalis live in the capital area of Finland in the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, and Vantaa, and with a few exceptions, most Somali associations are based in these cities.

The context in Finland: civil society and diaspora associations

The host country provides the context within which migrant groups can organize themselves.[17] Regarding social and political participation, social capital and associational memberships, Finland and the other Nordic countries, have common characteristics that distinguish them from many other countries. In Nordic countries, state institutions and the public sector have played an important role in creating high levels of social

trust embodied in participation in voluntary associations. The Nordic region counts a high number of voluntary associations compared to other countries.[18] As opposed to views claiming that close state–civil society relations "damage" critical associational life, Nordic welfare states being "strong, open, inclusionary and corporate states are among the most favorable contexts for the development of high level of social capital and trust" (Siisiäinen, 2008; Schofer and Fourcade-Courinchas, 2001).

These characteristics of Finnish society may have contributed towards the fact that immigrants in general have been active in establishing associations in Finland. It is estimated that some 700 migrant or diaspora associations were established between 1980 and 2007 (Saksela, 2003; Pyykkönen, 2005). Most of these associations are established by refugees, such as Iranians, Iraqis, Afghans, Somalis and Vietnamese. According to Pyykkönen (2007) the status of the individual is one of the most important factors leading to association establishment: refugees being far more active than labour migrants. The reasons for refugees' particular associational activity may partly lie in their marginalized position in Finnish labour markets. The unemployment rate of Somalis, for example, is considerably higher than for the rest of the population: 59 % in 2005 (MoL, 2007). Somalis have also had problems in finding work corresponding to their education and qualifications. Other reasons for associational activity of people with refugee status include their feeling of exclusion from the Finnish society. Linking up with representatives of their own ethnic groups may function as a survival strategy or defense mechanism in the host country. In addition, many refugees have been active members of society in their countries of origin and find it natural to engage in associational life in Finland, although with different modes of organization and different goals (Pyykönen, 2007).

Somali Diaspora Associations in Finland – an overview

The mapping exercise carried out through association registers, reports, internet sites and existing contacts identified over 100 Somali associations in Finland. On the basis of the mapping, however, it was not possible to ascertain that all of these associations were indeed actively functioning. It can be assumed that a sizeable number are not operating any longer, and a conservative estimate is that only around 50 % of those associations mapped are indeed fully operational.

- Size and activities

The 16 associations interviewed represent a variety of organizational forms and sizes regarding their members and activities. Associations vary from about 30 members in Finland to about 200 to 300 members; the largest one counting around 900 members.

Many associations have, in addition to members in Finland, members or supporters in other countries around the world.

Activities of Somali associations in Finland concentrate on supporting the Somali community in Finland and on humanitarian and development work in Somalia. The distinction of these two activity levels is however not clear-cut as many associations engage on both levels simultaneously. Activities in Finland include training in language (Finnish and Somali) and computers, sport activities, arranging multicultural events, seminars on Somalia, youth work and homework clubs. Activities in Somalia support a variety of beneficiaries such as orphans, farmers, universities, schools and other educational institutions, hospitals (including for example maternity and tuberculosis clinics) and support for the democratisation of the country of origin. There are also examples of associations that have previously supported peace talks and reconciliation between different clans. All interviewed associations claim to be of a non-political nature and emphasise their purely humanitarian and development focus.

A few associations are not able to carry out any longer-term projects in Somalia due to the poor security situation. They do, however, maintain links with locals in the areas of origin and try to support them as much as they can, for example by pooling money among supporters and sending donations and equipments to schools and hospitals. Another form of engagement with the country of origin is lobbying and information dissemination in Finland about the situation in Somalia.

Funding mechanisms of the interviewed associations, for activities in Finland and in Somalia, vary from 100% own funding by membership fees or funds raised to external project funding from Finnish authorities, such as the MFA, for development projects in Somalia and Ministry of Education, municipalities and other public sources for activities in Finland.

- Patterns of Organisation – Regional and Clan Affiliations

Regarding activities in Somalia, the development projects or activities by diaspora associations are often carried out in regions or towns of origin of the chairperson or the majority of members. There are, however, exceptions to this as outlined by the interviewees: two associations carry out projects outside of their "home area" in areas selected on the basis of a needs assessment.

There are very practical reasons for selecting the site of development projects: clan sensitivities and security. Many of the interviewees stated that they have a privileged access to certain areas in Somalia where their relatives[19] live. Organising diaspora interventions around clan lineages or regional affiliations has therefore much to do with

relations of trust. Clan lineages may also be compounded by the absence of a legitimate central state authority (Kleist, 2007), and the security guarantees it normally provides.

However, as "the Somali clan system is inherently flexible and characterized by ongoing tensions between fragmentation and collaboration" (Kleist, 2007) one cannot claim the Somali associational field to be solely based on clan lineage. Some of those associations, for example, that have started their activities by pooling money among people from a certain region and clan, have widened the networks to officials and to other NGOs, and have extended their membership to native Finnish members. Hence, they can no longer be defined as exclusively clan-based associations. Moreover, even if clan affiliation and regional affiliation in some cases go hand in hand, there is also some evidence to underline that while diaspora associations carry out assistance activities in the region of origin of their members, they more often than not emphasise that they assist everyone living there, not only representatives of a specific clan.

Clan and regional affiliations are by no means the only lines of fragmentation among Somali diaspora community in Finland. Other lines include, for example, gender and generation.

- Networks and collaboration

Despite the fragmentation of the Somali associational field in Finland, it is characterised also by collaboration. All the interviewed associations have extensive networks on different levels. Cooperation with other Somali associations in Finland takes place mainly in the framework of the Finnish Somalia Network (FSN), which brings together those native Finnish and Somali associations that are involved in development cooperation activities in Somalia. The network, the only of its kind in Finland, has been established in 2004 and is receiving funding from the MFA since 2005. It is coordinated by a Finnish NGO (International Solidarity Foundation). The main aims of the network are to build the competence and capacity of the NGOs by providing courses on topics such as accounting, reporting, development project planning, etc., to share information on the development activities in Somalia, to facilitate cooperation between NGOs working in Somalia, and to share general information on the situation of Somalia (FSN, 2009). At the moment, the network has 18 member associations out of which 16 are Somali and 2 native Finnish associations. As the numbers indicate, not all Somali associations active in development work in Somalia belong to the network and, therefore, it cannot be claimed to function as a truly representative umbrella body of development-focused Somali associations. Moreover, not all interviewees were satisfied with the network and questioned its usefulness.

Collaboration between associations involved in development activities in different regions in Somalia takes place mainly in the form of exchanging information, knowledge

and "best practices" to carry out development work. Although the situation has changed since the early years 1990, when the trauma of the civil war still reflected in communities in Finland causing even some clashes between members from different clans, according to one respondent some associations still engage in politics according to clan lines which makes collaboration difficult. Politics of Somalia have been kept out on purpose from the agenda of the Finnish Somalia Network, in order to enhance collaboration and dialogue around non-political themes.

In addition to collaboration between different Somali associations in Finland, the interviewed Somali associations maintain widespread contacts with Finnish NGOs, both relating to the activities in Somalia and to integration activities in Finland. Among the interviewed associations, there is no organisational level networking or cooperation with political parties in Finland, but contacts at individual level. For example the chairpersons of a few associations are active in a Finnish political party through which some support in terms of networking – without financial support – is obtained. Many of the interviewed associations have also important transnational networks with Somali associations in different countries worldwide, or have members in different countries. A few well-established and long-standing associations have managed to network with international organisations, and receive support from organisations such as WHO and UNICEF for their development projects in Somalia.

In general, when diaspora groups are engaging in development activities they require local contacts and references and it is important to note that "diaspora projects are not one-way flows, but rather part of a dialectical process where the local context cannot be overlooked" (Kleist, 2008b). All of the interviewed associations engaging in development or humanitarian work in Somalia have a local partner, either permanent or ad hoc contacts depending on the activity and the form of project work. Several forms of partnerships were found: a local association established by local people as a partner, a local association established by a diaspora returnee as a partner, an individual functioning as a "focal point" or a local branch of the diaspora association (established by the association). All associations receiving support from the MFA are obliged to partner with a local organisation.

MFA support to NGO development projects and Somali associations

With the exception of IOM's MIDA Health project for Somali professionals, no other specific co-development programme targeting the Somali diaspora and financed by Finnish authorities exists at the present moment. However, several Somali associations have accessed funding for their development projects in Somalia from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, especially under the Ministry's NGO development

cooperation budget line, which can be considered as a prompter for co-development initiatives.

The official development cooperation aid provided by Finland is dived in nine budget lines. The share for support to NGO development represents some 12.7 % of the total yearly budget in 2008 (MFA, 2009). Co-development cooperation carried out by NGOs complements Finnish multi- and bilateral cooperation as well as the EU's own development cooperation. The overarching objective of NGO development cooperation is to further the UN Millenium Development Goals and to strengthen the civil society in developing countries. A total of some 200 Finnish NGOs are currently involved in implementing development cooperation projects in over 80 different countries, or in sharing of information on development subjects (MFA, 2009).

NGO development funding is disbursed to NGOs responding to specific calls for proposals. Somali associations are therefore openly competing with other development NGOs. Some Somali associations have managed to create trustful and close contact with the MFA and have developed capacities in producing good quality applications as well as efficient and professional organization and project management.

In order to access MFA NGO development funding, associations need to fulfil several requirements. An organisation: (1) needs to have been registered at least for a year at the time of applying for project funding; (2) needs to have enough expertise to implement and administer the project; (3) needs to have a professional accounting, monitoring and reporting system; (4) needs its own co-funding of at least 15 % of the total yearly budget of the project, co-funding needs to originate in Finland and its origins have to be known; and (5) needs to have a local partner which is responsible for implementing the project locally, on the basis of a written contract between the Finnish and the local NGO (MFA, 2005).

According to the MFA[20] the first development project carried out by a Somali association in Somalia received funding in 2000. Since then, and until 2007, 16 different Somali associations have received funding for a total of 29 development projects. Funded projects have been in the sectors of health (12), education (9), support for women, children (mainly orphans) and youth (5), rural development (2) and one project covering several sectors. Out of 16 organisations interviewed, 7 had received funding from the MFA at some period during the past years, 6 had applied unsuccessfully, and the remaining 3 expressed interest in applying in the future.

The interviewed MFA representative confirmed that Somali diaspora associations are by far the most active migrant communities in Finland in applying funding for development projects and maintaining open channels for communication. Taking into account the situation in Somalia and the difficulties in delivering development aid to

the country (in particular to central and southern Somalia), the MFA considers that Somali diaspora associations are important actors in key positions to deliver Finnish development aid to Somalia. Thanks to their number, and high visibility in Finland, Somali diaspora associations are recognized by the MFA as custodians of local knowledge and expertise on Somalia. A few challenges, however, remain: applications to MFA have to be written in either Finnish or English language which is not always readily available among association's members; many associations still have to catch-up in acquiring formal bureaucratic procedures of associational work; many associations remain weak on project cycle management experience. Those associations, whose applications have been rejected, are usually invited by the MFA to participate in various trainings and capacity-building exercises, generally provided by the Finland Somalia Network, but funded by MFA.

The availability of MFA funding has partly contributed to the transformation of Somali diaspora associations. Many associations have developed capacities in response to MFA requirements and conditions, many more have become formally organized and registered associations, many of their members have enhanced their professionalism in view of development cooperation work (Warnecke, et al.). When associations register, they subject themselves to associational rules and regulations of the host country.[21] In addition, registration opens up possibilities for a group to negotiate with officials as a collective actor, and to better "plead a case". Moreover, registering a group as an association paths the way for funding applications.[22] According to the empirical data, most associations interviewed had been established years before the actual registration and succeeded in pooling money contributed by members to finance small-scale development activities in the country of origin. Additional and regularly available MFA funding offer opportunities for more, better and bigger projects implemented by the diaspora in Somalia.

Challenges to diaspora involvement

Involvement of the diaspora associations in development of the country of origin presents a number of challenges related to the country of origin, the host country as well as the international community.

Regarding the country of settlement level, in this case Finland, Somali associations and individuals active in them have had to face, and are facing, various challenges such as little resources, both relating to available time and money. First of all, funding is rather difficult to obtain, and in order to get it one has to know the Finnish bureaucratic system and procedures, which are not easy to learn. Secondly, as all of the respondents engage in associational work on a purely voluntary basis, free time is very limited as one needs to work and take care of the family. Thirdly, the creation of a trusted position on

one hand among the authorities and on the other hand among the Somali community is also a challenge. One respondent expresses the difficulty to get partners and members to the association. He expressed that it is difficult to convince people that the association is "doing good work", and that "the aid is delivered to where it is supposed to". In the words of another interviewee: "some associations have misused money, and they have "badmouthed" other associations, and this makes it difficult to obtain funding for associations who really want to help Somalia."

Relating to the challenges on the associational involvement in Finland, in particular the need to learn the Finnish system, it is important to pay some attention to the question of who is actually involved in the associations. All of the interviewees, who are either founders and/or chairpersons of the respective associations, hold Finnish citizenship, and have lived in Finland at least for ten years, most for about 17 to 18 years. They are well integrated in the Finnish society in terms of knowing the Finnish language, culture and administrative/bureaucratic procedures. They are well educated (having at least a bachelor level degree), however not all of them have managed to find employment that corresponds to their qualifications.

It is clear that one needs, in addition to motivation and commitment, resources to establish an association. As noted above, the successful running of an association requires knowledge of the Finnish system as well as social networks. As previous studies show, there is no contradiction between transnational involvement and process of integration to the country of settlement; in fact, to the contrary[23]. It is not the most disadvantaged who engage transnationally in the organizational level, but those who have knowledge, resources and / or social networks through which resources can be drawn.

Challenges concerning the country of origin are related in particular to the poor security situation and the limited access to areas lying within the conflict regions of Somalia. As outlined earlier, poor security in many parts of the country also means that, often, projects can only be implemented in locations where, due to specific clan linkages with diaspora members, the clan network provides safe access and protection in situ.

A further challenge in the case of Somali diaspora associations is a growing suspicion among 'Western' officials and media vis-à-vis Muslim groups. A few Somali associations have faced suspicions concerning money transfers for development projects in Somalia through the Somali money transfer system, *hawala*[24], which caused delays and disrupted projects.

Conclusion

The large number of Somali associations in Finland, which are embodiments of the commitment of the Somalis as much as a reflex of the fragmentation of the society reflected in the diaspora, illustrate the lines of fraction in the Somali society, along clan and regional affiliation, generation and gender. The Finnish-Somali diaspora context reveals that "clans" are only referred to in terms of security for and access to development activities in the country of origin. While none of the associations interviewed defines themselves as clan–based or clan-driven. When working towards peace and development in the country of origin, clan lineage often provides certain guarantees and entries.

The diaspora associations also reveal a "generation gap" between first generation and second generation Somalis, as well as dividing lines along gender. Although, Somali women groups exist in Finland, the Finland-based Somali associations remain largely dominated by male participants, reflecting – to a certain extent – the traditional gender-based roles in Somali society.

The situation in Somalia sets and defines the opportunities and limits to Somali diaspora engagement back home. Development activities are carried out by Somali associations in a variety of forms, ranging from informal, ad hoc, clan or town-level assistance to well-established sustainable projects. Through these development activities, skills, knowhow, materials, resources, ideas, visions and values are transferred to the country of origin.

The lack of security and the ongoing conflict in many parts of Somalia remain the core concerns for most interviewees. The absence of functional and legitimate state structures forces Somali associations to engage in development work mainly through their own networks; often based on clan or regional affiliations and leading to generally highly localized contributions. The poor security situation in central and southern Somalia has made the delivery of official international humanitarian and development aid very difficult, if not impossible. This, in turn, has turned the Somali diaspora into an indispensable key actor in delivering aid to people in need, explaining MFA's interest in funding Somali associations' development projects. In Finland, institutional frameworks, existing funding structures, available partners and institutions' disposition towards diaspora groups shape diaspora engagement. There is direct link between MFA's interest and funding in Somalia-based development work, and the development of expertise, capacity and institutional strengths of Somali diaspora associations in Finland.

This link refers directly to the relationship between integration and transnational engagement. In many cases, leaders of diaspora associations are well-integrated in the host country in terms of language, social networks and cultural sensitivities and knowledge. Associational involvement and transnational activities also foster integration as diaspora associations often look out for cooperation partners and funding mechanisms

in the host country, establishing contacts between associations and other stakeholders (Warnecke, et al.).

It is however essential to note, that Somali diaspora associations in Finland are not "just" responding to existing frameworks and opportunities, but are themselves setting agendas. Many associations are capable and resourceful in pooling resources among members and supporters and fund development initiatives with these resources. Such networks help increase their members' capacity to undertake development projects in the country of origin.

Those Somali associations that have accessed funding from MFA in Finland represent examples of resourceful centers that have started activities out of their own initiative and subsequently accessed external funding from MFA in order to open-up and widen their scope of intervention. In the best case scenario, co-development initiatives build and improve the capacity of diaspora associations and strengthen their own networks in countries of origin. Support for migrant-driven development can thus lead to sustainable development of diaspora associations, in particular those that entertain close contacts with the country of origin and that have a deep and thorough knowledge of local needs and prospects in order to establish targeted projects and create sustainable links with local community back home.

Notes

1 See more of this discussion in the literature review on The Diaspora-Conflict-Peace-Nexus by Pirkkalainen and Abdile 2009

2 Co-development refers to a phenomenon in which migrants are seen as a "factor" contributing to development of their countries of origin. The term "co-development" was proposed for the first time by the French scholar Sami Nair in 1997 in his paper for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs titled "Balance and orientation about policies of development linked to the flow of immigration" (Vidal, P. and Martinez, S. 2008).

3 The appropriations (in 2008 total of 600, 3 million euros) of development cooperation administered by the MFA are allocated to nine budget lines: 1) Multilateral development cooperation (30,7% of the total budget); 2) Country- and region-specific development cooperation (29,2%); 3) European Development Fund (9,0%); 4) Non-country specific development cooperation (4,4%); 5) Humanitarian aid (11,0%); 6) Planning, support functions and development information (1,1%); 7) Evaluation and internal audit of development cooperation (0,2%); 8) Support to NGO development cooperation (12,7%); 9) Interest subsidies (1,8%), (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Development policy website: http://www.formin.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15392&contentlan=2&culture=en-US)

4 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."

5 See for example Gundel 2002; Lindley 2007

6 Ibid.

7 One of a very few studies on Somali associations in the European context and their role in development and reconstruction of Somalia is carried out by Nauja Kleist 2007; 2008; 2008b.

8 HTAs are defined as "*organizations made by and for migrants from the same town or parish in the country of origin who congregate primarily for social and mutual-aid purposes"(Caglar 2006).* Somali diaspora associations in Finland can not be defined as home town associations as their scope and membership profile go beyond the town level (more on this later in the article), but the literature on HTAs can be applied to the discussion in general on the role of migrant "driven" associations in the development of the country of origin.

9 See for example Hooghe 2005; Vermeulen 2005

10 National Board of Patents and Registers. AssociationNet: http://yhdistysrekisteri.prh.fi/ryhaku.htx.

11 The mapping exercise was conducted between May and August 2008, and the interviews were collected in three main phases of field work (a period of four weeks in Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo in August 2008, one week period again in the capital area of Finland in January 2009 and again one week period in April 2009). Out of 16 Somali interviewees two were women and 14 men. Data has been collected as part of the ongoing research project DIASPEACE which is a multi-disciplinary research project seeking to generate evidence-based and policy-relevant knowledge about the ways in which diasporas play into the dynamics of conflict and peace in their countries of origin. The empirical focus of the project is on the Horn of Africa, in particular Somalia/Somaliland, Ethiopia and Eritrea. See more information at: www.diaspeace.org.

12 See for example Safran 1990; Wahlbeck 1999

13 See for example Cassanelli, 1993

14 See for example DeLancey *et al.* 1988

15 See for example Gundel 2002

16 Number of Somali asylum applications: 1997: 113, 1998: 126, 1999: 111, 2000:129, 2001: 102, 2002: 63, 2003: 93, 2004: 168, 2005: 267, 2006: 210, 2007, 244. Source: Finnish Immigration Service statistics 1997-2007.

17 See for example Hooghe 2005; see also Soysal (1994, 235); Odmalm (2004, 474)

18 See for example Siisiäinen 2008

19 In many cases affiliation to certain region was described as one having relatives there, instead of referring to a clan.

20 These data have been collected from the yearly published book on funded NGO projects by Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (Kansalaisjärjestöhankeluettelo). The books each year from 1995 till 2007 (the 1999 issue was not available) have been gone through. MFA does not differentiate associations on the basis of the country of origin of the establishers/members, as there are no quotas for migrant associations, but as I know the names of the most Somali associations in Finland I have been able to pick them up from the lists.

21 See for example Siisiäinen 1998

22 See for example Pyykkönen (2007)

23 See Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Kleist 2007

24 Hawala, or hawilad (xawala, xawilad) is a Somali money transfer system currently operating nearly every part of the world, and run by many companies.

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Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland
2008 http://www.formin.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15392&contentlan=2&culture=en-US

II

SOMALI ASSOCIATIONS' TRAJECTORIES IN ITALY AND IN FINLAND: LEADERS BUILDGIN TRUST AND FINDING LEGITIMATION

by

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Somali Associations' Trajectories in Italy and Finland: Leaders Building Trust and Finding Legitimisation

Päivi Pirkkalainen, Petra Mezzetti and Matteo Guglielmo

Previous research on migrant associations has explained their formation and maintenance by highlighting migrant groups' cultural characteristics or the political opportunity structures (POS) available in the countries of settlement. Past research has also focused on associations in relation to migrants' political participation in the countries of settlement, applying the notion of social capital. The aim of this article is to enrich the debate on migrant associations by analysing their trajectories. This analysis will also make use of the concepts of POS and social capital. The article analyses Somali associations' developmental trajectories over time in two different settlement-country contexts—Italy and Finland. The argument put forward is that, while political opportunity structures do matter, they are not sufficient to explain Somali associations' trajectories. Findings show that similar characteristics and networking processes of associations have been observed in both locations. The long-term functionality of associations is often in the hands of the associations' leaders, who exhibit similar uses of social capital. Leaders are the 'professionals of mobilisation', which also has consequences for the professionalisation of their associations.

Keywords: Migrant Associations; Association Leadership; Social Capital; Political Opportunity Structure; Italy; Finland

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Introduction

This article focuses on migrants' social and political participation by looking at Somali associations in Italy and in Finland and their trajectories, with the goal of understanding how migrant associations function and develop over time. Most comparative research on migrant associations has concentrated either on explaining organisational patterns through ethnic and cultural paradigms (Jenkins 1988; Rex *et al.* 1987) or by focusing exclusively on the political opportunity structures (POS) in the countries of settlement (Hooghe 2005; Ireland 1994, 2000; Koopmans *et al.* 2005). Research on migrants' political incorporation into their countries of settlement has also been carried out, and has focused on social capital without explaining migrant associations' developmental trajectories over time (see Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001; Jacobs and Tillie 2004; Jacobs *et al.* 2004; Morales and Giugni 2011a). When assessing these trajectories, it is unclear whether changes occur at the institutional level or whether they can be attributed to association leaders, since an overlap can often be observed between the two. Furthermore, most studies do not take into account the transnational nature of migrants' networks, nor focus on how countries of origin can explain associational involvement in countries of settlement. The aim of this article, in line conceptually with recent work on migrants' engagement in local politics in European cities (Morales and Giugni 2011a; Morales and Pilati 2011), is to enrich the debate on migrant associations by focusing not only on political opportunity structures but also on migrants' own strategies in building networks, thus taking into consideration the role that social capital plays.

The two country contexts of Italy and Finland provide results that are interesting to compare as they significantly differ in terms of POS, as well as in the historical relationship they have with Somalia, which resulted in different migratory flows. Notwithstanding these differences, the associations' internal functioning and the characteristics of their leaders present similarities.

The theoretical framework, which draws on POS in a dynamic perspective and is complemented by the notion of social capital, is set out in the first section of this article. In section two, the empirical data and methods are presented, and the rationale for comparing Finland and Italy is explained. Section three analyses the empirical data collected on Somali associations, looking at their general features and analysing leadership characteristics and the associations' trajectories towards professionalism. In the last section, conclusions are drawn.

Political Opportunity Structure in a Dynamic Perspective

The political opportunity structure concept was introduced and developed in social movement studies (Eisinger 1973; Kriesi *et al.* 1995; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 1978). The central idea of this approach is that 'each form of collective action is understood as part of a larger political process and as being shaped by the

opportunities and constraints offered by its political environment' (Koopmans *et al.* 2005: 16).

The debate on how to explain migrants' organisational patterns, that is, whether they depend mainly on migrants' cultural characteristics or are mostly bound by the structures in the countries of settlement—has been ongoing for decades. Early studies on the organising of ethnic groups suggested that the same migrant group adopts similar ways of organising in different locations, indicating ethnicity as the explanatory factor (for example Banton 1985; Rex and Moore 1967). Since the late 1990s, the POS concept has been applied to migration studies, particularly in the European context (e.g. Hooghe 2005; Ireland 1994, 2000; Koopmans *et al.* 2005; Vermeulen 2005), and explains migrants' organisation through policies and opportunities in countries of settlement while criticising earlier studies that placed too much emphasis on migrants' cultural characteristics. Studies applying the POS concept have, in turn, been criticised for putting too much emphasis on institutional factors, forgetting migrant organisations' internal activity and identity construction processes (for example Bousetta 2000: 235). Some research, however, has combined several of these different elements in explaining migrant associations (see, for example, Vermeulen 2005).

At the intersection of these two approaches, the networking aspects of migrant mobilisation have been studied (for example Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001; Jacobs and Tillie 2004; Landolt 2008; Morales and Giugni 2011a), and research has investigated how migrant associations can contribute to the political incorporation of migrants into countries of settlement. These studies lean on the notion of migrants' social capital, focusing on networks to explain why certain groups are more incorporated into political processes than others (see, for example, Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001; Jacobs and Tillie 2004; Morales and Pilati 2011).

Some scholars have understand social capital to be a resource employed by persons (see, for example, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), while others insist that social capital is embodied in networks of cooperation and norms of reciprocity (for a prominent example, see Putnam 1993). Jean Tillie and Meindert Fennema (1999) pioneered studies concerning networks and organisational links within and between migrant communities, applying the notion of social capital. Through examining the organisational links between different ethnic groups in Amsterdam, these Dutch political scientists—applying Robert Putnam's notion of social capital to migrant communities—claim that differences in the political participation of ethnic minorities are linked to differences in 'civic community', which is the amount of the 'ethnic' social capital (participation in ethnic associational life) of the relevant group (Fennema and Tillie 1999). The denser the network of associations of a particular ethnic group, the more political trust they have and the more they participate politically. Objections have been raised with regard to the limitations of this argument and research (Jacobs *et al.* 2004), pointing out potential differences between 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital (Putnam 2000: 22–3), since denser networks alone are not sufficient to promote political integration into the receiving

polity if the connectivity remains ethnically segregated. Bridging social capital is thus expected to have beneficial properties for the political integration of migrants, at both the individual and the group levels (see also Morales and Pilati 2011).

The issue of migrants' political integration has recently been combined with an analysis of 'the individual characteristics of migrants, their embeddedness in social (organisational) networks, and the political opportunity structures of their place of residence (country and city)' (Morales and Giugni 2011b: 5). In line with this approach, this article combines the POS notion with the notion of social capital (see also Koopmans *et al.* 2005; Morales and Giugni 2011a; Tilly and Tarrow 2007).

This article shows that, while migrants' organisational patterns are framed by structures in the countries of settlement (Soysal 1994: 86), understood as having 'a dual nature as both the medium and the outcome of the social practices they recursively organise' (Giddens 1984: 25), their patterns are also framed by the strategies and networks of the migrants themselves. In particular, associations' long-term functionality depends to a large extent on migrants' ability to build alliances and gain recognition among the authorities in the countries of settlement. Since alliances and networks are often established by individuals active in associations, the notion of association leadership is taken into account and assessed.

Methodology and Rationale for Comparative Research

Methodology and Empirical Data

This article is based on empirical data collected during several periods between August 2008 and December 2010 in Italy and Finland. The data consist of a total of 96 semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation conducted during events such as seminars and meetings which were organised directly by Somali associations or in which Somalis took an active part. In both countries, the same interview guidelines were used to interview leaders and active members of Somali associations as well as key informants, including civil servants within government ministries and NGOs.

The limits of the qualitative methodology adopted mainly relate to the number of interviews collected, which does not allow for generalisations. However the methodology presents several advantages, namely the opportunity to gather detailed information and shed light on previously under-investigated phenomena—such as leadership, the developmental trajectories of associations, fragmentation and networking strategies—from the Somalis' point of view.

In Finland, a total of 50 interviews were collected. Thirty-five were conducted with representatives of Somali associations and 15 with key informants such as officials in government ministries and representatives of native Finnish NGOs. In the first phase of the fieldwork, Somali associations belonging to the Finnish Somalia Network were approached, and key persons active in these associations were interviewed. The snowball method was then used to arrange more interviews. Interviewees were the

associations' chairpersons, members of the board or other persons active in the association. All interviewees of Somali origin were first-generation migrants, born in different parts of Somalia/Somaliland. Four of the interviewees of Somali origin were female and 31 were male. Key informants, including representatives from the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs and native Finnish NGOs were selected on the basis of their knowledge of and experience in Somali issues. In Finland, all interviews were conducted in the Helsinki metropolitan area (cities of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa) because nearly 80 per cent of Somalis in Finland live in this area (Statistics Finland 2011). Interviews were gathered in either Finnish or English, depending on the language in which the interviewee felt the most comfortable.

In Italy, 46 interviews were conducted—16 with institutional and non-governmental key informants and 30 with Somalis (25 interviewees of Somali origin were female and five were male). Somali associations involved in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/UN Instraw-led initiative for promoting the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) through peace and reconstruction processes in Somalia and by the Somali diaspora were approached first.

In all interviews, Italian was the language used. Interviewees of Somali origin were active in the associations as leaders or members. Most interviewees were first-generation migrants born in Somalia. Due to colonial ties, most were from the southern and central regions of the country. The associations selected were active with regard to Somalia and engaged with institutions at the national or local level in Italy through searching for funds for their initiatives. The key informants were either knowledgeable about or experienced in Somali issues, active in NGOs working in Somalia, or representatives of public authorities in the ministries, municipalities and provinces. In Italy, the local dimension is important, both because the Somali community lives scattered over the entire national territory and because decentralised development cooperation takes place at this level. Interviews were gathered in the cities of Milan, Rome, Turin and Florence, which are home to the largest populations of Somalis in Italy.

Rationale for Comparison

The rationale for the comparison between Italy and Finland derives from the fact that the political opportunity structures (POS) in the two countries are very different, especially as regards access to citizenship, immigration and integration policies and how migrant associations are perceived and supported. Moreover, the relationship of each country with Somalia differs.

Italian Citizenship Law (Statute no. 91 of 1992) is highly restrictive in both letter and practice, with 90 per cent of applications for naturalisation being rejected. This Act penalises non-EU immigrants, while introducing a strong principle of co-ethnic preference—the period of residence has been increased, compared to the precedenting citizenship law Statute No. 555 dated 1912, to ten years for non-EU citizens,

discouraging their full access to citizenship rights, while foreigners of Italian descent can apply after three years and EU citizens after four (Zincone 2005; Zincone and Caponio 2006).

In Italy, national immigration law defines social benefits, integration procedures and the status of migrants. It is strict, often contradictory (Pastore 2004) and permeated by anti-immigrant rhetoric and recurrent shifts between reception and rejection measures (Bolaffi and Damiani 1996; Zincone and Caponio 2006). With regard to social policies and integration measures, Italy has developed a decentralised system in which local institutions develop their own immigration policies using national funds (Chaloff 2005). The national fund supporting the integration measures promoted by regional and local institutions was established by Law 40/1998. In regions sensitive towards migrant integration and welfare, this law resulted in a proliferation of migrant associations. However, Italian immigration and integration legislation is disjointed, as initiatives undertaken by the authorities at different levels do not translate into national policies but remain experimental and implicit. Moreover, national and local governmental institutions have often preferred to delegate all issues concerning migration to Italian NGOs. This has generated a crowding-out effect in relation to migrant organisations, so that both lay and Catholic Italian organisations have claimed to fully represent migrants' interests (see Caponio 2005).

In Finland, compared to Italy, citizenship requirements by application are less strict. In fact the Nationality Act was amended in 2011 and the changes included a shorter residential-period requirement. Citizenship can be obtained if an immigrant has lived in the country permanently for five years, has a satisfactory degree of knowledge of either Swedish or Finnish, 'has not committed any punishable act', and can provide 'proof of a reliable account of his or her livelihood'. Citizenship cannot, however, be obtained 'if there are well-founded reasons for suspecting that the naturalisation will jeopardise the security of the State or public order, or if the main purpose of acquiring citizenship is to take advantage of the benefit related to Finnish citizenship without aiming to settle in Finland, or if naturalisation conflicts with the best interests of the State for some other reason on the basis of an overall consideration of the applicant's situation' (Nationality Act 359/2003).

Initial experiments in funding migrant associations have often been unsuccessful, as migrant associations either lacked professional guidance or were left alone to deal with issues they were unprepared to manage. As funds decreased over the course of the last decade, migrant associations imploded. There are, however, signs of a shift in this trend, with migrant organisations receiving support through capacity-building programmes (Mezzetti *et al.* 2009). Most organisations receive funds from annual membership fees, but some also apply to local calls for project proposals which are open to migrant organisations (e.g. the Municipality of Milan and the Trento Province). Some associations also apply for funds in partnership with development NGOs in proposal calls such as the EU-level Joint Migration Development Initiative.

Receiving public funds has resulted in the obligation to formalise associations and to register in municipal, provincial, regional or national association registries.

Finland, in turn, has policies and measures for integrating migrants based on the Act of Integration (L 493/1999, §2, last amended in 2011), and social allowances are available. One of the main aims of migrant integration is to help migrants adopt the main characteristics of Finnish culture while maintaining their own culture, language and religion. Although the integration system includes social allowances, resources have been criticised as being insufficient and the process of integration as being top down.

Finland has a high number of voluntary associations compared to most other countries in the world (see for example Siisiäinen 2008), and immigrants—particularly refugees—have been active in establishing associations (Pyykkönen 2005; Saksela 2003). Migrant associations are acknowledged as playing a role in integration processes as partners, in areas such as supplementing activities provided by the authorities and as interlocutors with the authorities regarding immigration issues. Migrant associations are perceived by the authorities as important because they provide an arena for participation in society. It is, however, explicitly stated that migrant associations should themselves integrate into Finnish society in terms of obeying the laws and aiming to adapt the migrant group's cultural traditions to Finnish society (Ministry of the Interior 2009a, 2009b: 28–9).

According to the Finnish Associations Act (1989/503) registration makes it possible for an association to obtain rights and make commitments. Thus, registration is a precondition for external funding. Migrant associations can apply for funding from several sources, including the Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs and cities, but often without any specific quotas for migrants. Thus, it is of the utmost importance that associations fulfill the bureaucratic requirements relating to the management of associations and project funding. This often poses challenges to migrant associations. A few projects providing capacity-building measures for migrant associations exist and aim to provide advice and courses on how to operate successfully and in accordance with Finnish bureaucratic requirements.

Italy and Finland's historical relationships with Somalia have taken extremely different paths, which partly explains the migration history of the two countries and the stratification of different Somali communities. While southern Somalia is a former Italian colony, the historical link between Finland and Somalia is limited to development cooperation programmes in the 1980s. Because of its colonial legacy, Italy hosts a historical Somali community, largely composed of local elites who began arriving in the 1950s (Aden and Petrucci 1991; Farah 2003). The Somali population in Italy grew in the late 1980s and early 1990s due to the civil war in Somalia but, soon after, started decreasing due to the lack of social benefits, housing and employment opportunities for refugees (Mezzetti and Guglielmo 2010). Many Somalis relocated to other European countries. In the early stages, Somali migratory flows towards Italy were composed of students, political dissidents and, to a large extent, the wives of diplomats and Somali politicians.

There has recently been an increase in the number of people arriving from Somalia. In December 2009, 7,728 Somalis officially resided in Italy, compared to 6,663 in 2008 and 6,237 in 2007 (ISTAT 2009, 2010). These figures do not include naturalised Somalis or undocumented immigrants. There are no figures available regarding Somali-speaking people in general.

In Italy, decades of migration from Somalia have produced diversity in the social and generational stratification of incoming groups. It is possible, for example, to distinguish between different generations of migrants with varying perceptions, such as the 'newcomers' (those who arrived from 2000 onwards) and the 'old generation' (those who arrived in the late 1990s or earlier). These groups often find themselves in conflict with one another. Social status tends to follow the characteristics of these generational groups. Among the newcomers, there is a high level of unemployment due to the lack of an inclusive system of recruitment and professional training, whereas the 'old' generation is better integrated. In particular, the latter group is generally employed in the business sector and is committed to the social field as professionals, salaried personnel and volunteers. The second generation of Somalis (i.e. young Italian-born Somalis) constitute an interesting case. They are generally much more professional than their parents and, with certain exceptions, less involved in Somali affairs.

The first asylum-seekers of Somali origin came to Finland in the late 1980s and, from 1990 onwards, the numbers increased, with many arriving via the Soviet Union (currently Russia). After that, more Somalis arrived through family reunification programmes. Today, there are 14,045 Somali mother-tongue speakers, of whom 7,421 are Somali nationals (Statistics Finland 2012). Thus, Somalis represent the largest group of migrants coming from Africa and the fourth largest group of all immigrants (Statistics Finland 2011), attracting interest from policy-makers and academics alike. A considerable part of the Somali community in Finland (nearly 40 per cent) consists of youth and children less than 15 years of age (Statistics Finland 2011). The level of unemployment among Somali nationals is high—55.2 per cent in 2008 (Statistics Finland 2010a)—and, as a community, they are perceived to have a marginal position in society. However, a considerable number of Somalis are Finnish citizens—approximately 5,243 have been naturalised by application in Finland (Finnish Immigration Service 2010, 2011; Statistics Finland 2009, 2010b).

The Trajectories of Somali Associations and their Leadership in Italy and Finland

Somali Associations' General Characteristics

In this section, four major characteristics of Somali associations in Italy and Finland are presented—diversity, fragmentation, switching orientations between settlement and origin countries, and moving towards professionalism.

Concerning diversity, in both countries the participation of Somalis in associations is characterised by numerous initiatives and the co-existence of informal groups,

networks and formalised associations. In Finland there are over 100 registered Somali associations, out of which an estimated 40–50 are functional to some extent (Pirkkalainen 2009). Research in Italy found 41 Somali networks and organisations, mainly in the northern part of the country. The exact number of functioning Somali associations is difficult to determine as it is continuously changing. In Finland, the degree of formalisation is high. In Italy, most organisations are also formalised, except for youth groups and small development organisations. In both countries, most Somali associations are small. Membership ranges from 20 to a few hundred in Finland while, in Italy, most associations have about 20 members. Many associations are not functioning on a sustainable basis and exist only 'on paper', remaining registered but not functional. One reason behind this is a lack of time and commitment since active members often run these associations voluntarily in their free time, which is a challenge for voluntary associations in general (see also Saksela-Bergholm 2009: 131; Warren 2001). The non-functionality of associations can also relate to a lack of capacity to manage associations, or a lack of resources and concrete ideas about how to make the associations function, as this Somali woman from Italy, a researcher at a university in Rome and involved in different associations, stated in an interview in December 2009:

> To create an association one has to programme the activities, have some concrete ideas and objectives. For many it is more important to have an affiliation, to become 'member of' or 'president of', instead of having ideas or debate on what should be done within an organisation.

Fragmentation is a central issue which shapes both the level of cooperation and the associative dimension of the Somali community in both countries (on fragmentation see also Griffiths 2000; Hopkins 2006). Some of the fragmentary lines derive from the situation in the country of origin which, in the case of Somalia, is one of conflict. Fragmentation observed both in Italy and in Finland occurs along several lines: a) diverse political views regarding Somalia, such as—but not only—the status of self-declared independent Somaliland versus the united Republic of Somalia; b) clan affiliations caused by the politicisation of clans during the civil war; and c) different interpretations of Islam, as the conflict in Somalia has increasingly added religious elements.

Interestingly, fragmentation not only relates to the country of origin, but can also emerge from the country of residence or from the migration experience itself. It can relate to social class and depend on which group (such as the elite/ruling class in Somalia) migrants belonged to prior to migration or after migration in terms of social stratification in the country of settlement. Politics in the country of settlement may further deepen the divisions, as in Italy, where local party politics plays this role.

Generation may also affect associational involvement. In Finland, in some cases younger-generation Somalis have formed youth associations, and directed their activities in particular to other youth—and in some cases additionally to the country of origin (see also Hammond *et al.* 2011: 40). In Italy, fragmentation can be observed

between those who arrived before the war began and refugees arriving after the war began, as a Somali woman belonging to the 'old generation' and Deputy President of a Somali organisation in Rome stated in February 2010:

> Divisions in Italy also depend on factors other than clan, such as age and how long you have been living here. However, divisions between 'old *lira*' and 'titanic', those arriving more recently with the boats, are very different from clan. Generational groups are not cohesive, while clans are. Instead, I believe that those arrived more recently may represent a richness. They can teach us things we ignore or that we have forgotten since we have been here for a very long time. We 'old *lira*' we don't do much to welcome them, not just in the sense of helping them out, but in making them feel at home, and mix.

In the Somali case, fragmentation is reflected in the formation of many separate formal Somali associations along the different lines of fragmentation mentioned above. However, the establishment of various associations cannot be attributed only to fragmentary lines within the community. The resourcefulness of Somalis and the restoration of social status can also facilitate the establishment of independent associations (Hopkins 2006; Kleist 2007). The authorities in the country of settlement may also prompt organising a certain way, as was the case in Finland in the early 1990s when newly arrived Somalis did not have adequate knowledge about running associations. The migrants' recent experience of forced migration and the ongoing conflict in Somalia were reflected in the form of mistrust and organising according to clan lines. A Somali man who arrived in Finland in the early 1990s and became Chair of a Somali organisation in Helsinki described the situation in February 2010:

> In the early 1990s, lots of Somalis came to Finland, and authorities advised us that you have to organise, if you don't organise you can not influence. Then Somalis set up lots of associations, those institutions that encouraged them to organise did not necessarily realise that migrants need knowledge before something can be established. We had a civil war in the background, and a lot of conflicts, and that is why lots of associations on the basis of clan or sub-clan were established.

The third central element examined is a shift in the orientation of associations over time. According to the Register of Associations, the first Somali association in Finland was registered in 1992. Since then, many more associations have been formed and registered. Both in Italy and in Finland, Somali associations which registered in the early 1990s were mostly concerned with issues of immigrant integration within the country of settlement.

An interesting shift in orientation towards the country of origin can be observed after the year 2000, which represents a turning point in the Somali conflict for two main reasons. Firstly, in 2000 a peace conference took place in Djibouti during which the Somali diaspora's support was explicitly requested. Secondly, due to the relative stability on the ground, some Somalis took the opportunity to go back to Somalia to run development projects. In several cases, these organisations were not completely

new in substance, but already existed and shifted their objectives. For example, associations previously concerned with immigrant issues in the countries of settlement found new interest in development work in Somalia. However, the conflict in Somalia is continuously changing and, in recent years, some Somalis find their access to certain areas limited due to the deteriorating security situation caused by the rise of radical Islamist rebel groups. In general, most associations in both countries engage simultaneously 'here' and 'there' (see also Kleist 2007), shifting their orientations over time.

The last characteristic that is examined is the progressive tendency of some Somali associations in both countries towards professionalism which, in this context, refers to development towards long-term functionality and to building organisational capacity. As expressed in November 1989 by one key interviewee from Finland, the representative of a project for capacity-building in migrant associations in Helsinki:

> All these people who attend our courses, they know how to run an association. The longer-term functionality of associations is a challenge. Sometimes associations may be established to respond to a specific need, and if challenges are faced, they don't continue. We have managed to create faith in people in associations, but it's a long road. There are, however, success stories, people who can cooperate, they succeed.

Often long-term functionality, or professionalism, relates to resource access, which is determined by a leader's ability to establish crucial alliances, build partnerships and obtain information. The question thus put forward is: What becomes more professional, the associations, or their leaders as 'professionals of mobilisation'? Before exploring this issue further, the notion of leadership is introduced in the next section.

Association Leaders and the Role of Social Capital

As observed by Vermeulen (2005: 48), active members and leaders who put significant effort into building a stable and functional organisation are crucial, especially in the initial phase of an association. Leaders are also key in creating trust among members and, most importantly, among the authorities in the country of settlement (see also Saksela-Bergholm 2009: 129), but they can also promote fragmentation, as highlighted earlier.

Leaders of Somali associations can be described as possessing and using to different degrees both 'bonding' (within their own ethnic community) and 'bridging' (with institutions and actors in the countries of settlement and origin) social capital (Putnam 2000: 22–3). Leaders using bridging social capital seem better equipped for acting strategically as brokers, building bridges and bringing together actors not used to working together. In this way, they move their associations towards new forms of professionalism. These leaders seem capable of building trust with the authorities and institutions in the countries of settlement.

Being a leader is by no means an easy task and, in order to succeed in building an organisation, the ability to secure resources and create trust among members and with outside institutions is needed. These leadership characteristics relate to the bridging dimension of social capital—the following were found to be similar in both Italy and Finland.

First, a capacity for multipositionality (Martiniello 1993: 249) and networking is typical of leaders in both countries. Leaders are simultaneously involved in many activities within different types of informal and formal, often transnational, associations. Some leaders are also involved in politics in the country of settlement, mainly at the local level, such as standing for city council elections. This has allowed individuals to establish relationships with other migrant communities as well as with members of civil society organisations in the settlement country, thus exiting their ethnic circles. The ability to simultaneously engage in different types of association enriches personal networks.

Second, a high level of education and high social status characterise many successful leaders. In the case of Italy, Somali associations include 'high-ranking' members who belong or have belonged to the ruling class in Somalia and are highly educated. Those holding leadership positions within the associations seem to reflect this social background. For example, the president of one community-based association had been the Minister of Health and Higher Education during the Siad Barre regime. In the case of Finland, a number of leaders and activists have university-level education and, in many, although not all, cases, they also have full-time jobs in Finland.

Third, in both countries leaders are knowledgeable about the language, culture and bureaucratic procedures of the country of settlement and possess mediating capacities. These can all be considered as indicators of integration. Many of the leaders in Italy and Finland are citizens of the country of settlement, which gives them the opportunity to actively take part in political activities among other things. Citizenship is essential in both countries for involvement in politics, as only citizens can stand in national elections and therefore establish formal relationships with national institutions. Furthermore, acquiring citizenship is perceived as proof of full integration, giving the impression that one holds all the capacities to assume a leadership position, including the ability to bridge the gap between the society of settlement and the community of origin.

When looking at the 'bonding' dimension of social capital, leadership within groups cannot be reduced to leaders' strategies for personal success. Leaders must also have abilities that 'serve' the groups through mediating capacities. Authority itself does not seem to be enough. Good leadership needs to be built on the ability to maintain relationships, develop a collaborative climate, and solve conflicts within organisations. Not many people have all these characteristics, but the groups which have been able to allow these characteristics to emerge within the community have received recognition by the authorities in the country of settlement.

A major difference was found between Finland and Italy concerning the gender composition of association leaders. Although the qualitative data do not allow for generalisations on this issue, some observations are put forward. Women are often perceived as possessing bridging social capital, especially by institutions in countries of settlement. This is based on the observation that Somali women create intercultural organisations, whose members include Italians or Finns and women of different ethnic backgrounds, as if the gender dimension itself works as a bridging factor. This does not hold true in all cases, as fragmentation and competition along the lines mentioned earlier can often be observed among women too (see also Gardner and Bushra 2004; Kleist 2010).

In the Finnish case, most registered Somali associations are led by males, and thus most of the interviewees from Finland are male. However, some very active and visible Finnish Somali women who are engaged in associations, local politics and many other forums in society are found. Many of these Somali women have established or joined multicultural women's organisations rather than exclusively Somali associations. In Italy, however, most Somali associations are formed and led by females, which explains why most of the interviewees from Italy are women.

The reasons behind the different gender composition of leadership in Italy and Finland relate, firstly, to the migration histories of the two countries, which led to different formations of Somali communities. Second, it relates to patterns of migration and labour market opportunities. Virtually all Somalis arrived in Finland as asylum-seekers or through family reunification programmes, leading to the settlement of complete Somali families in Finland. The predominance of female leadership in Italy is partly related to labour market opportunities there, which are almost exclusively in the care sector—a sector which absorbs a predominantly female labour force. For these reasons, many Somali men have re-migrated to other European countries where better opportunities for employment or as refugees could be found (Mezzetti *et al.* 2013).

Towards the Professionalism of Associations or of their Leaders?

Maintaining associations has become a major challenge in both countries. Somalis have created a large number of informal and formal associations with several distinct objectives that, in some cases, compete with each other. Over time, however, some associations and their leaders have started manifesting aspects of 'bridging' social capital, in other words opening up towards settlement-country institutions instead of leaning exclusively on their respective ethnic communities. This willingness to be more open has helped them to create a trusted position in the eyes of the public authorities and has facilitated access to external resources. This is a key aspect in explaining how some of these associations have been able to become professional and function in a sustainable manner. The use of bridging social capital, however, seems to rest more in the hands of individuals than of associations, as stated by one key

interviewee, a member of staff of a Finnish NGO providing capacity-building for migrant associations in Helsinki, in November 2009:

> It is typical for migrant organisations to be established around one strong leader, and he/she runs it for a few years, then the leader gets tired and the association falls. But this is of course typical for all voluntary associations. But it helps if we can create networking between associations, that is a key [in sustaining associations].

In Italy, access to resources depends on the ability of associations and their leaders to cross ethnic boundaries using, for example, leaders' networks that were built and developed through engagement in local Italian party politics or through their work experience in trade unions. This crossing of ethnic boundaries may result in the establishment of associations with a mixed membership. One Italian Somali man, President of a Somali Federation of Associations in Florence, stated in January 2010:

> In 1998 I was a candidate for the City Council (...) I was not elected (...), but thanks to this and other experiences I know many people within the institutions, especially at the municipal and regional level. I have also been an officer within a trade union since 1991, where I was responsible for the immigration sector. This experience presented the occasion to understand deeply all issues related to immigration. In fact, after that assignment I was appointed the Deputy President of the Regional Committee on Immigration, from 1991 to 1996, an institutional office for which I received a salary.

New small funding initiatives delivered by Italian institutions in the field of migration and development policies have encouraged migrant associations to become institutionalised NGOs. Pilot projects established at the national and local levels to foster interaction between institutions and migrant groups are privileged *loci* where we can observe connections between Italian political actors and individuals of Somali origin, and explain the empowerment and thus the emergence of new leaders within migrant associations. Ethnic leadership can also act behind the scenes, strategically appointing—in order to exploit their bridging social capital—experienced people of Italian origin as the associations' directors or presidents, as this female Somali Deputy Director of an NGO with a mixed membership of Italians and Somalis in Trento explained in March 2010:

> I was introduced to the Director of an NGO based in the city where I reside (...) He helped me to draft the organisation's statute and suggested that I should not candidate myself to become President, but that I should find someone of Italian origin, well introduced in the 'non-profit' system.

In Finland, professionalisation and access to external funding are linked to the process of developing associations' capacities, in which leaders often have a key role. However, they are not directly linked to personal social networks, as they are in Italy. Due to a lack of knowledge about the Finnish system, some associations, especially in the early 1990s, were unable to handle external project funding. Cases of

mismanagement were reported, which have cast a shadow on Somali associations, and those functioning today have had to work hard to rebuild trust with the public authorities and the Somali community. As stated by the female Somali Chair of a multicultural women's organisation in Helsinki in August 2008, building organisational capacity and responding to the requirements of Finnish bureaucracy is not an easy task and requires knowledge and commitment:

> In Finland there is bureaucracy; associations have to do a lot, not only a plan of action, but financial statements and all. These things have to be taken care of carefully. Establishment of an association is easy, but it is challenging to maintain it. People have set up lots of associations, but people who can maintain them are few.

The learning process of new bureaucratic procedures may be long but can be facilitated by the settlement-country authorities. As mentioned, in Finland certain capacity-building measures such as training courses for migrant associations have been set up. These have contributed to the increased management skills of Somali associations, allowing them to compete on an equal basis with native Finnish associations for external project funding. Moreover, to build capacity, leaders have been strategic in approaching native Finnish experts, such as those in the field of development cooperation, recruiting them to help the association in various tasks including project planning, reporting and bookkeeping.

Concluding Remarks

In this article we have analysed Somali associations in Italy and Finland, highlighting some of their general characteristics and trajectories, and explaining what makes an association professional, in terms of establishment and maintenance over time.

The major contribution of the article rests in the effort to disentangle the notion of leadership from that of associations, and from a theoretical point of view to complement the POS concept with relational aspects, in particular through the notion of social capital, understood here as migrants' abilities and strategies for building networks and finding alliances in the country of settlement.

As for the influence of POS on Somali associations, the striking differences between POS in Italy and Finland relate to the different degrees to which migrant associations are considered legitimate actors in immigration issues and how they are supported.

Two distinct paths for accessing resources were observed. Finland represents a model with explicit opportunities (e.g. public funding schemes open to both autochthonous and migrant associations) at the national level. A few capacity-building measures for migrant associations have been set up in order to increase management skills and allow them to compete on an equal basis with native Finnish associations. This framework contributed to the professionalisation of some Somali associations, revealing how migrant associations are perceived by the authorities as having a stake in activities concerning migrant issues.

Italy, on the other hand, represents a model with informal opportunities often relegated to the local level. The professionalisation of migrant associations lies in their ability to broaden networks and alliances beyond ethnic boundaries, often drawing from local politics, trade unions and other civil society organisations. This ability relates entirely to the associations' leaders and the use they make of social capital. This framework also reflects the fact that native Italian organisations are often perceived by the authorities as more legitimate partners than migrant organisations themselves when dealing with migration issues.

In both countries, the role of association leaders and the use they make of social capital is key in explaining professionalism. Despite the different paths for accessing external resources, which are crossing ethnic boundaries in one case and which have the ability to raise organisational capacity and follow bureaucratic procedures in the other, in both Italy and Finland it has often been up to leaders to move and engage with the Somali community and with institutions in the countries of settlement. It is the leaders who have tried to build trust with all the actors and groups involved—in other words to use and create both bridging and bonding social capital. This has resulted in a legitimisation process whereby, through trying to find human, social and financial resources, both from their community and from external authorities, leaders have developed innovative strategies, making them 'professionals of mobilisation'. Some of their professionalism, in turn, had consequences for the professionalisation of their associations in terms of projects undertaken and partnerships established.

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III

MECHANISMS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SOMALI DIASPORA AND ITALIAN AND FINNISH DEVELOPMENT ACTORS

by

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8. Mechanisms of interaction between the Somali diaspora and Italian and Finnish development actors

Petra Mezzetti, Valeria Saggiomo, Päivi Pirkkalainen

[A] Engaging diasporas for peace and development: a relational approach

In the course of the last decade development institutions and governments in migrants' countries of residence and of origin have been increasingly seeking ways to engage diaspora groups to contribute more effectively to the development of their countries of origin, varying in their modes, willingness and abilities to effectively engage with diasporas. Although this engagement is still a rather marginal phenomenon, which builds on the spontaneous involvement of diasporas in initiatives towards their country of origin, it has been taking several forms, such as involving migrants in policy formulation; building the capacity of diaspora organisations to become professionals and manage development projects; funding diaspora organisations' projects; recruiting diaspora members as volunteers; or involving immigrants in return programmes of different types (de Haas 2006, 4). This topic has been much discussed in the policy domain, whereas a thorough analysis of engagement dynamics and mechanisms of interaction between diaspora groups and different actors in the peace and development fields still remains unexplored.

This chapter compares mechanisms of interaction occurring in Italy and Finland between institutional actors and the Somali diaspora (organised or as individuals). The focus is on the mutual interaction between the Somali diaspora and the host countries' institutions, and the use of the available political opportunity structures (POS), highlighting the dynamic role played by all the actors involved.

Firstly, we examine how the Somali diaspora is engaged by host-country institutions − governmental and non-governmental − for fostering peace and development in Somalia; and secondly, how the Somali diaspora

itself engages institutions, by using different political opportunity structures when seeking to support peace and development in Somalia.

From a theoretical perspective the study's inspiration can be positioned within neo-institutional theories, which refer to the notion of political opportunity structures (POS), while also accounting for criticisms of them, e.g., for being too static and within migration studies for considering only the perspective of host countries (Bousetta 2000; Baubock 2003; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Garbaye 2005; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008).

In this chapter, we make use of a revised POS notion, adding a dynamic element to it. This element is contained in the notion of 'engagement', which invokes a relational approach, focusing on mechanisms of interaction, ties, networks, alliances and partnerships established between Somalis and Italian and Finnish governmental and non-governmental institutions, at different levels. The rationale for comparing the two countries derives from several differences between country contexts, namely their migration history, their historical relationship with Somalia, existing policies on integration, funding structures available for diaspora organisations and initiatives to engage the diaspora in development cooperation. These differences in opportunity structures provide a good starting point to enrich the notion of POS, showing, as the Somali case demonstrates, that despite different contextual opportunities in Italy and Finland, numerous similarities can be found in diaspora engagement dynamics in both countries.

We start the chapter by a further elaboration of the conceptual framework and methodology adopted. Secondly, we offer the background information − in terms of opportunities available for migrants − on the contexts of the two countries. The third section of the chapter contains an assessment of the empirical research conducted. The last section concludes, in line with a few previous works (see for example Portes, 2001; Koopmans et al, 2005; Kleist, 2007) that there is a strong and positive link between migrants' levels of integration and transnational activism.

[A] Theoretical reflections on engagement dynamics

As mentioned above, many comparative ethnic and migration studies have adopted a political opportunity structure (POS) approach to explain variations in forms of migrants' grassroots organising, mobilisation and participation. The POS approach has been developed in social movement and collective action theory (see for example Tilly 1978; Tarrow 1994; Kriesi et al. 1995). The basic idea is that each form of collective action is understood as 'part of a larger political process and as being shaped by opportunities and constraints offered by its political environment' (Koopmans et al, 2005, 16).

The POS notion has been applied to migration studies since the early 1990s. In particular, in his seminal work *The Policy Challenge of Ethnic Diversity* (1994), Patrick Ireland introduced an 'institutional channelling' framework for the study of ethnic mobilisation. According to Ireland, the structure of opportunities in the host societies is represented by the migrants' legal situation; the social and political rights they enjoy; citizenship laws and naturalisation procedures; education, housing and labour and welfare policies (and non-policies). Ireland's contribution has been used as a starting point by several authors who have drawn on his perspective, adding new insights to it (see for example Koopmans and Statham 1999; 2000; Hooghe 2005; Vermeulen 2005; Koopmans et al. 2005).

As the POS approach was originally developed in social movement research, some have claimed it lost some of its complexity when applied to ethnic and migration research (Bousetta 2000, 232). It has been criticised for being static in explaining mobilisation patterns; for not considering the local and transnational level (Garbaye 2005; Caponio 2005; 2006); for its one-sided emphasis on institutional factors, undermining the *agency* and strategies used by migrants; and for being too general, irrespective of the characteristics of particular issue fields and collective actors. In particular, as highlighted by Bousetta, the POS framework seems to neglect immigrant/ethnic organisations' internal and identity construction processes, thus 'misinterpreting immigrants' true role […] and portraying them as passive agents whose actions are determined by institutional structures alone' (Bousetta 2000, 235). This chapter aims to analyse interactive dynamics from the diaspora's perspective, in this way contributing to addressing some of the theoretical gaps highlighted above.

Interactions focus on dynamics between diasporas and different 'institutional interlocutors', in the phrase coined by Patricia Landolt (2008), such as national governments, local authorities, development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and small civil society organisations (CSOs). The concept of institutional interlocutors has been adopted in this study with the aim of further providing a more dynamic account of the role of patterned dialogues and relationships between the diaspora and various institutional and civil society actors (Landolt, 2008, 54).

In order to assess mechanisms of interaction between migrants and institutional interlocutors, we have built a conceptual framework that draws from the most recent evolutions in social movement theory, namely 'contentious politics'. Recent evolutions in social movement literature have as yet rarely been applied to analysing diaspora politics. In Tilly and Tarrow, contentious politics unite 'contention, collective action and politics' (2007, 4-7). 'Contention' has to do with claims-making that impact somebody's interests.[1] 'Collective' action is a manifest, coordinated initiative in favour of common interests or programmes. 'Politics' refers to the fact that most contentions take place outside the political sphere. The political arena is entered when interactions happen with governmental agents: institutions on the national or local levels.[2] It must be noted, however, that politics has different graduations, from mere routine to issues of extreme gravity, like violent conflicts.

The contentious politics framework has been here applied to analyse migrants as organised groups ('collective action'), putting forward claims ('claims-making'*)*, and interacting with governmental actors and non-governmental institutions, thus connected to 'politics', within both the country of origin and of settlement. Without denying the importance of institutional and contextual elements, our theoretical framework shifts the focus from contextual conditions (POS) to more relational and dynamic dimensions inherent to patterns of mobilisation (McAdam *et al.* 2001; Tilly and Tarrow 2007; more recently Morales and Giugni, 2011). Tilly and Tarrow (2007) in particular called for increasing attention on 'mechanisms and processes of contention'[3] In their theorisations 'mechanisms' are 'a delimited class of events that alter relations among specified sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations'

(McAdam *et al.* 2001, 24; Tilly and Tarrow 2007). It has been possible to highlight through the empirical material in this chapter three types of interactive mechanisms between the diaspora and institutional interlocutors: 'certification', 'brokerage' and 'diffusion'.

The chapter is based on empirical data[4] collected in Finland and in Italy, through semi-structured interviews and participant observations that followed shared data collection guidelines (see also Pirkkalainen et al., 2013).[5] Field work research in Italy was conducted in five cities in five different regions: a) Turin-Piemonte; b) Milan-Lombardia; c) Firenze-Toscana; d) Roma-Lazio) and e) Province of Trento.[6] In Finland fieldwork was carried out in the Helsinki metropolitan area (cities of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa) as the majority of Somalis are concentrated in this area.[7] While in Italy most Somalis interviewees were women (25 out of 30), in Finland most interviewees of Somali origin were male (31 out of 35).

[A] Comparing contexts in Italy and Finland: different opportunities for the Somali diaspora

There are significant differences between the Italian and the Finnish contexts that have affected both the living conditions of Somalis and the interaction mechanisms between diasporas and settlement country institutions. Firstly, the relationship that Italy and Finland have with Somalia is very different, which partly explains the different formation of Somali communities in both countries. While southern Somalia is a former Italian colony, the historical link between Finland and Somalia started through development cooperation programmes in the 1980s.

Because of its colonial legacy, Italy hosts a historical Somali community, largely composed of local elites, who arrived in the country starting in the 1950s (Aden and Petrucci, 1991; Farah, 2003). The Somali population in Italy grew in the late 1980s- early 1990s due to the civil war in Somalia but soon after started decreasing in number, due to the lack of social benefits, housing and employment opportunities for refugees (Mezzetti and Guglielmo, 2010). And indeed, many Somalis relocated to other European countries. In the early stages, Somali flows towards Italy were composed predominantly of women who were the wives of

diplomats and Somali politicians. This partly explains the large number of well-educated Somali women in Italy, active in establishing diaspora associations and in participating in trade unions, political parties, grass root organisations, NGOs. The gender composition of the Somali diaspora can also be explained by the little state support for refugees and asylum seekers mentioned above, coupled with the market demand for caretaking jobs directed at women. It has been harder for men initially to find satisfactory work, which has resulted in the past, in decisions to move elsewhere or to not even choose Italy as a primary destination. However, recently there has been an increase in the number of people arriving in Italy from the Horn of Africa: as of 31st December 2010, 8 112 Somalis officially resided in Italy,[8] compared to the 2009, 2008 and 2007 figures that registered respectively 7728, 6663 and 6237 Somalis (Istat 2011; 2010; 2009; 2008).

Better social benefits have been offered by Northern European countries which received refugees and asylum seekers predominantly in the 1990s, allowing family reunification programmes. The first refugees of Somali origin arrived in Finland in the late 1980s and in higher numbers from 1990 onwards as asylum seekers. In 2011 14 045 Somali mother tongue speakers resided in Finland, out of which 7 421 are Somali nationals (Statistics Finland, 2012). Somalis represent the first and largest group of migrants coming from Africa and the fourth largest group of all immigrants in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2011), attracting interest from policy makers and academics. Over half of the Somali community consists of youth and children under 19 years old (Statistics Finland, 2012; Tiilikainen, 2003; Hautaniemi, 2004) and many Somalis are now Finnish citizens.

Secondly, Italy and Finland differ in their immigration and integration policies and measures. National immigration law defines the social benefits, the integration procedures and migrants' status with all related rights and duties. Italian immigration legislation is strict and often contradictory (Pastore, 2004); it is permeated by anti-immigrant rhetoric and recurrent shifts between reception and rejection measures (Bolaffi and Damiani 1996; Zincone and Caponio 2006) and still reflects the need to be harmonized with other European immigration policies and practices. At present, Somali refugees in Italy are entitled to receive a residence permit for twelve months only, whose renewal takes another six months. During these months, refugees are illegal residents in Italy and this causes difficulties in satisfying their basic survival needs, such as finding a job or renting an apartment. The Italian Ministry of Interior is the responsible institution for

immigration issues. Its role is however limited to the management of a reception quota system, that establishes the number of immigrants that Italy can absorb every year, and to the acceptance of refugees and asylum seekers, through the decentralised programme for the protection of refugees named SPRAR (System for the Protection of Refugees and Asylum Seekers).[9]

Also with regard to social policies and integration measures, since the late 1990s, Italy has developed a decentralised system, where local institutions may develop their own immigration policies using national funds (Chaloff, 2005). However, Italian immigration and integration legislation and policies remain dispersive and this negatively impacts the capacity of national institutions to benefit from a paradigm that could fruitfully connect migration and development. When looking at institutional structures, the separation between migration and development issues is further revealed: while the Ministry of Interior is responsible for immigration issues, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs deals with international cooperation policies and the two Ministries scarcely interact.[10]

Finland, in turn, has effective policies and measures for integrating immigrants/ refugees, and social allowances are available, based on the Act of Integration (L 493/1999, §2) which came into force in 1999, and was lastly amended in 2011. Upon the settlement of refugees, municipalities are in charge of realising their integration plan, and during the realisation period (three years) refugees are entitled to allowances. Although the integration system includes social allowances, in reality resources have been criticized as being insufficient and the process of integration for being too much 'authority-driven'. In Finland the Ministry of Interior is responsible for immigration policies, and integration issues are dealt with by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy. The actual tasks that relate to immigration, integration and good ethnic relations are carried out by the immigration units of the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment at the regional level. The Ministry engages immigrant organisations mainly through the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO),[11] which also has a representative of the Somali community. As in Italy, institutional separation exists between ministries regarding migration and development issues.

Thirdly, both development cooperation administrative structures and formal initiatives for engaging the Somali diaspora in the two countries differ. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been articulating its activities with the Somali diaspora under two different departments: Development Cooperation General Direction (DG/CS) and the Sub Saharan Africa General Direction (DG/ASS); however, neither has elaborated any specific guidelines or an explicit vision, nor have dedicated funding mechanisms for supporting diaspora groups in their efforts towards peace and development in the countries of origin. This gap at the national level is sometimes addressed at the local level (regions, municipalities), where decentralised cooperation initiatives take place. As a consequence of the 1990s decentralisation process in Italy, local authorities (Municipalities, Provinces and Regions) have a certain degree of autonomy from the central State; for instance, they can enact their own norms, laws and regulations, provided that these are in line with the Constitution. Similarly to the national level, local authorities usually have two separate departments for welfare/immigration policies on the one hand, and for international relations/decentralised cooperation on the other. In implementing their international cooperation policies, regions, provinces and municipalities in Italy may fund both Italian and diaspora NGOs that grew at the local level thanks to the above mentioned National Fund established by Law 40/1998. However initial funding experiments were often unsuccessful as migrant associations often lacked professional guidance and were left alone in dealing with issues they were unprepared to manage. Additionally, as funds decreased, migrant associations imploded. As a consequence, national and local governmental institutions in Italy have often preferred to delegate migrants' issues to Italian NGOs, which claim to be representative of migrants' interests, generating a 'crowding out effect'[12] vis-à-vis migrant organisations (see also Caponio, 2005). There are, however, signs of a shift in this trend, with migrant organisations receiving training and capacity building that make them better equipped to manage transnational development projects, and access financial support from the European Union, bank foundations, municipalities etc. (Mezzetti et al., 2009). These experiments and pilot projects are generating partnerships between diaspora and Italian NGOs for promoting and implementing cooperation projects in the diaspora's countries of origin, as described in the next sections.

In the Finnish case 'the Government Resolution on Development Policy' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland 2004) defines migration as one of the areas to deal with in the development policy coherence

framework. The resolution states that 'the Government will consider issues relating to migration and immigration more coherently from the perspective of development policy. It aims to support the positive effects of migration and prevent harmful effects, especially trafficking in human beings, prostitution, and other crimes associated with illegal immigration' (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2004, 25). Migration is recognised as a development issue, and if properly managed, as having potential to contribute to development (ibid.). Within this policy framework there are, however, no explicit guidelines on how to engage Finnish based diaspora groups in development activities in the countries of origin. Engagement and cooperation thus take place within existing mainstream policies and frameworks. This reflects the Finnish integration policy based on the ideals of an egalitarian welfare state, which traditionally aimed at integrating and 'equalizing' all of its members. In this perspective, Finland does not have differentiated structures for diasporas but the aim has been to integrate them into the existing system. This being the case, the key issue is the capacity of certain diaspora groups to 'get their voice heard' among Finnish actors and to access funding structures available to all citizens. In contrast to Italy, initiatives regarding the Somali diaspora's involvement in peace and development issues have, at least so far, taken place at the national level.

[A] Diaspora's engagement dynamics in Italy and in Finland

The following section offers a description of the different typologies (characteristics and shifts in orientation) of Somali actors - organised or as individuals - involved in development and peace-building initiatives towards the country of origin and an assessment of the different mechanisms of interaction occurring between this diaspora and 'institutional interlocutors'

[B] The Somali diaspora in Italy and Finland: characteristics and shifts over time

We found 41 Somali networks and organisations in Italy, mainly established in the Northern part of the country. Originally, the majority of them dealt with problems related to the Somali diaspora in the country of settlement and could be classified as 'community based organisations'. During the late 1980s and 1990s

these organisations acted as reference points for the whole Somali community and newcomers. Today, however, these organisations are less structured and popular and have shifted their scopes. The organisations' active leaders and members often belong to the former Somali ruling class and are highly educated. These same leaders have also been active in local politics. In Italy however the lack of political opportunities, in terms of funding, policies, alliances offered to the organisations, has sometimes induced these leaders to look for opportunities at the transnational level, especially by taking part into the national reconciliation process at 'home'. Entry into 'homeland politics – directly engaging with the politics in the country of origin' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 762) represents a first 'shift' in the organisations' orientations (from the country of settlement towards the country of origin) that has been observed over time. Importantly, however, participation in politics – whether in the country of residence or towards the homeland - occurs mostly at the individual level, while the associations act as a legitimising constituency forum. Over the years community-based organisations have become the launching pad for individuals to act at the transnational level either in the Somali political sphere, or at the developmental level 'in translocal politics', through 'initiatives from abroad to better the situation in local communities of origin' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 763). Some of these same community-based organisations evolved instead into development organisations, capable of implementing development activities in the places where the diaspora organisations' leaders and members are originally from. This second shift indicates how some associations have developed their capacities and operate like any other developmental NGO working in partnership with other Italian organisations and through local counterparts in Somalia, sometimes run by returnees. (see more on the issue of returnees, see Peter Hansen 2007). Diaspora organisations in Italy show differences in their levels of formalisation and professionalization; in some cases they have overcome voluntarism and have moved towards a more professional structure, with salaried members among their staff who are highly qualified and professionalised. Importantly, in all these cases, membership is mixed and intercultural including Italians, and/or migrants with different backgrounds. The orientation of Somali diaspora organisations in Italy towards development in the country of origin, while occasionally evidence of opportunistic behaviours, has been largely dependent on the availability of funding opportunities. This orientation may also be induced by the institutions' interest in considering the diaspora as actors of change in Somalia. Many organisations engage simultaneously in different types of activities directed both towards Italy and Somalia (see also Kleist

2007). '*Immigrant politics'* (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 762), including women's integration and empowerment as well as the facilitation of intercultural initiatives, in fact, is still an area of operation of Somali diaspora organisations acting at the transnational level.[13]

In the case of Finland, Somalis are active in associations which they either have established on their own or they join multi-cultural or Finnish NGOs and CSOs, and which also lobby on Somalia-related issues at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Finnish NGOs. Some Somalis are also active in politics, in particular at the municipal level. Despite the 'pro-activity' shown among this community, Somalis in Finland are also often associated − for example in the media − with social problems. The level of unemployment among Somali nationals is very high, 55.2 per cent in 2008 (Statistics Finland 2010) and as a community it is perceived to be in a marginal position in society.

The total number of Somali associations in Finland is both an indicator of the community's commitment and pro-activity, as well as a sign of its fragmentation: there are over 100 registered Somali associations out of which around 40-50 are functioning (Pirkkalainen, 2009). The exact number of functioning Somali associations is very difficult to establish as the figures are continuously changing: new ones are set up whilst others close down; some are only officially registered and names change frequently. Finland, like other Nordic European countries, generally has a very high number of voluntary associations compared to other countries in the world (see for example Siisiäinen 2008) and immigrants, refugees in particular, have been active in establishing voluntary associations (Saksela 2003; Pyykkönen 2005). Establishing an association in Finland is rather easy, and it is a common way to participate in Finnish society.[14] However, running an association is challenging and resources are scarce. It has been observed that many associations have ceased to exist after active individuals committing their own time got tired or too busy in other arenas of life. In Finland, there are several examples of small community organisations set up by Somalis. They often carry out activities to facilitate the integration of Somalis into Finnish society, as well as activities to maintain the Somali culture and language, thus being engaged in 'immigrant politics' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 762). In addition to small community organisations, there are two umbrella types of organisations. One functions as a 'guardian' for the rights of Somalis, as a 'facilitator' for the integration of Somalis in society and as a

reference point for Finnish institutions. The second is the network for organisations working for the development of Somalia. There are, however, continuous challenges in creating 'a common voice' of Somalis as the internal fragmentation of the community is also reflected within diaspora organisations. Concerning the orientation of associations and shifts over time, many associations started with activities concerning 'immigrant politics', and have shifted towards development activities in the areas of origin, and are currently maintaining both activity levels simultaneously. Thus a clear line between community-based organisations and development-project oriented organisations is often difficult to draw. Some Somali organisations have accessed external funding for development projects and can thus be defined as development organisations engaging in 'translocal politics' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 763). There are also examples of Somalis engaging in 'homeland politics' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 762) towards Somalia/ Somaliland but, as already noted for the Italian case, this engagement takes place mostly at the individual level.

[A] Mechanisms of Interaction between Somalis and Institutions

In this section we analyse interactions between the Somali diaspora and institutional interlocutors in the countries of settlement in activities aimed at realising peace and development in Somalia using the contentious politics theorisation (McAdam et al. 2001; Tarrow and Tilly 2007). The aim is to present illustrative cases on how on the one hand Somalis have been engaged by institutional interlocutors and on the other, have been using opportunities made available by institutions in the countries of settlement when engaging with Somalia.

[B] 'Certifying' Somali Diaspora Organisations

In both countries, Finnish and Italian institutions have been aiming at strengthening and empowering Somali diaspora organisations in terms of capacity building, networking and fundraising capacities. Institutions have thus been interacting with diaspora organisations through such initiatives of assistance, showing their availability in recognising and approving the existence and claims-making role of this political actor, in this

case diaspora organisations. This mechanism of 'certification' is de facto the recognition process whereby institutions in the settlement countries hold the power to set requirements for legitimising certain organisations (McAdam et al. 2001, 158). In this type of interaction, diaspora actors have been able to show their pro-activeness in responding to the available opportunities put in place by institutional interlocutors as the following examples demonstrate.

In Trento, Italy, diaspora organisations have been approached by local institutions to start development projects in their countries of origin. These initiatives, pending some necessary requirements, resulted in an explicit recognition of the diaspora as a valid interlocutor in development activities. Such requirements include: being a non-profit organisation active in the Province of Trento, having solidarity and international development among their scopes, and a demonstrated awareness and fundraising activity in this territory.

Several techniques have been adopted by the Somali diaspora to meet the necessary requests for accessing the Province of Trento's funds. The following example describes the capacity exercised by the Somali diaspora in adopting sophisticated strategies for being 'certified' as a valid interlocutor for development activities. The NGO 'Una scuola per la Vita' (Trento) is an 'ethnically mixed' organisation – including Somalis and native settlement country members. It is formally headed by an Italian president who is a prominent member of the local civil society (i.e. the - Italian Christian associations of workers (ACLI) a system acting nationally, which engages and carries out lobbying activities towards local and central authorities). The founder of 'Una scuola per la Vita', by contrast, is a Somali woman who 'recruited' the outstanding candidate for the presidency position, with the specific objective of sharing and bringing his strong institutional and associational background know-how and contacts into the organisation, acting this way as a 'trustee' for the NGO, enabling the establishment of relationships with local institutions and in general receiving help in running the association. This is the story in her own words:

> In 1995 I met the Secretary of Acli [...] and I proposed him to become the President of the association 'Una scuola per la Vita'. He was very busy and I had to show my determination. He finally accepted and our agreement was that he would have acted as the official representative but I would have taken the entire organisation's workload. In fact I worked hard and I managed to achieve

> good results in fundraising. In turn, in his capacity as Secretary of the Acli, he obtained an office for the organisation within the Acli premises. The office was fully furnished and equipped and it was completely free of charge. This gave credibility to my organisation at the local level and I can say it became my best entry-point to reach out to local institutions: slowly I had one project funded, then another one and so on.[15]

The Somali woman continued to be the driving-force of the organisation and to hold contacts with the local partner NGO in Somalia, while deliberately deciding to give up a visible and prominent role in the organisation. This strategy allowed the organisation to obtain formal approval ('certification') by the Province of Trento, and maximise success in funding opportunities. The case of 'Una scuola per la Vita' demonstrates the existence of strategic thinking adopted by the Somali diaspora to benefit from Italian professionals' relational and professional expertise that they can bring into diaspora organisations with the aim of meeting certification criteria set by donor institutions. As demonstrated by the words of another Somali woman living in the Province of Trento this dynamic is not limited to just one single case:

> In 2007 I founded the organisation Kariba with five Italian friends. The current President is an Italian woman who works as a social assistant. Initially I asked another woman who worked in the field of refugees and migration policies but she was already the President of two NGOs and she directed me towards the current President. Among the 5 founders there is also a man who works in the Acli.[16]

Field work in Trento highlighted another strategic element adopted by Somalis in setting up their organisations: the use of development cooperation professionals to correctly draft project proposals and in this way gain access to institutional funds. The case is referred to by an interviewee: 'Our current President has studied how to write project proposals. Since she took this post six years ago, we succeed in approaching institutional donors for big projects and we are considered as one of the most serious organisations for Somalia here in Trento'.[17]

In the Finnish case a number of Somali diaspora organisations have accessed funding from the NGO Development Unit of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA). This funding line for NGO development projects is divided into: a) support for small-medium sized CSO/NGO projects and b) support for large NGO programmes.[18] Within this funding line about 200 NGOs are currently involved in implementing

development cooperation projects in 90 countries, or in sharing information on topics related to development.[19] Somali organisations, unlike other diaspora groups in Finland, have been active in applying for funds for their development projects from the NGO Development Unit at the MFA. The first development project carried out by a Somali association obtained external funding from the MFA in 2000, while more than ten years later in 2010, 11 Somali organisations received support.[20] It is, however, important to highlight funding criteria put in place by the NGO Development Unit of the MFA: there is no 'Somali quota' thus all project proposals of all NGOs/CSOs are evaluated on the same basis; the best project proposals, which meet the formal requirements and have the organisational capacity, get funding – and through these measures receive formal 'certification'.

From the MFA's point of view, the low capacity of Somali diaspora organisations − in terms of management, reporting, writing good quality applications, realising development projects and their more general lack of knowledge/experience of all bureaucratic procedures required in the running of their associations − has hindered their access to funding. All this is reflected in the following statement:

> The Finnish formal bureaucratic system is difficult for Somalis. They clearly face a need for learning the organisational culture and this creates needs for further discussions and contacts with the MFA. At the MFA, funding decisions are made on the basis of written project proposals and it is challenging for Somali organisations to show their excellent local knowledge in the proposal, partly because of the language. Organisations which have been applying for a long time have over the years raised their capacity. Every year there are new organisations applying but very rarely does an organisation get funding on its first try.[21]

The MFA has, however, directly contributed to supporting capacity building measures for Somali organisations by funding the Finnish Somalia-Network.[22] The Network was founded in 2004 by a few Somali and native Finnish NGOs/CSOs working towards development in Somalia in order to improve the quality of development cooperation initiatives delivered by associations working in Somalia, as well as to produce and exchange information on issues relating to Somalia. Since its setup and until 2009, a native Finnish NGO − a partner organisation of the MFA with several development projects in Somalia

(Somaliland) − functioned as the coordinating organisation for the Network. As reported in the words of a representative of the MFA:

> […] As Finland has no bilateral relations with Somalia, Somali diaspora organisations are in a key position to channel development cooperation to Somalia […] But since the MFA is not dealing differently with diaspora organisations, they are treated the same as native Finnish organisations. […] in practice this means that organisations that are weak and have difficulties in making the correct decisions are recommended to take part in training and further build their capacity.[23]

In 2004 the board of the Network met with officials from the MFA and a project proposal was submitted. The proposal was approved and the Network received funding for the period of 2005-2010. This support to the Network represents an example of 'certification', whereby an external authority, the MFA has shown its availability in recognising and approving the existence and claims-making ability of Somali diaspora organisations. As reported in the words of a diaspora representative:

> For foreigners, things in Finland are difficult; no one gives you money right away. Step by step it is getting better. When you apply to the MFA, three, four times you get negative responses, then slowly you can get money. We discuss with authorities, we create networks, we have set up our organisation in 1998, and the first MFA project funding we got was in 2005. But it is not big support, slowly we can increase the amounts, […] now we are ready to handle larger projects. We are well known in Finland and in Somalia, we have created a positive image, and people are convinced that projects are sustainable—we want to increase, but you have to pay your own funding and this affects us. In the future we hope that the MFA will grant us more money, because if it's the first time, the MFA needs to know how the first project succeeds, if it succeeds you may get more support.[24]

In 2010, the Network reached up to 28 member associations (25 Somali and three native Finnish NGOs). The Finnish Somalia-Network arranges courses and training, events and discussions. The Network registered itself as an association in 2009, and in 2010 an executive director (a native Finn with a long research background on Somalis) was appointed in order to strengthen the Network and search for funding.

Similar to Italy, strategic thinking among Somalis can be observed when working with the objective of meeting certification criteria. Representatives of many Somali organisations have attended trainings offered by the Somali Network, some organisations have looked for Finnish experts to get on board helping and supporting them in activities, drafting and planning the projects, and in some cases making audits. These can be seen as efforts by Somali organisations to better their chances to get certification from the MFA. On the other hand, the MFA has often set some preconditions before allowing organisations to apply for funding, such as requiring them to contract an external auditing company. In some cases, particularly for the first projects funded in early 2000s, small pilot type of funding was granted for a year, after which progress within projects was assessed and further funding granted when the organisation had proved its capacity to handle project work. In many cases rather small amounts of funding was granted, in relationship to the capacity of the organisations to handle projects and more importantly to their ability to secure their own funding – 15 per cent of the whole project budget – which is a formal MFA requirement.

[B] Somalis Acting as Transnational 'Brokers'

'Brokerage is the mechanism linking two or more previously unconnected social sites by a unit that mediates their relations with one another and/or with yet other sites; mediators can be single activists or organisations' (McAdam et al. 2001, 24). The examples below clearly show how single people, in most cases charismatic associative leaders, acted as 'brokers' in connecting for example diaspora activities and/or ideas, into the work of the Finnish CSO (Finland) or in strategically building partnerships between actors that hardly ever worked together (Italy). One of the most important qualifications of a 'broker' is trustworthiness in the eyes of both social sites s/he is connecting, as shown in examples from both country cases below.

In Finland there are some cases of Somali individuals having been unwilling to create their own associations, and have rather chosen a different 'path' for accessing NGO funding at the MFA: initiating or bringing their project idea to an existing Finnish NGO/CSO. This can be seen as a strategic choice by Somalis not wanting to add to potential and existing competition over funding, but to secure a position in development cooperation by collaborating with Finnish NGOs/CSOs.

In one case, Somali individuals originally from the Sool and Sanaag regions were active in community work in a Finnish association based in Helsinki, called 'Horisontti ry'. This cooperation was based on tight and trusted personal relationships between native Finns active in the association and Somalis while working for immigrant integration issues in Finland. Horisontti ry, formerly 'West-Helsinki's unemployed' (Länsi-Helsingin työttömät ry) is an association set up in the early 1990s in order to prevent unemployment and marginalisation of people in Finland. In 2000s it changed its name and extended the focus beyond Finland to include development issues internationally, as stated in the MFA project proposal for the Somalia project:

> The aim of the association is to function to promote sustainable development nationally and internationally and to develop partnerships to prevent unemployment, poverty and marginalisation. The association has extended its functions to cover developmental issues and sustainable development internationally. Somalia is the natural choice to implement development cooperation because in our association there are Somalis who came to Finland as refugees and they have a lot to contribute to the projects' implementation.[25]

What appears interesting in this case is that Somali individuals have 'recruited' Horisontti ry and its organisational capacity in order to establish a development project in Somalia. Managing and coordinating a development project in Somalia through a well-established association, where the organisational structure is in place, can in fact be more beneficial than starting a new diaspora organisation, which often requires a considerable amount of time and consuming efforts in terms of meeting the bureaucratic requirements (management of an association, gathering funding required for MFA funded projects, etc.). The association[26] has opened its doors to these Somalis first because they had their own interest in development cooperation and clearly saw an added value in engaging diasporas in their work, and second as through the previous community work in Finland Somali diaspora individuals had gained a trusted position:

> We wanted to start working internationally, in development cooperation, the geographical area could have been Russia or whatever but we did not have contacts…we had Somalis active in the association when we did community work in Finland, the idea came from them [...] particularly one person, he was trustworthy and we knew him for a long time.[27]

The institutional interlocutor, Horisontti ry, has functioned as a gate keeper, holding power either to allow or deny diaspora member(s) and their ideas and contacts to enter the organisation, and in particular as this case shows allowing a person who is trustworthy by their own experience to enter.

In this specific example Somali individuals acted as 'brokers' in connecting Horisontti ry with well-functioning organisational structures in place and interested in starting development cooperation, with a local organisation in Somalia. Brokerage, the ability to connect previously unconnected sites (Tilly and Tarrow 2007, 31) took place when Horisontti ry was linked through the Somali diaspora to locals in Somalia, allowing the beginning of a new development cooperation project. The project plan was designed in collaboration with Finnish CSO representatives, Somalis in Finland and locals in Somalia: a fact finding mission was conducted after which the project plan was drafted, the application for funding at the MFA was filed and the project was admitted in 2006.

In Italy, during the time before funding was available for migration and development initiatives (i.e. EU programmes; OIM-MIDA Italy), which started building a market of opportunities for diaspora organisations and NGOs, single people played this role. A prominent Somali woman who had been living in Italy, in Turin, since the 1980s, helped establish the local NGO IIDA after moving back to Somalia. Through her contacts and expertise, she started partnering with a well-known Italian NGO COSPE based in Tuscany, for fundraising. In this case it is the role of returnees which must be highlighted, running activities in Somalia that maintain, develop and sometimes even deepen contacts established through the migration process. This clearly is an example of the diaspora acting as a 'broker' that connects sites previously unconnected.

The value added of the partnership between IIDA and COSPE is explained from the NGO's perspective in the following words:

> IIDA gave us a good entry-point into Somalia. They were the ones suggesting to us that women in Somalia were a pivotal component of the civil society and needed support. They already had a clear strategy in this regard, suffice to say that they are the first inter-clanic organisation composed only of women in the whole country.[28]

In fact, COSPE started working in Somalia in response to a specific request, developing a long-term Somali diaspora partnership strategy since the very beginning of its activities in the country. Strategies are reportedly decided in Somalia and the Somali (diaspora) NGO has a strong ownership in programming and implementing all the project phases. The effect of this collaboration has been very successful and of benefit for both organisations, as well for the beneficiaries of development activities as described below:

> Being an International NGO that works in about 30 countries, Cospe helped IIDA to grow and access the international community. IIDA, on the other hand, helped Cospe in terms of vision and understanding of the conflict in Somalia. Cospe has always promoted projects aimed at improving the gender condition, and it is not by accident that we decided to invest in women in Somalia as drivers of change in the country: this has to do with our partnership with IIDA of course.[29]

The partnership between IIDA and COSPE has been ongoing for many years, and after fifteen years, the Somali NGO IIDA decided to establish its own office in Italy, with the aim of directly managing fundraising activities and disseminating events on the situation in Somalia. IIDA-Italy is now also able to approach Italian authorities, especially at the local level, obtaining sponsorships for events and activities.

[B] Transferring Transnational Political Competences: Examples of 'Diffusion'

The third mechanism observed in our empirical research is 'diffusion', the circulation of a form of (political) contention/claims making on a particular issue, or the ways in which it is framed (ideas, practices, resources), from one site to the other. (McAdam et al., 2001; Tarrow & Tilly 2007, 31). In both Italy and Finland, Somalis' interest in political activism in the country of settlement as well as of origin was observed: migrants who have been exposed to and trained either in local politics (parties, trade unions), or in civil society organisations, have at some point in lives decided to utilize their expertise in their own initiatives. The empirical examples reported below show the 'diffusion' of political ideas and competences acquired, transferred transnationally from one location to another.

In 2006, the Italian International Cooperation Under-Secretary and a group of Somali women activists living in Italy met in Bamako during the World Social Forum. In that occasion they discussed the possibility of

launching a project for supporting dialogue between Somali women in Italy and the representatives of the Somali Transitional Government Institutions under the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on Women and peace and security.[30]

The small group of Somali women already knew each other, through previous personal, political or professional affiliations as explained below:

> I came from Tuscany […] the other woman from Livorno. We met at the Airport and decided to prepare a joint speech on behalf of ANCI-Tuscany.[31] At the Social Forum [in Bamako] we met various Somali women from Bari, Milan and Trento that I had previously met during cooperation meetings on Africa at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[32]

As expressed by a Somali activist women, following Bamako, in June 2007 the Italian International Cooperation Under-Secretary proposed a meeting in Nairobi to further discuss the role of women in peacebuilding: 'In that meeting we elaborated a joint project and we subsequently met in June at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome (to officially initiate it). At that time, in Rome we (Somali women) were united and we were many. It has been a wonderful working day.[33]

The Under Secretary exhorted the group of Somali women to further engage the Somali diaspora in the process. In April 2008, the selected Somali women organised themselves into a Somali women's umbrella association based in Italy, named ADEP (Associazione Diaspora e Pace), with the mandate of working towards the empowerment of women, both in Somalia and in the diaspora. As reported by one of the main activists:

> The Ministry advised us to officially form an association and we called it ADEP. Every woman in ADEP has her own organisation in Milan, Bari, Naples, Rome, Florence and Trento. ADEP is therefore an umbrella organisation established by seven women. We need to enlarge it and to enrich it of experiences and contributions. So far we interacted with Italian institutions also in Addis Ababa. Everybody asks for an idea for Somalia[…]'.[34]

What has been traced through empirical research is that all Somali women involved in ADEP were not only active organisation leaders, but also activists in Italian party politics. Through the ADEP Network, they tried

to transfer/'diffuse' competences acquired in the Italian political domain into the Somali political environment.

With regard to opportunities, the lack of chances for Somalis in accessing the Italian political sphere at the national and governmental levels, and simultaneous openings in Somalia during for example the Peace Processes Conferences in 2000, 2007, 2008, led to a renewed interest from the diaspora to engage in transnational political practices: 'In Tanzania we decided to form a political party of Somali women, rather than begging for gender representation in the Somali Parliament. This Party has not yet been formalized as we are waiting for the next National elections in the country.[35]

In Finland a visible example of the diffusion mechanism, whereby political ideas are transferred from one site to another, is the engagement of individuals who have been setting up a new political party in North-West Somalia, self-proclaimed Somaliland.[36] The case analysed regards one of the establishers of the Somaliland's political party 'UCID' (Usbiga Caddaalada iyo Daryeelka, Justice and Welfare Party), more precisely Faisal Ali Farah (Warabe). He was born in Hargeisa in 1948, studied in the former Soviet Union and received his engineering degree in 1973, after which he worked in Mogadishu in several positions until the civil war broke out. He then fled the war and arrived in Finland via Moscow with his family in 1990. Since the early years of his arrival he has been strongly pro-active in Finland working for the Somali community, while being involved also in Finnish party politics and simultaneously engaged in the area where he is originally from in Somaliland, which proclaimed its independence in 1991, while not yet recognised internationally. Mr Faisal Ali Farah was among the founders of one of the first Somali association in Finland, 'Suomen Somaliland Seura' (Finlands' Somaliland association), registered in 1992. In 1995 he was part of the group of activists forming the 'Somaliland Peace Committee' in Somaliland, which was mediating the conflict. After the mediation work within the peace committee, and the peace agreement in Somaliland in 1996, he came back to Finland, enrolled in the University of Helsinki where he studied political sciences and formed the 'Somali Social Democrats' organisation in Finland. He also functioned as a chairperson of the Somaliland societies in Europe (SSE) in 2001. That same year the constitutional referendum took place in Somaliland, which introduced the multi-party system, legalising 'the formation of

political parties' (Bradbury 2008, 133). This opened up new doors for political engagement, and Faisal Ali Farah was among the founders of one of the new political parties in Somaliland, the Justice and Welfare Party (UCID), which shares social democratic ideals as he states:

> We decided to join the Social Democratic party in Finland, because the party was in favour of refugees [...] we have developed good friendships with Social Democrat MPs in the parliament […] they were trying to make me a candidate for European Parliament elections [in early 2000] but I decided to go home and make a similar party […] so now our party is a Social Democratic party.[37]

His strong activism, ability to engage with Finnish party politics and in particular with the Social Democrats in Finland for years, has translated into his engagement in forming a new political party, UCID, in Somaliland which shares most of those same political ideals. This is clearly a prime example of diffusion of ideas from one location to another.

[A] Concluding Remarks

A 'relational' approach, inspired by recent developments in contentious politics thinking focusing on mechanisms of interaction between the Somali diaspora and institutional interlocutors, guided the analysis in this chapter. The chapter presented here has been able to bring in the diaspora's perspective in order to analyse engagement dynamics between diaspora actors and institutional interlocutors, focusing on the strategies adopted, alliances and partnerships built or available 'here' in the countries of residence, with the aim of implementing peace and development related activities 'there', in Somalia. This theoretical framework can be applied on different scales, as mechanisms and processes of interaction occur on different levels: from small scale claims-making processes occurring between diaspora organisations and (local) institutions, to high level involvement in transnational politics. Within a contentious politics framework, interactions have been observed taking place at the local level (especially in Italy) and at the national level (mostly in Finland).

In drawing responses to the research question posed at the beginning of the chapter, the cases under investigation have primarily shown that engagement between Somalis and institutional interlocutors occurs

in a dynamic manner: none of the actors of the paradigm is entirely passive: both the Somali diaspora and institutions in Finland and Italy are pro-active. The level of pro-activity of Somalis in particular is notable: despite a substantial difference in the political opportunity structures (POSs) available to the diaspora in Italy and in Finland, Somalis are active and strategic in engaging institutions in the countries of settlement. Furthermore the empirical material showed that the strategic approach used by the Somali diaspora is similar in Italy and in Finland. Somalis in both countries adopted specific strategies to become legitimised– 'certified' in the language of contentious politics − as 'actors' in development and peace. Similarly in the two countries of settlement, they have been acting as 'brokers' mediating between actors that previously did not work together. Moreover, in a number of cases both in Italy and in Finland, individuals belonging to the Somali diaspora have participated in local elections and have joined political parties; this political activism has been further transferred/'diffused' at the transnational level in terms of experience and knowledge as a form of (political) remittance.

In both countries, the ability of diasporas to navigate in a given environment − knowing the language, being able to approach institutional interlocutors, using opportunities and building relationships in a strategic manner, in other words, their level of integration in the countries of settlement − has been shown to be key for developing engagement strategies that allow them to get involved in peace and development activities in the country of origin. The study thus finds and reaffirms the positive link between integration processes, citizenship and transnational engagement.

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[1] In everyday life contention can also be based on issues of little importance; however in the simplest version of contention at least two parties are at stake: a party formulating a claim addressed to another party, these being people, groups or institutions (there must be at least one actor openly claiming an 'object'). Contention thus always includes an actor, an object and the action of claims making.

[2] The implication of governments does not at all imply that governments must appear as an active or a passive actor of contentious actions, but often contention can start between non-governmental actors that will at some point involve different levels of governments.

[3] It is important to underline that the notion of contention in this study is used in a very broad sense, not implying exclusively struggles and conflicts but the ability to make claims in a cooperative manner. In this same direction the term engagement emphasises interactions between diaspora individuals and groups − in search of support for their causes − and different actors, in a peaceful manner.

[4] Fieldwork in both countries was carried out between August 2008 to May 2010. In Italy 46 interviews were realised, 16 with institutional and non-governmental Italian actors and 30 with Somalis/Somali organisations. In Finland a total of 50 interviews were collected, 35 with Somali organisations/ individuals; 15 with ministerial officials and Finnish non-governmental actors.

[5] In both countries, the analysis has involved both state and non-state actors. Further distinctions between non-governmental actors/non-profit organisations engaged in development cooperation work in Finland include: large professional Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) − the so-called partner organisations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs − and small voluntary Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). In this study, NGOs and CSOs set up and run by native Italian/ Finns are called Italian/ Finnish NGOs. In the Italian context, and for the purpose of this work, the category NGO is the broad category which includes non-profit organisations specifically working on issues of development and of migrants' social-integration. These organisations may have mixed membership, including Italians as well as people of different ethnic origins. In addition, many diaspora organisations are not officially registered by host-countries authorities and act as informal groups. Diaspora organisations refer in both country cases to those organisations that have been set up by and/ or are run by people of Somali origin. In Italy, local and regional contexts have been analysed in addition to investigations at the national level, both because Somalis are extremely scattered on the Italian

territory and because most of the dialogues between institutional actors and migrants occurs at the municipal and regional level.

[6] Turin is a historical destination of Somalis Italy, Milan and Rome are the two metropolitan areas, where Rome is also the city where most Somalis have settled; Florence is a destination of new arrivals, and Trento represents an interesting laboratory on engagement dynamics between diaspora groups and institutional actors.

[7] 77 per cent of the total community of Somali mother tongue speakers in Finland live in the Uusimaa region where the cities of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa are located (authors' calculations based on Statistics Finland 2011).

[8] This figure refers to citizens of Somalia and official residents in Italy, it does not include illegal immigrants or naturalised Somalis. In Italian statistics there is no distinction between citizens/those speaking their mother tongue.

[9] The SPRAR Programme is also aimed at offering housing support to asylum seekers and refugees through its local 'Territorial Commissions Programme', responsible for processing the applications submitted by immigrants. Until 2002 there was only one commission in Italy responsible for these decisions, but as of January 2008 there are seven Territorial Commissions, located in different cities. For more information about the SPRAR system see: http://www.serviziocentrale.it/ita/documenti.asp.

[10] Interestingly a Ministry on *Development Cooperation and Integration* was created in 2012 under the technical government chaired by Mario Monti. It has been functioning without a portfolio, to promote coordination and to offer guidelines for all activities undertaken by those ministries with jurisdiction over development aid, and in particular the MFA, and also shares a mandate over issues of migrants' integration. Although jurisdiction over these issues returned –to the traditional institutions, this interlude has slightly advanced the discussion in the public debate.

[11] ETNO is a broad-based expert body set up by the Government, and its purpose is twofold: 'to promote interaction between Finland's ethnic minorities and the authorities, NGOs and the political parties in Parliament, equally at the national, regional and local level', and secondly, 'to provide the Ministries with

immigration policy expertise in the interests of furthering an ethnically equal and diversified society' (Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations, Intermin website).

[12] Native associations mobilising on behalf of immigrants become the main recipients of municipal funding and partners in policy making, thus preventing immigrants from forming their own organisations and participating directly in the political sphere.

[13] Second and third generations often form informal discussion groups, mostly composed of highly educated members (writers, journalists, etc.). In Italy these groups are focused more on identity and pan-African issues, than on the specific situation in Somalia. In Finland these organisations aim at serving youngsters by organizing common activities and to function as a meeting point for young Somalis.

[14] According to the Finnish association law (Act of Association, Finland, 1989, *Yhdistyslaki* 26.5.1989/503) a minimum of three people are required to form the board of an association.

[15] Interview with SC, volunteer at Una Scuola per la Vita, March 2010, Trento, Italy.

[16] Interview with NA, volunteer at Kariba, March 2010, Trento, Italy.

[17] Interview with SC, Officer at Una Scuola per la Vita, March 2010, Trento, Italy.

[18] In 2010, 11 native Finnish NGOs have a partner organisation status. The total share of funding for partner organisations is over half of the whole budget for NGO development cooperation. Organisations apply to get this status in open calls for proposals.

[19] Source: MFA, NGO development cooperation website. See www.formin.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15339.

[20] These numbers have been estimated by the author by going through the names of organisations in the list of NGO development projects funded in 2010 (Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2010). On the basis of the authors' familiarity with them, Somali organisations and native Finnish CSOs/NGOs were easily identified. The MFA does not differentiate diaspora associations and native Finnish NGOs in the selection processes.

[21] Interview with the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, August 2008.

[22] Not all Somali organisations in Finland belong to the Network. Some of those not belonging to it have participated in general training courses open to all NGOs and CSOs in development cooperation project

management, reporting and proposal writing provided directly by the Service Centre for Development Cooperation (KEPA).

[23] Interview with the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, August 2008.

[24] Interview with the representative of a diaspora organisation, April 2009, Finland.

[25] Horisontti ry's project proposal for the MFA.

[26] While small CSOs are often able to see this added value, the situation may be different for larger professional development NGOs that have international branches and local offices in developing countries and thus do not necessarily see the same added value in working with the diaspora. For example in one case a Somali individual approached a large development NGO in Finland with a project plan in Somalia, but was not involved in the actual planning and running of the project. In this case the implementation of the project was done through the local branch of the NGO in Somalia; thus no added value in working with the diaspora was perceived.

[27] Interview with the representative of Finnish CSO, Horisontti ry February 2010.

[28] Interview with LP, Head of Africa Program at COSPE, September 2009, Florence, Italy.

[29] Ibidem.

[30] The Project is known as 'Gender and Peace in Somalia–Implementation of Resolution 1325', funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and implemented by ADEP and UN INSTRAW.

[31] ANCI stands for National Association of Italian Municipalities.

[32] Interview with GA, Somali woman activist, November 2009, Florence, Italy.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Interview with LM, February 2009, Rome, Italy.

[35] Ibid.

[36] This is not however to say that there is no political activism by Finnish Somalis in other regions of Somalia, but this example has been chosen as it clearly represents the diffusion mechanism of political ideas from Finland to the country of origin.

[37] Interview with Faisal Ali Farah, November 2009.

IV

HOMELAND PERCEPTION AND RECOGNITION OF THE DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE SOMALI DIASPORA

by

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Homeland Perception and Recognition of the Diaspora Engagement: The Case of the Somali Diaspora*

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ABSTRACT

Scanning through the literature on diasporas one finds two opposing views. On the one hand diasporas are promoted as having the necessary education, experience and knowledge to contribute towards peace, stability and development, while on the other hand they are concurrently seen as fueling conflicts in their countries of origin. In the literature there seems to be a gap in explaining perceptions of local communities from the country of origin of the diaspora's contributions. This article aims to analyze the interactions between the diaspora and the locals in the case of Somalia. It will be claimed that depending on the position and interests of the locals and the diaspora members, the diaspora's activities can be either recognized or rejected. The perceptions are examined both from the diaspora's and the local communities' points of view and conditions under which the diaspora and the locals achieve mutual recognition are analyzed. This article is based on extensive empirical data which were collected through 144 interviews, 7 group discussions and participant observation in different parts of Somalia, the UK and Finland.

***Keywords**: Somali diaspora, local communities, recognition, development, migration.*

INTRODUCTION

The Somali civil war that began in the late 1980s and continues today has forced more than one million Somalis and their descendants to seek refuge outside Somalia (Sheikh and Healy 2009). After being part of the diaspora for decades, some members of these communities have started to return to their ancestral

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homeland to start a new life. In most cases, the conditions in which these returnees have found themselves living, the expectations of the local population and the experiences and expectations of these returnees are yet to be documented. Previous research on diaspora engagement has focused on the role of diasporas in the social, political and economic sectors of their countries of origin (see for example Levy and Weingrod 2005; Sheffer 2003; Van Hear 1998; Braziel 2008; Dufoix 2008; Wahlbeck 2002; Pirkkalainen and Abdile 2009). These studies suggest that diaspora members and organizations engage in a variety of activities which aim to influence processes in their countries of origin, but raised questions whether such involvement is constructive or not (see for example Levy and Weingrod 2005; Sheffer 2003; Van Hear 1998; Braziel 2008; Dufoix 2008; Wahlbeck 2002). Actual or long-term outcomes of diaspora activities are very difficult to assess and little is known about what is awaiting diaspora members who choose to return to their countries of origin, either permanently or temporarily, and how they are perceived by local communities.

This article will fill this gap in the literature by analyzing the interactions and relations between the Somali diaspora and the communities they left behind. A key finding of this research is that depending on the position and interests of locals and diaspora members, the contribution and engagement of the diaspora can be either recognized or rejected. To address the phenomena of recognition and rejection, the differing perceptions of the Somali diaspora and of local Somali communities is examined and the conditions under which diaspora members and locals achieve mutual recognition are investigated.

Conceptually, this article uses the notion of *diaspora* as a category for identification and claims making (see Kleist 2007). In this article r*ecognition* is understood as mutual acceptance and respect between locals and diaspora members. The assumption is that in order for the diaspora to engage with the country of origin constructively, there ought to be a level of mutual recognition.

Structurally, the first section of this article defines the concept of diaspora with a brief outline of the Somali diaspora. The second section describes the empirical data-collection methods used during fieldwork, while the third section discusses homeland – diaspora relations. When discussing homeland – diaspora relations, this article will first offer an analysis of how diaspora members and locals maintain contact and look at the challenges facing the two communities. This is followed by an analysis of how diaspora members perceive their role in the homeland. Then local Somalis' perceptions of the diaspora are critically examined. Both the negative and positive perceptions of diaspora engagement are explained. Finally, the recognition processes are examined and issues that explain the conditions under which the diaspora is recognized or rejected are identified. Lastly, conclusions are drawn.

1. Conceptual Framework

1.1 Diaspora – Towards a Multi-Layered Definition

The word diaspora is of Greek origin and means "scattering of seeds" (Anthias 1998: 560). Diaspora as a concept has a long history which is not only associated with modern diasporic studies but was initially used to describe the dispersal of the Jewish people from their homeland. Nevertheless, the concept "underwent an amazing inflation that peaked in the 1990's, by which time it was being applied to most of the world's people" (Dufoix 2008: 1). Due to this inflation, the word diaspora has gained multiple meanings in contemporary discussions and no longer refers only to the plight of the Jews, but also to the situation of many other groups in exile who have experienced displacement. Most recently, the concept was used to refer to the situation of refugee communities (see for example Wahlbeck 1999; 2002). However, within the literature on diasporas, there are disagreements as to whether the term diaspora should be applied narrowly, to mean communities that have experienced forced migration, or more broadly to include any overseas populations (Dufoix 2008: 1–34). Within the diaspora literature one can find three different approaches to defining the term diaspora. The first approach is to use diaspora to refer to the physically existing homeland and a yearning for it. This view is represented, for example, by Robin Cohen (1997) and William Safran (1990). The second approach is to understand diaspora as a particular form of consciousness or identity. This approach represents a social and cultural condition, and has been named "the post modern version of diaspora" (Anthias 1998: 560). This view challenges the first approach by claiming that diasporas are not always defined by their orientation to a singular national homeland. Instead, the individual's own narrative and definition of diaspora identity are the issues that matter and define diaspora (see for example Werbner 2000: 15). The third approach, which is closely linked to the second approach, is to examine the claims made in the name of diaspora and to consider diaspora a potential moral community that is based on co-responsibility and that has important material, organizational and institutional aspects (Werbner 2002; Kleist 2007; 2008). In this article diaspora is considered a claims making multi-layered entity in which social class, ethnicity, generation and gender are at play. As noted by Sökefeld (2006: 280):

> The development of diaspora identity is not simply a natural and inevitable result of migration but a historical contingency that frequently develops out of mobilization in response to specific critical events. Diaspora… is not an issue of naturally felt roots but of specific political circumstances that suggest the mobilization of a transnational imagined community.

Diaspora communities do not constitute one entity with common aims and interests and with solidarity and cohesion with one another, but diversified

groups with diverse positions and interests (see for example Kleist 2008: 130). Thus even within the same diaspora, groups and individuals may assume different roles and may be mobilized to undertake contradictory responsibilities when interacting with the homeland. Even their perceptions of the homeland may differ. This begs the following questions: who is claiming to be part of the diaspora and to whom are they loyal? As Leroi and Mohan (2003: 611) explain, those who live in complex transnational social fields with multiple locations may have different affiliations and understandings of home. But how has a diaspora's identity and belonging shaped the nature of its support for the homeland? In the literature it is clear that different diaspora groups have different interests, relations and interaction with the homeland. For some in the diaspora, the homeland is portrayed "as a sacred place filled with memories of past glory and bathed in visions of nobility and renaissance" (Levy and Weingrod 2005: 5). For others, "their identities refer to both homeland and host land and the relationship between these identities is not necessarily hierarchical. The quest for original identity need not be measured by their attachment to the homeland or the will to return" (Levy and Weingrod 2005: 105).

The term diaspora has also entered into policy language in recent years and there has been a growing policy interest towards "diasporas as agents of development in relation to their countries of origin" (Kleist 2008: 1128). Thus, diaspora is not only an abstract category in the literature but can be also seen as a potential political actor (Kleist 2008: 1129). Therefore, diaspora as a category of claims and identifications can be related to the wider discussions and political developments related to recognition (Kleist 2008; on recognition in general see, for example, Taylor 1994; Fraser and Honneth 2003; Fraser 2000). Diasporas can be and have been mobilized as collective actors struggling for recognition in the countries of settlement as minority groups as well as actors in their countries of origin. Diasporas have been recognized, both in political and public discourses as well as in literature, as collective actors having a role, either positive or negative, in the countries of origin (Kleist 2008: 1136).

When diaspora members engage with the country of origin, new encounters emerge with local communities. In this article the discussion on recognition is extended to the encounters between local communities and the diaspora by maintaining that in order for the diaspora to be able to positively engage with the homeland, it is important that it gains some level of recognition from the local communities that would allow fruitful dialogue and interaction. In this context, recognition refers to the acceptance and legitimization of the diaspora and its involvement as part of society as "us" and not as an outsider. Acceptance and legitimization become even more crucial in social positioning and power relations. Locals play a role in this positioning process by recognizing or rejecting certain diaspora roles or engagement. But the diaspora also has a role in these processes of gaining recognition as it can, by its activities, build trust among locals. The most desirable outcome of these relations is mutual recognition.

1.2 THE SOMALI DIASPORA

As mentioned earlier, for over twenty years the conflict in Somalia has driven a million Somalis from their original homeland (Sheikh and Healy 2009). Today, Somalis reside in many countries globally and can be found in every major city in the world. The largest populations are located in the UK, Canada, the US and the Middle East, and significant groups are also found in the Nordic countries. Some Somalis are well established within communities in the host countries while others are recent arrivals. The oldest Somali diaspora communities can be found in Italy and the UK. The 1950s and 1960s saw the arrival of Somali seamen in the UK, settling in cities like Sheffield and Cardiff (Sheikh and Healy 2009). These seamen are among the first wave of Somali migrants and represent the most established contemporary Somali diaspora communities.

The second wave of the Somali diaspora is the guest workers that arrived in the Middle East in the 1970s and 1980s during the oil boom period. The third wave consists of the refugees and asylum seekers who left Somalia as a result of the civil war, and were followed by their children and spouses through the family reunion system (Sheikh and Healy 2009). The third wave also includes those born after their parents left Somalia. The majority of the Somali diaspora members in the Nordic countries came during this third wave and can be considered relative newcomers. Even though there are substantial numbers of the Somali diaspora in in the Middle East and Africa, especially in Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti and South Africa, in most cases the diaspora refers to those living in the West and "is associated with access to resources as well as exposure to Western culture, including gender and family relations" (Kleist 2010: 189).

During the fieldwork, local Somalis were asked to define the word diaspora. Almost all described the term as referring to those Somalis living outside the country (*Soomaalidda qurba-joogta, janale* or just *qurba-joog),* often referring, as Kleist observed above, to those living in Western countries (see also Ibrahim 2010: 9). As stated by a religious leader in Somaliland, the diaspora is:

> Someone or people who have lived in exile for a long period, but who retain an established connection with the homeland. I can classify them into groups: a) those that went to exile as adults (older generation diaspora) and b) those that were born in the diaspora. (Interviewed July 2009).

As this interview quote indicates, there are Somalis living outside their country of origin with differing migration histories and thus differing relations towards their "original home". Generation, as stated in the interview quotation, is one of the differing backgrounds which also affect the way relations with the country and communities of origin are formed and maintained. Secondly, time spent abroad, the reason for and the time of migration can affect how relations with

the country of origin are maintained or severed. Along the lines of the diaspora definition being "claims-making", the Somali diaspora is not a homogeneous group of people, but consists of different interests and positions. Somalis take different roles vis-à-vis the country of origin depending not only on their interests but also on resources.

When considering the Somali diaspora's engagement with its country of origin, one can form three groups. The first group is those members of the diaspora who have historical relationships that are sustained through constant contact. This type of relationship is maintained through regular engagement in the form of social and financial remittances. Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile (2011: 76) maintain that these forms of diaspora engagement are key to "understanding the political, economic, social and cultural engagement of diasporic actors in their homelands." In particular, remittances, which account for considerable amount of the national revenue in Somalia, contribute to "household survival" and have the potential to help strengthen political stability, economic growth and institution building (Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile 2011: 90–91). However, as will be demonstrated, diaspora engagement is not always positive and some diaspora activities can be directed towards financing, lobbying and supporting different groups involved in the homeland conflicts. The second group is characterized by indifferent and non-engagement. Some diaspora members may not be eager or even care to build and sustain a relationship with Somalia. Although this group may have relatives inside Somalia they may not remit or contribute in any way to the development of their country of origin and are comfortable in their countries of residence. Indeed, in some cases non-engagement is due to the fact that the diaspora members' main concern is their life in the countries of settlement, not in Somalia (Schlee and Schlee 2010: 4). It has been argued that this is often the case for second generation Somalis and women in particular (ibid.).

The third group is somewhere between the first and second groups. This group has an established relationship and is engaged with the country of origin, but their engagement is limited. For instance, they may be concerned about the lack of peace and development, droughts and the general situation of the country but their remitting patterns and contacts may not be regular or sustained. They usually remit and have contact but not consistently. Their limited engagement might be due to discomfort and the fact that Somali diaspora groups are diverse and are differentiated along clan and political lines and "do not necessarily form a common platform to influence their homeland" (Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile 2011: 78). Therefore, some members of the diaspora are unable to identify ways of engaging with their knowledge, financial resources and skills. They may also be worried that their engagement might be counterproductive and make people become more dependent on remittances (Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile 2011: 77). A diaspora dependency syndrome may develop into a situation where people rely exclusively on diaspora support. In this article the intention is not to find out the consistency or how numerically significant Somali diaspora engagement

or non-engagement is but rather to examine the phenomenon of the local – diaspora relations of those who engage.

2. Empirical Data and Methods

When studying the diaspora, whose life is inherently transnational, one needs "to focus on intersection between networks of those who have migrated and those who have stayed in place" as well as "to capture migrants' simultaneous engagement in and orientation toward their home and host countries" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1012). Multi-sited ethnography is suitable for studying the transnational interconnectedness of Somalis and the different "flows" between the country of settlement and the country of origin, as they are phenomena that cannot be understood by focusing only on a single site (see also Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009).

In his classic article on multi-sited ethnography, George Marcus (1995: 105) writes: "multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of ethnography". Multi-sited methods are particularly suitable to study networks (Hannertz 2003: 21) as they allow the researcher to study different localities that are connected to each other through several types of flows. The move towards application of multi-sited methods is often discussed in reference to globalization, and the claim is that in this increasingly inter-linked world one cannot understand certain phenomena by focusing on only one location and/or considering it a closed "system" (Falzon 2009; Horst 2009).

This article is based on research which used multi-sited methods. The aim has been to "follow" people and their perceptions in different geographical locations. The empirical data were collected in various locations simultaneously by the authors during different periods over the course of three years. The challenges related to time spent in each location and the ability to gain in-depth data, common critiques of multi-sited methods (see for example Falzon 2009; Horst 2009), were overcome. Fieldwork in Somalia began in the summer of 2008 and continued until January 2011 and includes over 7 months of data collection. Interviews took place in Hargeisa, Bosaso and Mogadishu. In addition to personal interviews and group discussions, the researchers participated in 5 diaspora meetings and conferences to gather general observations. The data collection consisted of open-ended questions and participant observation. The fieldwork on the Somali diaspora was carried out during several periods in Finland and the UK between the summer of 2008 and the spring of 2011, totaling nearly 5 months. In Finland, the fieldwork took place in the metropolitan area of Helsinki (the cities of Espoo, Vantaa and Helsinki) where around 77% of all Somali mother tongue speakers in the country live (Statistics Finland 2011). In the UK, fieldwork was conducted

during a two-week period in 2008 in the cities of London and Sheffield. The data collected consist of semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

In total, 144 interviews and 7 group discussions were conducted in both the country of origin and in the two countries of settlement. 89 interviews and 7 group discussions took place in different parts of Somalia/Somaliland. 16 interviews with Somali diaspora members were conducted in the UK and 39 interviews were conducted in Finland. The interviewees in the UK and Finland were representatives of Somali diaspora organizations. Interviewees in Europe were selected using the snowball method, and all interviewees from the diaspora are first generation migrants. Interviews with diaspora returnees in the homeland include both first and second generation diaspora members as well as locals from all sectors of society including teachers, politicians, religious leaders and traditional leaders. Additionally, participant observation in both countries was carried out at several events, such as fundraising events and seminars relating to Somalia or the diaspora.

3. DIASPORA-HOMELAND RELATIONS

According to the research findings, both the Somali diaspora and those still in the homeland thought it was important to maintain close relationships with one another. Homeland-diaspora relationships are maintained in a number of ways, including regular updates, information about the homeland and indications of how diaspora members can participate in homeland affairs. In order to stay informed, both sides regularly organize meetings and visits. For instance, representatives of the government(s) of Somaliland, Puntland, the South/Central area, members of civil societies and clan elders embark on journeys to major diaspora centers around the world. These visits are aimed at strengthening ties between the homeland and the diaspora, but also at promoting cooperation between the diaspora and the different entities involved in homeland politics.

For the diaspora, the continuous dialogue between diaspora members and the representatives of homeland governments is an opportunity to influence homeland politics. In addition to sending remittances, regular visits to the homeland and lobbying in the countries of settlement on behalf of their country of origin allow the diaspora to benefit from continuous interaction with the homeland. Similarly, skills transfer by way of returning to the homeland to run NGOs or businesses, engage in teaching or take part in homeland politics. Being actively involved transnationally in societal development by setting up organizations and bringing development projects to the country are also seen as a way to maintain diaspora-homeland linkages. Likewise, diaspora-homeland linkages can be maintained through a number of unofficial channels. First, technological developments over the past decades have enabled the Somali diaspora to maintain almost daily contact with the homeland. Today, the availability of fast internet connections and cheap international telephone calls,

which currently cost less than US$ 20 cents per minute in Somalia, play a major role in maintaining uninterrupted and regular homeland-diaspora contact. The fieldwork data suggest that in Somaliland and Puntland, locals expect members of the diaspora to maintain regular contact with family and friends left behind. The availability of these technologies makes it easier for the diaspora to fulfill such expectations.

Traditionally, Somalis used to stay in touch with diaspora members through writing letters, but DHL is the only postal service that exists nowadays and it is extremely expensive for ordinary people to utilize. Faced with the lack of postal service, Somalis have turned to the internet for solutions. In different parts of Somalia, interaction with the diaspora is mostly sustained through regular emails, phone calls, Skype calls and diaspora visits to the homeland. In addition, Facebook, Twitter and other social networks are tools used to maintain contact. In fact, Twitter and Facebook are revolutionizing these transnational relations. In the evenings, internet cafes in Hargeisa and Bosaso are flooded with people contacting their loved ones, relatives and friends in the diaspora through Facebook or Twitter. Pictures and stories about relatives living both in the diaspora and the homeland are shared on Facebook and Twitter.

Despite the strong connections between the diaspora and the country of origin, the data collected during the fieldwork have identified several challenges which have implications for homeland-diaspora relations and add to the negative perception of the diaspora by certain members of local communities. The first challenge is the perception held by many in the homeland that the diaspora are lacking the strategic vision to engage with Somalia/Somaliland. The lack of the diaspora's vision, focus and coherent framework is seen as a major impediment to the total utilization of diaspora knowledge and expertise. Fragmentation of the diaspora underlies these challenges, as one traditional elder[1] from Somaliland described:

> There is no doubt that diaspora members are in a position to do many good things here, but our observation about them is that they are too weak and disorganized to help us to their full capacity. There is a Somali proverb that says: *far keliya fool ma dhaqdo,* meaning a single finger cannot wash a face. I feel obliged to say that without them collectively getting together, the few that are here will not be able to do much. Their strength and power lies in their collectiveness, their togetherness, but this is not happening. Clan loyalties and tribalism pose a major challenge for

[1] In the Somali context, there are two types of traditional leadership. The first is *Oday* and the second is a titled clan leader such as *nabadoon, aqiil, Isim or suldaan*. The difference between the two types of leadership is that an *Oday* is a respected elder who is involved in the day-to-day running of clan affairs due to his experience, knowledge and wisdom. He is not elected but his potential contribution is recognized by the rest of the community and its leadership. A titled clan leader is an elected (*Oday la calema saray*) individual tasked with clan leadership. Both types of leadership are represented in all the traditional leadership levels: family (*reer*), sub-clan, clan and inter-clan leadership.

> the diaspora. They have to overcome this clannish mentality and be a good example to others. (Interviewed November 2010)

The second challenge relates to the lack of security, which has made a less conducive environment for diaspora engagement. The unstable situation in Somalia, especially in certain regions in South/Central Somalia, has limited the diaspora's access and thus impedes the diaspora's full participation. The representative of a community based organisation in London described the diaspora as part of the civil society in Somalia and described the challenges in conflict-ridden settings as follows:

> [Diaspora can contribute a lot] but in the South [Somalia], there are warlords who have troops and guns, and they are stopping anyone who is trying to make improvements. In this context the civil society intellectual level will not have a lot of effect. (Interviewed November 2008)

The third challenge is what some interviewees both in the homeland and in Europe call the 'diaspora's dual role' in the homeland conflict. Some diaspora members perceived certain parts of the diaspora as being part of the problem rather than part of the solution, fuelling the conflict at home. A diaspora returnee to Somaliland from Finland describes the situation as follows:

> Diaspora have founded educational institutions and contribute economically, but they also have a negative role. A lot of civil war happened in Somalia and Somaliland when money to buy guns came from the diaspora. They have two hands: one hand is feeding people, another hand killing people. (Interviewed January 2011)

These challenges, which partly derive from the fact that the areas are to a varying degrees conflict-ridden, provide the context in which the diaspora engage. These challenges are in the background of differing perceptions, both negative and positive, by both the diaspora and locals.

3.1 Self-Perception of the Somali Diaspora

The Somali diaspora is given certain roles and even obligations by different actors: the international community, local communities and by the members of the diaspora themselves. In this sense the diaspora can be seen as "a moral community that can be mobilized at a transnational scale and to whom certain obligations and expectations apply" (Kleist 2008: 1134). According to the data, diaspora members feel that they have a moral responsibility towards their country of origin and thus perceive their role as important, even essential, in a variety of sectors. Some of the areas in which the Somali diaspora members feel they can play a role include sending remittances to support relatives, providing new innovative ideas in peacebuilding and development, and participating in the

political and economic arena. From the point of view of Somalis interviewed in Europe, sending remittances to relatives is seen as the most important role. In explaining how vital their role in remitting is, one representative of a Somali organization in Finland noted that:

> If we don't send [money], they die. We try to help them. Diaspora is the resource, one of the most important resources in the whole of Somalia. (Interviewed October 2009)

After remittances, the second most important role that the diaspora undertakes is bringing innovative ideas, experience and know-how to the homeland. Some diaspora members thought that coming back with new ideas and expertise was a way of reversing the brain drain phenomenon, which is a key problem facing Somalia. According to the chairperson of a diaspora organization in Finland:

> [The diaspora] can play a role in the reconstruction of the country because they received education while living abroad. When we come to our country, we can do a lot in developing the country, bringing back knowledge and through investments create jobs. (Interviewed April 2009)

The vital roles the diaspora can and has played are highlighted in interviews, but perceptions of how to best realize its potential varied. According to the interview data the role of the diaspora can be described in two ways. First, the diaspora engages proactively but risks being considered a protagonist. Second, it takes on a more supportive role. Based on the data, the diaspora has played these two roles and both have strong support among diaspora members and in the homeland. Those who prefer to see strong diaspora involvement in all sections of society are advocating for the proactive approach. For example, one chair of a diaspora organization in Finland was in favor of the proactive role of the diaspora. He states:

> Diaspora could participate more, they have done a lot of projects, but they should participate in politics more, to influence not only by bringing a well or building a school, but to participate in peace conferences as a member of a political group. This would be worth gold. I believe that someone living in Europe has different view on what someone living in Somalia has. Someone living in Europe knows what the welfare state, peace and the functioning state is. These people being less corrupted would have more to give compared to locals. (Interviewed December 2009)

Other members of the diaspora strongly oppose the diaspora taking a proactive role, and in particular the protagonist approach in politics. This stand was highlighted by a diaspora member from the USA, who had returned to Nairobi to run a humanitarian NGO working in Somalia. He advised that diaspora members need to:

> Stay away from politics because locals know better than us. When they see us with suits and cash and if you challenge them in power they may kill you. That is why we need to stay away from politics and leave that for locals. We should go out and do the actual [humanitarian] work in the field. (Interviewed in Finland, October 2009)

Those who oppose the protagonist approach perceive the role of the diaspora as being supporting – giving resources to locals. As the chair of a diaspora association in Finland described:

> If I go to Somalia and get a position there, I think that is wrong. I should support, not try to get a position. Because many people in Somalia feel that the diaspora is taking all the open positions. It is very good if you support locals, but you should not take anything from there. Also, if you go there with your own interest, you don't have trust [from locals]. (Interviewed October 2009)

3.2 Local Perceptions of the Diaspora Engagement

3.2.1 Negative Perceptions of Diaspora Engagement

The various roles and positions of diaspora members are perceived differently by the members of local communities. From an economic point of view, some locals perceive diaspora returnees and their families as straining local resources and predict that the more diaspora members that return to the homeland, the more difficult it will be for locals to compete for jobs and other services with the economically better off diaspora members. However, returnees who were able to invest and create opportunities were not seen as straining local resources (see also Kleist 2008: 1133). A local high school teacher in Hargeisa described it as follows:

> I think it's better if the diaspora stay where there are. Those who have saved enough money and want to come back to invest are more than welcome because they will create jobs and other opportunities. Also doctors, nurses and teachers can come back because they will contribute to much-needed services. But it's a bad idea for others to return, because when they are here they will not send remittances as they used to do when they were in the West. Here they want jobs and schools for their children. All of these they can get from where they are in the diaspora. Our resources are limited here. (Interviewed September 2010)

Negative perceptions are usually based on assumptions formed during interaction between locals and diaspora returnees. Such assumptions, in turn, are based on the belief that diaspora members are divisive and clannish, that their habits are different and that the environment in the homeland favors diaspora

participation (both economically and politically) at the locals' expense. Competition for jobs, government positions and the diaspora's ability to influence national politics were seen by Somalis as negatively impacting local-diaspora relations. Interviews with local Somalis indicated that they are fearful of competing with the more educated, networked and qualified diaspora returnees. The study also showed that resource sharing between locals and members of the diaspora has become an issue, as was highlighted by a diaspora returnee from Canada working as a government official in Hargeisa:

> When people from the diaspora come with great ideas, locals, many of whom are illiterate, might see it as a threat. Currently in the public sector there are 8–12 ministers from the diaspora. Also, in those projects supported by the international community the diaspora come in and people graduating from local universities become the second choice. (Interviewed January 2011)

Equally, it is perceived locally that the return of a large number of Somali diaspora members and the rise of prices, especially in Somaliland, are correlated. Interview participants protested that schools fees and rental fees have gone up since the diaspora started returning to Somaliland. Research findings suggest that the presence of the large diaspora community in Somaliland and especially in the capital Hargeisa have exacerbated the general belief that diaspora members are able to pay more for rent and tuition fees, as one government employee in Hargeisa complained:

> Their presence is making everything very expensive. There are empty houses all around Hargeisa but local people cannot afford them because landlords want to rent to those from the diaspora or to international organizations. In the summer it is even worse. You will not be able to rent a place in the summer because they [diaspora members] come here in large numbers. (Interviewed September 2010)

Locals' negative perceptions of the diaspora are not only limited to resource sharing. Cultural differences have also emerged as a key concern for locals. The perception that diaspora members have stayed abroad a long time and adopted other cultures, habits and ways of life that are different from those in Somalia has earned the reputation of being socially and culturally different. According to a local shop owner in Hargeisa, there is a prevalent perception that the diaspora is bringing back corrupted Western habits and is in need of cultural re-orientation, locally known as *dhaqan celis* (see also Kleist 2008):

> They look like us but their behaviors are peculiar and shockingly different from anything we know here. They are too Westernized. They don't have good *aqlaq* (discipline) and are bad examples to others, especially the children. They need *dhaqan celis* courses. (Interviewed September 2010)

The locals' perceptions of the diaspora returnees as 'others', foreigners and too Western applies to both genders but is perhaps more prevalent towards women when it comes to behavior and dress code. Previous research has documented the changing gender relations of the Somali diaspora in the West (see for example Kleist 2010), which is also reflected in this study. According to one of the male diaspora returnees from Finland, adjusting back to the culture in Somalia may be more challenging for women than for men:

> Women from the diaspora may face more challenges [than men]. They have to play a role here, they have to respect the local culture and behave in certain ways. We are all brainwashed when we are in the West, we change our culture. For women in particular this may be problematic in terms of adjusting to life here: they should be taught at the reorientation that here they are Somali women, not Finnish. (Interviewed January 2011)

Locals also negatively perceived the diaspora as not having suffered from conflict and being out of touch with the realities on the ground, which leads diaspora members to impose their own "fantasies" (see for example, Anderson 1992). This is related to the perception that some members of the diaspora are too clannish, too fragmented and in some cases warmongers. An example of this clannishness is the role the diaspora has played in the recent Somaliland election, as stated by a local member of the Somaliland electoral commission:

> Some people from the diaspora have sent money to his or her clan so that clan elders can boost the voter registration of their clan. The money was spent knowingly to falsify the voter registration and increase the number of the clan members in a fraudulent way. This exacerbated the community tension and encouraged frauds using diaspora money. (Interviewed July 2010)

The diaspora's political influence in the homeland has drawn criticism and appears as the most critical field of engagement (see Ibrahim 2010: 48). Some in Somaliland complained that the existing political climate favors the diaspora over the locals, such as this KULMIYE political party activist in Hargeisa:

> Through relatives, clan connection and money, diaspora are having great influence in Somaliland politics. Diaspora have also been supporting individual candidates by providing advice and financial support. (Interviewed July 2010)

Some interviewees thought that groups of returnees included criminals who have been expelled from their countries of residence, or those who have failed to integrate and find decent work in the diaspora, as is described by a traditional leader from Bosaso, Puntland:

> My opinion about these *qurbajoog* (diaspora) is quite negative. The other day we heard from BBC that Canada, the UK and Holland and many other Western countries want to expel some *qurbajoog* because they have

> committed serious offenses. Now, they come here and pretend that they are good and clean people and want government jobs. I hear that the majority of them are alcoholics and socially mischievous, and failed to achieve anything while in the diaspora. That is my opinion. (Interviewed June 2009)

Many interviewees found the generally perceived superior attitude displayed by some diaspora Somalis toward locals problematic, as stated by a local hotel manager in Hargeisa:

> The other day I was having coffee with a friend at the Ambassador Hotel and next to us sat a group of diaspora having drinks. Their discussion was about how local Somalis were ignorant (*reer miyi*) and backward. We were shocked about their attitudes and their lack of local understanding. These young people are ignorant about their culture and think because they lived in the West and learned few skills they are better than us. (Interviewed July 2010)

3.2.2 Positive Perceptions of Diaspora Engagement

Despite the negative perceptions held by some locals in the country of origin towards certain type of diaspora engagement in certain conditions, many of these same local people have positive perceptions of the diaspora in other aspects and conditions. Financial contributions of the Somali diaspora scored high with the locals. Even those who held negative perceptions about the involvement of the diaspora recognized their enormous financial contribution. The potential effect of remittances has generated fascinating debate about the role of remittances as a tool for poverty reduction and an opportunity for development in countries of origin. According to a recent study, the volume of remittances into developing nations is on the rise with estimated amount of "US$ 221 billion- twice the amount of official assistance developing countries received" in 2006 (Gupta, Pattilo and Wagh 2009: 104). In Somalia, the yearly inflow of private remittances is estimated to be between US$ 1.3–2 billion a year (Hammond et al. 2011: 4). Thus remittances are of utmost importance to local people, as described by a politician from Somaliland:

> The Somali diaspora are the breadwinners of many Somali households. Their financial contribution is far better targeted than those given by donor countries as the diaspora money goes straight to meeting basic needs. The diaspora seems to be playing the government's role. In southern Somalia where there is no functioning government and international organizations have largely withdrawn due to insecurity, remittances sent by the Somali diaspora have played a crucial role in not only supporting families, but the local economy has also benefited. (Interviewed July 2009)

Money sent by the diaspora is received in US Dollars, making the inflow of remittances the largest source of hard currency in a country where international trade is limited. Diaspora members are also seen as essential in bringing in critical services such as support for and the establishment of hospitals, schools and universities. Among the best-cited examples in Somaliland are the University of Hargeisa, International Horn University, Amoud University, the University of Burco and Hargeisa Hospital. Another example is the sizable number of Somaliland diaspora from Europe, North America and the Middle East who are now working in hospitals and universities and have started businesses (such as Mansoor and Ambassador hotels) that created thousands of jobs where unemployment rates were high (see also Hansen 2007).

The study findings showed an appreciation of the skills, knowledge and experience of diaspora members. Interviewees emphasized the importance of diaspora networks and contacts abroad that could bring needed expertise to Somalia. The local acknowledgement of the diaspora's diverse skills and professional experience is also found in recent diaspora studies which describe the skills and experiences as the "abilities and knowledge" (World Bank 2010) crucial in the effort to build strong institutions that are important for the development of a diaspora's country of origin. As one local Somali described:

> They brought back knowledge and institutional skills that they learned in host countries where there is system and discipline. In the long term, this contributes to peace because it establishes strong institutions and a knowledge-based society that is based on justice and equality. For example, all the heads of TELESOM Co. are from the diaspora. If you look at the political parties, they have many people from the diaspora as members. This reflects their positive involvement. (Interviewed June 2009)

One of the most critical areas of diaspora engagement, direct participation in political parties, was perceived by some as positive particularly in the sense that diaspora members are bringing in expertise gained abroad, as was mentioned by one member of the Somaliland House of Representatives:

> Many of my colleagues in the House of Representatives are from the diaspora. Having studied and worked in different parts of the world they have now come back and are making their skills and experience gained from years of working in the West and the Middle East accessible to their homeland. This I see as a positive thing because other African governments are complaining about brain drain but on the contrary we are experiencing the reversal of such trends. (Interviewed June 2010)

Diaspora members are also seen as people who could bring fresh and innovative ideas that can help accelerate development, institutional and peacebuilding initiatives (see Abdile 2010). Many interview participants highly regarded the involvement of diaspora in reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. This is

echoed in the case of Somaliland by a Deputy Speaker of the Somaliland House of Representatives:

> In Somaliland's recent political problems between the government and the opposition parties, members from the diaspora communities were calling their clan elders, members of the government and opposition leaders and other stakeholders to stop threats and confrontations that could exacerbate the situation. Members from the diaspora posted articles on the internet and in newspapers exhorting Somalilanders that they risk becoming like southern Somalia if they don't solve their problems in a peaceful manner. This was their appeal because they have a vested interest in maintaining peace. (Interviewed July 2009)

4. Recognition of the Somali Diaspora's Engagement

In previous sections the diaspora's self-perception of its role in Somalia and the locals' perceptions of the diaspora's engagement were described. Several critical issues and challenges concerning diaspora engagement were identified and discussed. As seen, according to some locals in Somalia, diaspora members are perceived as "others" and are excluded. They are not allowed to participate as full members of the society. In this section, perceptions are further analyzed by looking at recognition processes between locals and diaspora members. The conditions under which diaspora engagement is recognized or rejected by locals are analyzed, and the reasons why are explained. This may help to understand how the diaspora gain recognition in various positions.

To start with, it is important to stress that the context under which the diaspora engage in Somalia is challenging. As mentioned, some areas, especially in South/Central Somalia, are becoming increasingly inaccessible to the diaspora due to the conflict, whereas areas in northern Somalia, namely the self-proclaimed Somaliland and semi-autonomous Puntland, are relatively peaceful, allowing the diaspora to return. However, despite the relative stability in Somaliland and Puntland, severe problems remain. Both areas are experiencing high unemployment and a lack of job opportunities. At the same time, local expectations of the diaspora are high.

In this context of poverty, lack of resources and unemployment, a high level of local recognition is given to the diaspora when it plays the role of a supporter; an actor bringing resources such as remittances and setting up critical services. However, it becomes problematic when diaspora members play a proactive role, in particular a protagonist role. Locals' assumptions that the diaspora are taking jobs away, inflating prices or putting pressure on local services and resources create negative reactions towards the diaspora and thus makes the engagement of the diaspora challenging. Locals' perceptions of the diaspora as being too Westernized and thus a threat is adding further challenges to diaspora returnees. One diaspora returnee from Sweden experienced exclusion from the local

community as he and his children are perceived having being influenced too much by the Western culture:

> Some local parents don't want our children and theirs to mingle. They think our children are a bad influence on their children. Things are done differently here and parents emphasize a lot about discipline, good manners and obeying one's parents. While I think these are an important part of child's development, it's also important that my children are able to think. Here in Somaliland some see these kinds of values as a threat. (Interviewed June 2009)

The differing and clashing interests of locals as well as diaspora members can explain the negative perceptions. Both the diaspora and local communities play a role in recognition process where positions are considered flexible and negotiable rather than fixed. According to the empirical data, there are three reasons related to the behavior of the diaspora which contribute to mutual recognition between locals and diaspora members.

First, recognition relates to the honesty and motivation of the diaspora members. The initial interaction and exchange between locals and the diaspora is an important contributing factor that influences how locals perceive diaspora members. Determining whether a member of the diaspora has genuinely returned to help or has returned for personal interests is of critical importance because it influences whether s/he is viewed with suspicion or recognized as an important contributor (see also Ibrahim 2010: 40). Diaspora members who manage to gain local approval through their commitment to working for communities and through not seeking well paying positions, glory and personal gain earn recognition more easily. A diaspora returnee from the Netherlands describes her experience as follows:

> They [locals] are appreciative. I came here in 1999. There were no mobiles, no electricity, no water. When you come to these kinds of conditions, it is tough. When we started these programs, practically it was tough, we didn't have resources. Locals then saw that when you came to these conditions you really wanted to do something, otherwise you could have stayed in Europe. Even now they appreciate what we have done. (Interviewed January 2011)

Honesty in making community contributions, however, may not be sufficient for "winning the confidence of the society" (Ibrahim 2010: 45). The diaspora members have to work for it.

The second reason relates to the behavior of the diaspora in a culturally sensitive manner. As mentioned earlier, the diaspora members are sometimes locally perceived as "others" due to their presumed acculturation to Western cultures and values. The recognition given to the diaspora depends to some extent on the behavior of diaspora. It became clear in the light of the empirical data that culture and identity are sensitive issues that can easily lead to misunderstandings. If diaspora members perceive themselves as modern and

want to introduce new ideas without being sensitive towards the local culture, they can easily be interpreted as having a superior attitude by locals, and there could be danger of a culture clash. There is a general fear that the mere presence of the diaspora is explicitly or implicitly contributing to cultural change (see also Kleist 2008: 1134). The vicinity of the diaspora members to the country of origin may influence how sensitively they are able to behave toward local culture. Some members living in the West are maintaining very close relations to the country of origin through different means of communication and regular visits, thus staying closely accustomed to Somali culture. The situation may be completely different for others, especially for second generation Somalis who have never visited Somalia. One diaspora returnee to Somaliland from Finland explained proximity to Somalia and cultural sensitivity in the following way:

> Another challenge for diaspora members is to become accustomed to this culture, you can't generalize, but some people might have had close relations with Somalia when they were in Europe. For those who have lived here before, they know people here, they speak the language, it's easy. They can transfer experience; they can enrich [the culture]. But on the other hand, if the person does not have that much understanding of Somali culture, thinking that he has been there, civilized, then he clashes with people. Then you are in a trouble, people point at you and you can easily be labeled. (Interviewed January 2011)

CONCLUSIONS

The availability of high speed internet and fast modes of travel have increased diaspora-homeland interaction and contacts allowing diaspora members and local communities to influence each other. However, interactions are complicated by a number of factors such as perceptions from both sides: local perceptions of the diaspora's engagement and the diaspora's self-perception of its role in the country of origin. Differing perceptions, often relating to different interests, lead to challenges in the diaspora's engagement. The diaspora's engagement can be both recognized and rejected by local communities. On the one hand, homeland Somalis have a clear understanding of the vital role diaspora members can play and have played. At the local level, the diaspora score strongly on their financial contributions, followed by their involvement in politics and nation building. The diaspora members are also portrayed as people who are able to bring back know-how, vital contacts and experiences learned while in the diaspora. But although many in the homeland view the diaspora positively, there are aspects of diaspora involvement that locals reject. The aspects of diaspora involvement that are negatively portrayed include straining local resources, competition for jobs, diaspora protagonist approaches in politics, inflating prices to a level that locals are unable to afford, the perception that the diaspora is contributing to cultural change and the general perception of the diaspora's superior attitude.

As the disaggregated approach to the diaspora tells us, there is not only one homeland and there is not only one diaspora. The homeland is differently perceived by different people, and both diaspora members and locals have different interests. As was seen in the empirical data, different members of the diaspora perceive their role differently: some strive for a position in politics, others strictly oppose such engagement and fulfill their moral responsibility towards the country of origin by sending remittances. On the ground in Somalia/Somaliland, one person can perceive certain activities of the diaspora positively and other activities negatively. A local high school teacher can perceive remittances received from his brother in Canada as completely positive, but at the same time be very critical towards other Somali returnees from Canada taking government positions or competing for jobs as teachers, since they might clash with his interests.

The context under which the diaspora engage is extremely challenging in the case of Somalia. In the context of protracted conflict and extreme poverty, diaspora members are easily recognized as resources. More complex recognition processes emerge when the diaspora positions itself to participate in the society, particularly in the role of the protagonist. Diaspora members can, however, build trust among local communities and gain recognition in their various positions by showing their honesty, commitment and cultural sensitivity.

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