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The Construction Of ‘Clan’ in the Diaspora: An Analysis of Diverging Paths between First- and Second-Generation Somali Migrants in The Netherlands

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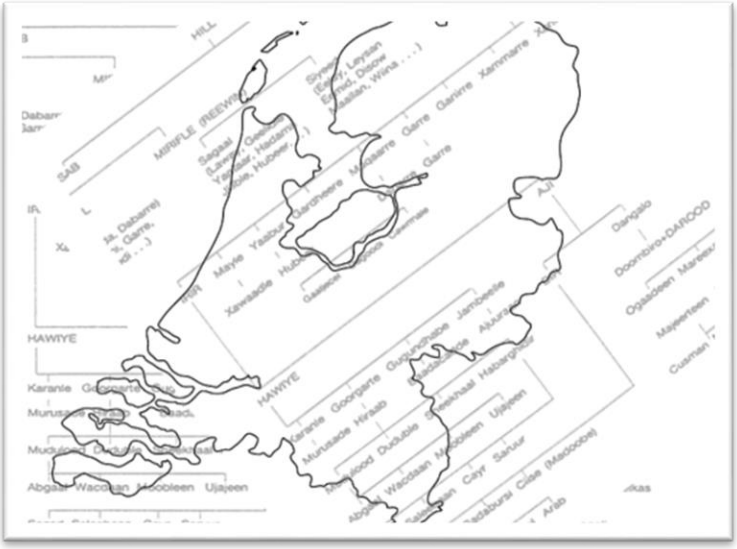

Master Thesis

International Relations: Culture & Politics

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Introduction

The civil war in Somalia, which officially started in 1991, and the subsequent periods of drought and famine led to the emergence of the rapidly growing Somali diaspora – which currently consists of almost two million people living all over the world. Nowadays, sizable Somali communities can be found not only in neighboring countries such as Kenya, but also in The United States, France and the Gulf States (Bjork 2017, 4-5). In many countries these communities are often heavily concentrated in certain areas, with a neighborhood in the American city of Minneapolis being nicknamed 'Little Mogadishu' because of high number of Somali immigrants that are living there.

As Somali migrants had to adapt to different circumstances in their host countries, central aspects of Somali culture and identity had to be reinterpreted and renegotiated. One of those aspects is the clan-system, which is often viewed as a foundational aspect of Somali cultural and national identity. While the definition of 'clan' is contested, the concept is often described as being an intricate network of kinship-relations based on patrilineal descent. The clans give Somalis a shared sense of history that connects them to ancestors who lived hundreds of years ago. In the pre-colonial era the clan-system formed one of the central pillars of an ancient social order that provided a structure for society (Samatar 1992, 630). 'Clans' are not static categories however, and the clan-system has manifested itself in different ways over time. Among diaspora communities clan-networks have remained actively maintained, and remain an important aspect of social life – which is a clear example of how Somalis "can use clan in modern ways" (Bjork 2017, 21).

However, the clan-system has proven to be a potential ground for generational conflict within Somali diaspora communities. For first-generation Somali migrants, who had grown up in Somalia, clan had been a ubiquitous aspect of their daily lives. When they arrived in their host countries they had to adjust to social contexts that were sometimes radically different. In Norway, elderly Somali migrants therefore tried to cling to the clan-structure because of a perceived loss of authority and status among their communities (Markussen 2020, 1444). Conversely, second-generation members of the diaspora often grew up in the countries were the importance and necessity of maintaining clan networks was less self-evident. Young Somali-Brits even mocked older generations because of their 'clannism', which they view as a destructive force among their communities (Liberatore 2017, 126).

This thesis aims to explore the ways in which different generations of Somali migrants in The Netherlands understand the concept of 'clan' and how they engage with it in their personal lives. Through reviewing relevant academic literature relating to both the clan-system and identity-construction by diaspora communities, this paper develops the theoretical background against with the research is conducted. Based on of in-depth interviews and the results from a survey, this thesis offers an analysis of the how clan is constructed by first- and second-generation Somali migrants in The Netherlands. In a discussion section these findings are then analyzed and contextualized in light of existing research.

Literature Review: Stating the Problem

The word diaspora comes from the ancient Greek verb *diaspeiro* ('to scatter'). Originally the term was used for the Jews, who have been living as minority groups in far-away countries for millennia (Dufoix 2008, 5). Since then the definition of the word 'diaspora' has broadened, and it now generally refers to "a national, ethnic, or religious community living far from its native land—or its place of origin or reference—in several foreign territories," (Dufoix 2008, 54). The 1970s and 1980s saw a sudden increase in the use of the term diaspora, partly because of the emergence of new diasporic communities such as the Chechens and Afghans (Dufoix 2008, 1). In the context of Western countries the Somali diaspora was rather unique since it was "one of the first African, black, non-Christian, non-English speaking communities" (Kusow & Bjork 2007, 3).

According to Fiona B. Adamson and Madeline Demetriou (2007) the growing number of diaspora communities and the increasing relevance of 'diasporas' in discourse has implications for IR-research. They point out that contemporary diaspora communities complicate the often state-centric nature of traditional theories within the field. Over the last few decades many of those communities have set up organizational structures to be engaged politically in both their host states and their countries of origins (505). The transnational character of these activities did not fit with the traditional understandings of the relationship between the concepts of 'nation' and 'state'. The study of diaspora communities should therefore be incorporated within IR-theory, "since it provides a means of examining how identity constructs can be deployed to sustain collective identities across territorial borders." (513).

Diasporic communities are heterogenous and diverse (Dufoix 2008, 24). These communities often consist of several ethnic and/or cultural sub-groups themselves, which regularly leads to complex questions of identity in their new homelands. Ethiopian Oromo communities in Canada are part of the 'Ethiopian diaspora', but Canadian Oromo distance themselves from their Ethiopian identity and see themselves primarily as Oromo, partly because of their critical stance towards the actions of the Ethiopian federal government (Thompson 2018, 20). Moreover, the distinction between nations and kinship-based groups such as clans is often murky, as exemplified by Sudanese diaspora in Kenya, who have historically claimed to be both a 'nation' and a 'tribe' (Johnson 2009, 126-127). Kinship-based bonds often also predate the emergence of modern nation-states and national identities, as is the case with Libyan tribes who now live in multiple countries in North-Africa but still have a strong sense of group identity (Najem 2003, 122).

Somali clans

The Somali clan ('*qabil'*) has traditionally played an important role in the social life of Somali people. Somali clans refer to large groups of Somalis who claim common ancestry. These clan-families, such as Hawiye and Darod, themselves are divided further into sub-clans, leading all the way down to the level of the family (Mohamed 2007, 226-227). Ioan Lewis (1994) gave an extensive account of the role of clans in Somali society in *Blood and Bone: the Call of kinship*. In his work he discusses clans as being kinship-based groups based on patrilineal descent. He approaches clans as being social units, that provide certain roles in broader Somali society, that center around lineage. Large clan-families are supposedly founded by certain historical Sheikhs (e.g. "sheikh Isaaq" and "sheikh Darod" for the Isaaq - and Darod-clans respectively), with all sub-clans branching from the bloodline of these forefathers. While these kinds of claims about the origins of these lineages are not always historically accurate, they still provide a fairly accurate picture based on historical research, although this is difficult to verify (101-102). The defining aspect of Somali clans is their rootedness in patrilineal lineages, or at least stories around these shared genealogies.

The clan-system is often viewed as a foundational aspect of Somali cultural and national identity. The Somali scholar Abdi Samatar (1992) describes how the kinship relations, that were articulated through the clan-system, were part of an ancient social order. This order also consisted of the shared belief in Islam and a set of unwritten social conventions called *xeer* – a democratic mechanism for clans to cooperate and solve problems (630). This delicate balance

was upset by the introduction of new economic modes of production and the advent of the modern nation-state (Samatar 1992, 638-641). Nowadays the clan-system is still a powerful force, and often overrides allegiance to the Somali state. Feelings of social and political responsibilities are largely being tied up in the clan-identity as opposed to a Somali civic identity (Ssereo 2003, 40).

The view of understanding the clan mainly as a coherent unit having certain social functions has traditionally underpinned Somali studies in general, and anthropology specifically. According to Lidwien Kapteijns (2004) this "structural-functionalist approach" sees the clan "as the basic social institution and the major and enduring principle of the sociopolitical organization of Somali society." She writes that the work of Lewis can also be placed in this tradition, although he criticized earlier structural-functionalist thinkers (Kapteijns 2004, 2). Kapteijns contrasts structural-functionalism with a second paradigm, which she calls the "deconstructive approach", which posits that clans are not "natural and self-evident categories", but rather a concept that is continuously given meaning by people themselves through their actions and understandings (Kapteijns 2004, 14).

This approach to clans is also followed by Alex de Waal (2020) in his discussion of the Somali state and political identity in Somalia. It leads him to conclude that what is actually dominant in Somali society are what he calls 'clan units', large political groupings that are rooted in kinship-relations, but which are actually a more modern phenomenon. The current '4.5 system', which distributes power in the Somali political system based on a conception of four "major clans" and a collective of "minority clans", is based on these recent clan units, and not on the more egalitarian lineage-focused groups that Lewis describes (564-565). This shows how the concept of 'clan' is in some ways a contested concept, in the sense that there is no degreed upon definition, and because it manifests itself differently over time.

Clan in the diaspora

While the study of kinship long dominated Somali studies, academic interest in kinship has declined since the 1970s and 1980s, partly because ethnographers found it to be too restrictive. According to Stephanie Bjork (2017) researchers influenced by post-modernist thinking increasingly started paying attention to issues such as class and gender instead (16). This shift led to a disregard of the role of clans among researchers altogether. This process was further reinforced by the claims of Somalis living in the West who claimed that they found clans

to be irrelevant. Bjork (2017) has researched clans in the context of the Somali diaspora in Finland and points out that clan actually still was important to Somalis, but rather that it was too "culturally intimate" (12): clans are generally viewed negatively, and their importance is often downplayed or denied, especially to outsiders.

Bjork (2017) agrees with Lewis' concept of clan is of enduring importance to Somalis, also in the diaspora. However, she does not agree with the structural-functionalist approach. Clans are not static social categories, rather she writes: "what looks like hard structure is achieved through practices on the ground". The concept of clan should thus be studied through what she calls "practice theory", which analyzes how the effects of clan manifest themselves in various aspects of life, such as "informal economic practices, marriage practices and taboos, migration, travel, remittances, and politics and development in Somalia" (158). When she started to look at the role of the clan-system in diaspora Finland, this led her to believe that clan is "less explicit, but not less important" (Bjork 2007, 147).

Rima Berns-McGown (2016) also points out that clan-divisions are still prevalent among Somali diaspora communities and that the clan is "the single most divisive and sensitive issue both among Somalis and between Somalis and the host community" (Berns-McGown 2016, 20). She describes how during the 1990s there were thirty different Somali organizations in Toronto, which all aimed to help newly arrived Somali refugees. While they all claimed to support Somalis regardless of their clan-affiliation, in practice the work of these organizations was often structured around clan-identity (Berns-McGown 2016, 22). Kusow & Bjork (2007) explain this kind of organizational fragmentation along clan-lines is actually the "modus operandi" of Somali communities around the world (2007, 3). Furthermore, even in welfare states the clans are sometimes "more effective in addressing some of the social needs of their members" than government policies and the social safety net. (Zoppi 2019, 485)

The Somali community in the Netherlands constitutes roughly 40 thousand people, most of whom are refugees who have fled the country due to the civil war. They face a range of socio-economic challenges, among which high unemployment: the Somali-Dutch community has the highest unemployment rate of all immigrant groups (Van Liempt, 2020, 269). A study that Van Liempt and Nijenhuijs (2013) conducted for the Open Society Foundations among Somalis in Amsterdam also states that the clan-structure still plays an important role among Dutch-Somalis and that, similarly to other countries, Somali organizations and NGOs are often organized around this structure (103).

Generational Change

A report that was authorized by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment named the "collectivist clan-structure" as one of the obstacles to integration into Dutch society (Regioplan Beleidsonderzoek 2010, 25). Clan-divisions are brought into The Netherlands, and are identified as one of the reasons why there is a relatively high level of distrust among Somali migrants towards other people. This lack of trust in people and institutions is part of a broader set of psycho-social problems Somalis in The Netherlands witness nowadays (Van Heelsum 2011, 35). The Ministry report also describes how there is a generational difference with regards to clan, and that the clan for young Somalis is "no source for group identification" (Regioplan Beleidsonderzoek 2010, 32).

This generational divide with regards to clans has been observed in multiple contexts. Young people who grew up outside of Somalia generally do not learn their clan-genealogy anymore (Luling 2006, 483). A report by the Open Society Foundation (OSF, 2013) states that young Somali-Norwegians in Oslo "increasingly work together as youngsters, avoiding cooperation with the older generation because of the internal conflicts that commonly arise." Youth have played a central role in the formation of diasporic organizations such as the Anti-tribalism Movement (ATM), an NGO founded in the United Kingdom with the aim of combating tribalism in both Somalia and the Somali diaspora, which currently receives donations from more than 150.000 supporters (Anti Tribalism Movement, 2021). One of the founders of the movement explicitly frame their work as a generational struggle in an interview with Reuters, by stating that "the older generation doesn't agree with what we are doing. They say tribalism is our heritage, our DNA, our blueprint. But they're wrong." (Maclean 2011).

This highlights how different generations within diasporic communities constantly give new meaning to their identity. This process of (re-)negotiating their diasporic identity is often shaped by the different experiences various generations have had in their lives. Dmitry Chernobrov and Leila Wilmers (2020) describe how younger members of the Armenian diaspora who had not personally experienced the Karabakh conflict of the 1990s, and for whom the genocide of the early 1900s was increasingly becoming something of the distant past, therefore want edto go beyond "narratives of victimhood and loss" (927-928). In response to tensions with both Swedish youth and other diaspora communities (e.g. Arabs and Persians),

young members of the Kurdish community in Sweden have developed a more essentialized and "pure" conception of a national Kurdish identity than older generations (Alinia & Eliassi 2014). While Avtar Brah (1996) believes that intergenerational conflicts within diaspora communities are often oversimplified and exaggerated, he states that there is always a potential for conflict "especially when the early years of parents and their children are separated not only in time but also by country, so that the two age groups are exposed to differing cultural and political influences during their formative years." (Brah 1996, 42).

Clan and the diasporic identity

Nauja Kleist (2008) has researched how a shared sense of identity is constructed among Somalis living in the diaspora. She argues that 'Somali diaspora' is an emerging identity category, which is constructed by various actors – "from researchers and policy-makers to Somalis themselves" (1139). This category is rather ambiguous, and is constituted between two poles; Somali diasporic identity is often grounded in a shared experience of social marginalization, but diasporic identity can also be based around the idea of the Somali diaspora being a moral community that bears responsibility towards the homeland and can be mobilized in that regard. She furthermore points out that within this diasporic identity there exists a tension between what she calls particularistic and more inclusive framings of this identity. In some ways the diasporic identity seems to further entrench the existing fragmentation among Somalis, with many organizations that are claim to work on behalf of 'the diaspora', in practice only represent people from certain clan- and or regional backgrounds. In other cases, the Somali diasporic identity seems to have a more inclusive potential, in the sense that a certain 'diaspora identity' is often emphasized to avoid kin- and clan-based differences (1137).

Bruce Collet (2007) researched the construction of a Somali diasporic identity by Somali immigrants who graduated from Toronto public high schools, with a specific focus on the role of Islam. His conclusions affirm the earlier work of Papstergiadis (1998) and Hall (1999) that there is not one, essential diasporic identity. But rather that the identity of members of the diaspora community, in this specific context, was actively constructed by the immigrants and could change over time. In his research he found that the respondents often coupled their Somali identity to their Muslim identity, and that the two are often viewed as inextricably linked (139). Certain perceived incompatibilities between the respondents' Islamic identity and Canadian culture were therefore also seen as relating to questions around their identity as Somali-Canadians. Islam and the clan-system are both seen as foundational aspects of Somali

culture, and both still play a central role in the lives of Somali communities in the diaspora. Based on the generational differences regarding the ways in which clans are perceived by members of the diaspora it might be assumed that the clan-identity relates differently to the construction of a diasporic identity as opposed to Islam.

The fact that young Somalis in the diaspora often express negative views towards the concept of clan, does not mean that their lives are not influenced by it, or that it does not constitute an important part of their identity. Horst (2017) observes that young members of diaspora communities are often still very socially engaged within the Somali community, which he traces to the clan- and *xeer*-system that still plays an important role in instilling the communal values (1351). To understand the role the concept of clan plays in diaspora communities, it is important to analyze how it is constructed by different generations. This is why the research question of this thesis deals with the role of the concept of 'clan' in relation to the diasporic identity of first- and second-generation members of the Somali diaspora (see section "Research Question and Methodology").

Research Question and Methodology

The research question of this thesis is: *How is 'clan' constructed by first- and second-generation Somali migrants in The Netherlands?*

The research question contains two main elements. Firstly, this paper aims to understand the way in which the different experiences of first- and second-generation Somali migrants influence how they construct 'clan'. Secondly, this research aims to understand the way in which life in The Netherlands and the adoption of a Dutch cultural identity relate to the construction of clan. These two elements form the basis for the following sub-questions: 1) Is clan constructed differently by first-generation Somali-Dutch people as compared to second-generation Somali-Dutch people? And if so, what are these differences? And 2) How does identification with the Dutch cultural identity and living in The Netherlands influence the way in which clan is constructed?

This paper draws from six in-depth qualitative interviews that were conducted with Somali migrants in The Netherlands from both the first- and second generation, and the responses to an online survey that was distributed among members the Somali community in The

Netherlands. By using both in-depth interviews and a survey, this paper essentially makes use of a mixed-methods approach. However, the analysis of the in-depth interviews constitutes the main part of this research.

I chose for a mixed-methods approach, since this would give me a more comprehensive understanding of how clan is constructed by members of the Somali community. The survey served as a way to get a more general view of the attitudes Somali migrants had towards the concept of clan, while the interviews served as a way to explore the construction of clan in a more in-depth manner. The choice to employ a mixed-methods approach thus fits with the notion of 'completeness'; since it indicates that "a more complete answer to a research question or set of research questions can be achieved by including both quantitative and qualitative methods" (Bryman 2016, 637).

The in-depth interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner (SSI's), since this type of interview places central attention on the way in which the interviewee "frames and understands issues and events" (Bryman 2016, 471). This fits with the way in which this research aims to understand how 'clan' is constructed by the interviewees themselves. I tried to make sure that the interviews were relatively conversational in nature, since this would give the interviewees "the chance to explore issues they feel are important" (Longhurst, 2003, p. 145).

The interviews were transcribed and the transcripts were coded by-hand into several categories, based on recurring threads that came up throughout the interview. Throughout this process I have tried to identify linkages between these threads, since "forging interconnections between codes" is an important part of acquiring a more complete understanding of a topic (Bryman 2016, 577). The themes that I identified are divided among the two sub-chapters. The discoveries from the interviews are accompanied by findings from the survey to further illustrate certain key points, or to show how the responses of the interviewees were indicative of sentiments that were shared among the broader community.

Survey

As part of this this research I created a survey aimed at members of the Somali community in The Netherlands. The goal of this survey was to get a general understanding of the attitudes towards the concept of 'clan' among both first- and second-generation Somali migrants. Aside from a Dutch version of the survey, I also made a Somali version with the help of my father, who is a licensed Somali translator. Both versions of the survey are provided in Appendices B & C.

The questions of the survey can be divided into three parts. In the first part respondents were asked questions about their own socio-demographic background (e.g. Age, sex, occupation). The second part contained questions having to do with knowledge and perception of the clans, and the role the respondents' own clan-identity plays in their personal lives (e.g. "Have you ever been contacted to offer financial aid to another member of your clan?"). The third part of the survey was focused on questions around life in The Netherlands (e.g. Do you feel at home in The Netherlands?).

The respondents were recruited through a version of snowball sampling, in which I asked people from my personal network to fill in the survey and share it with people they knew. I also shared the survey by making use of online social networks aimed at the Somali community in The Netherlands; such as the Instagram Page 'Somali Millennials' and the Facebook-page 'Somaliërs Bijeen' ('Somalis Together'). Initially, I hoped to receive around 30 responses, since this would give me a good overview of the general attitudes of the community towards clan. However, the number of respondents turned out to be much higher than expected, with the survey being filled in 168 times in total. Not all respondents were included in the analysis, since some of them were born in neither The Netherlands or Somalia (e.g. In Dubai or Saudi-Arabia), or did not complete the whole form. Eventually 149 responses were included in the analysis.

In-depth interviews

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the ways clan is constructed by members of the Somali community in The Netherlands I held six in-depth interviews. The research group consisted of both first- and second-generation Somali migrants in The

Netherlands. The first-generation interviewees were all born and raised in Somalia, and had all lived in The Netherlands for at least than ten years. The second-generation interviewees were all born and raised in The Netherlands, and were all in their early twenties. This way the impact that differing generational experiences might have on the way the interviewees constructed clan could be most clearly observed. The group of interviewees was gender-balanced, with three interviewees being men and three interviewees being women.

The interview period lasted from May until June 2021. Five of the six interviews were conducted via Zoom, while one was conducted via telephone. The interviews lasted between 40 and 90 minutes. The difference in length between the longer and shorter interviews can partly be attributed to issues relating to translation and or network connection that sometimes came up. The interviewees were selected with the help of several members of Somali community from my own network. Since the interviews were conducted anonymously I will refer to the interviewees using ‘IF1’, ‘IF2’ and ‘IF3’ (‘IF’ standing for Interviewee First Generation), and ‘IS1, ‘IS2’ and ‘IS3’(‘IS’ standing for ‘Interviewee Second Generation’).

Table 1. Sociodemographic background of interviewees

Participant	Gender	Age	Country of birth	Clan-family	Living in The Netherlands since:
IF1	Man	63	Somalia	Reer Hamar	2010
IF2	Man	66	Somalia	Biyomaal (Dir)	2008
IF3	Woman	61	Somalia	Abgaal (Hawiye)	1992
IS1	Woman	22	The Netherlands	Murusade (Hawiye)	Born
IS2	Woman	22	The Netherlands	Abgaal (Hawiye)	Born
IS3	Man	20	The Netherlands	Abgaal (Hawiye)	Born

Other considerations:

Firstly, it is important to point out that I have a Somali background myself. This turned out to be helpful in several ways. Since clan can be a sensitive issue among the community, I expected some difficulties with finding enough interviewees who were willing to openly speak about the topic. However, all the people I contacted for this research were more than willing to cooperate. The fact that people from the community either knew me, or knew that I had a Somali background, also contributed to the high number of respondents the survey managed to garner.

To make the survey as accessible as possible, I chose to create two versions – one in Somali and one in Dutch. By creating a Somali version of the survey I specifically hoped to attract more older members of the Somali community, since do not always master Dutch. This probably turned out to be the case, since all respondents who were older than 60 filled in the Somali version. Furthermore, the questions were formulated as straightforward as possible and I generally avoided the use of complex terms and phrases.

While the group of interviewees was gender-balanced, the survey was filled in substantially more times by women than by men. Of the 149 respondents who were included in the analysis, 51 were men and 98 were women (further socio-demographic data about the survey respondents is provided in Appendix D). Gender constitutes an important dimension of the ways in which clan is constructed, since it is sometimes "performed in gender-specific ways" (Bjork 2017, 41). This might limit the extent to which the results from the survey are reflective of the attitudes of community in general.

Trustworthiness

Since this research mainly draws from qualitative interviews, the trustworthiness of this issue should be addressed. I will discuss a few relevant aspects related to this. Firstly, the credibility of the answers of interviewees may be at stake. In order to prevent untruthful answers, I continuously kept checking with the interviewees whether I had understood their answers correctly during the interviews. Furthermore, by using both in-depth interviews and the results from a survey, this research makes uses of a triangulation. By including the surveys I was therefore not depending on the interviews as the only relevant dataset.

The second challenge has to do with the transferability of the research. I have tried to improve the transferability of this research by using elements of thick description: throughout the analysis I tried to add information about the context in which certain things were said and/or the manner in which the interviewees expressed things they said (intonation, emotion, etc.).

Thirdly, since I have a Somali background myself – and since the interviewees knew that – the issue of confirmability was specifically important in context of this research. Reflexivity is important in this regard. I have tried to be aware of the way in which my own background could impact my research. I believe that this impact has been limited: I am not very involved in the Somali community myself, and neither do I hold strong or negative views about

my clan. Furthermore, my own clan-background has generally not impacted me in my personal life. Yet, at times it happened that interviewees addressed me as a fellow member of the community; specifically the first generation interviewees made references to my Somali background several times (e.g.: using "*your* clan*"* when explaining something). In order to minimalize the role of my background in these interviews, I tried to formulate the questions in more general terms. For example, I asked "How would you explain the meaning of 'clan' to someone who does not know anything about it?" instead of "What does clan mean?", in order for them to answer the questions without making assumptions about what they expected me to know.

Interview Guide (In-depth Interviews)

In preparation for the interviews I had created an interview guide, which contains the questions that formed the basis for the interviews. Since the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner I also asked follow-up questions based on the answers the interviewees had given, and sometimes asked for clarification with regards to certain questions later in the conversation. The interview-questions were based on the research questions and the two sub-questions, and thus related to interviewees' understanding of the meaning of clan; the way in which clan plays a role in their day-to-day life; and the way in which they perceived living in The Netherlands had influenced the ways in which they engaged with clan. I also prepared a few specific questions that I would only ask to either the first- and second-generation interviewees (e.g. 'Have you started to think differently about clans since coming to The Netherlands?')

I also used the in-depth interviews to gain a more well-rounded understanding of findings from the survey that I found to be intriguing. An example of this would be that the vast majority of respondents indicated that they would have no objection to marrying somebody from another clan. Because of the ways in which clans in the literature are often primarily understood as groups of people that were tied together by having the same (patrilineal) lineage, this finding was surprising to me. In this case I used the in-depth interviews to ask the interviewees more follow-up questions about the relation between clan and marriage.

Questions for all interviewees:

- How would you explain clan/*qabil* to someone who did not know anything about it?
- How is clan important in your day-to-day life? Do you have any concrete examples?
- Do you see a difference between how Somalis of different generations view the clans? And if so, what are these differences?
- Do you see a difference between how people talk about clans, and how they act in practice?
- Is it important that a basic level of knowledge about the clan-system is preserved among Somalis in The Netherlands? And if so/not, why?
- Are you more likely to help people from the same clan when he/she is in need than someone from a different clan? And if so/not, why?
- Are clans something you talk about with friends and family; do you have any concrete examples of these conversations?
- Do you believe the clans will still play an important role among the Somali community in The Netherlands in fifty (or a hundred) years, and if so/not why?

Questions only for first-generation interviewees:

- Have you started to think differently about clans since coming to The Netherlands?
- The younger generation is generally less knowledgeable about clans (lineage etc.). Do you see that as a problem? (And if not/so, why?)
- Somalis from the younger generation sometimes criticize older generations for the way they seem to be preoccupied with clans. Do you think this is justified?
- Can you describe what you heard about ; do you have any examples?

Questions only for Interviewees second generation:

- Do you see among your peers (friends, siblings), that they approach clans differently than the older generation?
- Do you have concrete examples of how you engage with clans differently than Somalis who were born here?
- Can you describe how clan was in The Netherlands; do you have any examples?

Research Results

Sub-Chapter 1

This section deals with the themes relating to the first sub-question, namely: "Is clan constructed differently by first-generation Somali migrants as compared to second-generation Somali migrants? And if so, what are these differences?".

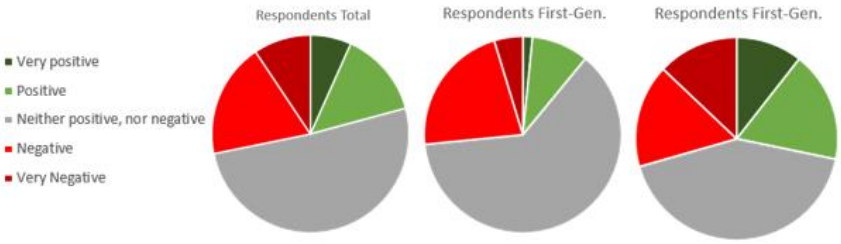
Understanding and perception of clan

The concept of lineage was central to the understanding of clan among both interviewees from the second- and first-generation. Interviewees defined clans as "your lineage", "people descending from the same forefather" and as a "group of people with whom you share the same bloodline from the father's side". When the interviewees were asked how they would respond if someone would ask them to which clan they belong, all of them would answer with either one of the larger clan-families, or a sizable sub-clan (see Appendix A for a general overview of Somali clan genealogy). IF3, a 61-year old woman Abgaal sub-clan, clearly emphasized the aspect of lineage when she was describing what 'clan' meant according to her:

> "People from a *qabil* have the same forefathers. (…) Every tribe has the same forefathers. It is not like people just randomly started calling themselves "a tribe", but they share ten, twelve, thirteen forefathers. Basically it's like being a big family."

All of the interviewees expressed that they did not view clans as being either inherently positive or inherently negative. However, they differentiated between the 'clan' as such and clan-based exclusionary practices (see section 'Clans, Clannism, and Clan-pride'). The findings from the survey showed that members of the Somali community were generally divided when it comes to their perception of the clan, with a slight majority of all respondents stating that they did not harbor either predominantly negative or positive feelings towards the word 'clan'. The first-generation survey respondents seemed to harbor stronger feelings towards the concept of clan than second-generation respondents.

Table 2. "*Does the word 'clan/qabil' bring up positive or negative thoughts in you?*"



The second-generation interviewees explained that their understanding of clan was mainly shaped by what their parents had told them about it when they were growing up. All three interviewees expressed on several occasions that they were not sure about the things they were telling me about the clans, and often pointed out that Somalis from the older generation were generally more knowledgeable about the clan-system. The interviewees from the first generation on the other hand, spoke with a greater sense of authority when discussing clan. They attributed this to the fact that clans had constituted an important part of their day-to-day life since they were children (see section 'The Role of Upbringing').

Clans, Clannism and 'clan-pride'

All the interviewees stated that clans contained positive, as well as negative elements. A recurring theme throughout the interviews was the distinction between what the interviewees called '*qabil'* and '*qabyalaad'*. The former of which is the general Somali word for 'clan', while the latter can be translated as 'clannism'. Clannism was explained as; discriminating people based on their clan-identity or excluding people from other clans from social activities or decision-making processes. A member of the Somali community who would behave 'clannishly' would be called a '*qabiliist'*. According to the interviewees the clans as such were not problematic – however clannism was. IF1, a 63 year old man from the minority Reer Hamar clan-family[1], repeatedly stated throughout the interview that clan and clannism should be seen as two separate things:

[1] The Reer Hamar are a community of people from who generally live around the capital city Mogadishu (Luling & Adam 2015, 141-142). While it is debated if this group can be described as one of the clan-families, the interviewee himself perceived Reer Hamar to be one of the *qabil*.

> "*Qabil* is fine if it's used to name or recognize people it is not a problem. It only becomes a problem when people use *qabil* to exclude other people."

The distinction between 'clan' and 'clannism' was made by interviewees from both generations. All the interviewees from the first-generation used the term '*qabyalaad'* explicitly during the discussion when referring to practices and attitudes they would associate with clannism. While interviewees from the second generation did not use this word specifically, they also differentiated between the 'clan' on the one hand and clan-based exclusionary and discriminatory practices on the other hand. The distinction between clan and clannism thus featured as an important aspect during the discussions, and was a way for the interviewees to categorize the aspects of clan that they perceived as being either negative or positive.

While clannism was viewed as a problem among the Somali community in The Netherlands, all of the interviewees explicitly said that they did not view themselves as being clannish. This is in line with Bjork's (2017) account of Somalis in Finland, where the informants viewed clannism mainly as a problem caused by other members of the community instead of themselves (13). The first-generation interviewees distanced themselves from clannism more explicitly, and often gave examples from their own lives to demonstrate how they were not clannish. During the interview IF2, who was introduced to me as being a community elder, proudly described how he had once denied a request by his clan-members to go to a peace conference in Kenya on behalf of his clan:

> "I am a humanitarian person, at that time I worked for a civil society organization [Dutch: 'welzijnsorganisatie'] which did not make a distinction between people based on *qabil*. I always wanted to be there for everyone. If I would go to that conference and represent my clan, I would only be there for my clan. Then I would not be neutral anymore, or be there for everyone equally. (…) How I view *qabil* has remained the same. I still think like that."

The first- and second-generation interviewees differed on their exact interpretation of what constituted clannism. This was mainly due to the fact that the first-generation interviewees linked their clan-identity to a sense of pride, and stated that they felt a deeper connection with people from their own clan as compared to people from other clans. IF3 had repeatedly criticized clannism throughout the interview, and saw it as a problem within the Somali community. When she was asked whether she would react differently to hearing the news that one of her clan-members had been killed in Somalia, as opposed to someone from another clan, she answered affirmatively:

> "Yes of course that is different, that would be like one of my brothers had died."

This sentiment was not shared among the second-generation interviewees. They generally stated that they did not feel more intimately connected with people from their clan, and also expressed that belonging to their clans did not give them a sense of pride. IS1, a 22 year old International Law student, stated that she would not be more inclined to help someone who was in need if he/she belonged to the same clan. The first-generation interviewees did not view the pride that their clan-identity instilled in them as a sign of clannism, but rather as a healthy sense of 'clan-pride'. IF2 explained that it was possible to be proud of the clan you belong to, without becoming a '*qabiliist*':

> "The two can go together: you can know which *qabil* you're from, you can know the place where you're from, and you can be proud of being a rich or attractive people . But at the same time there must be no *qabyalaad*. You can divorce the bad sides from the good sides."

The role of upbringing

During the interviews the interviewees stated repeatedly that their conception of clan was shaped by the way in which clans did, or did not play an important role during their upbringing. In this context, there were clear differences between the role clan had played in the upbringing of first-generation interviewees as compared to the second-generation interviewees. For the first-generation interviewees, who were raised in Somalia, the clan was an integral part of their upbringing; and IF3 described the clan as being "something that was all around us". For the second-generation interviewees, who were born in The Netherlands, the clan was rarely discussed during their childhood.

The first-generation interviewees described how the concept of clan was something that was an all-encompassing aspect of their lives. They stated that that their conception of clan was not just shaped by what their parents told about them, but that it was something that they were confronted with by other people on a daily basis. During their childhood they had often heard stories about their clan, and the interviewees stated that positive aspects of their clan's history were generally emphasized. The first-generation interviewees described how they often had to reassess these stories later in life. IF2 reflects on his upbringing in Somalia:

> "As children we were taught that we belong to a great *qabil*; that we were strong. This was done to make us aware of how important *qabil* was for our society. This was partly

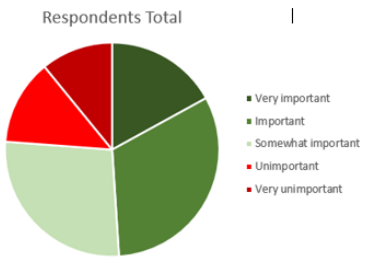
> propaganda of course. When you grow older, you come to realize that your *qabil* is not necessarily the strongest, the most beautiful one. And that there is a need for a certain balance."

The upbringing of IF2 stands in stark contrast with the upbringing of the second-generation interviewees, who all grew up in The Netherlands. They explained that aside from knowing a part of their genealogy and having heard some of their clan's history, their knowledge about clans was almost non-existent. IS2, a 22 year old medical student who grew up in Eindhoven, explained that until she was 17, she only had a relatively vague understanding of what clan even was. Her description of what led her to investigate her clan-background more, exemplified how clan did generally not play an important role during the upbringing of the second-generation interviewees:

> "I really did not know anything about *qabil* until I was 17. As a kid I was taught several of my last names, but that was about it. It was only later that someone on social media insulted me based on the *qabil* that I belong to and that I went to my parents to ask: '*Qabil*, what does that mean exactly?'."

The second-generation interviewees did not have children themselves, but they stated that clan would also not play an important role in the upbringing of their own children. They did not perceive this to be a break from the way they were raised by their own parents. The first-generation interviewees IF3 and IF2 had both raised children themselves. Throughout the interviews they described multiple times how they had told their children that they were free to marry and befriend people from other clans and had generally not emphasized the importance of clan when they raised their children. While interviewees from both generations believed that it was better to not focus on clan too much when raising children, they all believed that it was important that future generations within the community knew at least some elementary facts about the clan-system. This sentiment was also reflected in the results from the survey, with a sizable majority of all respondents stating that it was at least "somewhat important" that their children were aware of which clan they belonged to, and knew some facts about their clan's history.

Table 3: "Do you think it is important that your children know which clan they belong to and that they know the history of your clan?"



Stereotypes, cultural traits and 'telling clan'

The first-generation interviewees all described extensively how the clans that they belonged to had their own specific cultural traditions, which differentiated them from other clans. According to them, these cultural differences pertained to having different religious rituals, musical traditions and food culture. Multiple first-generation interviewees explained that they associated members of different clans with several stereotypical character traits and ways of conducting themselves. Some first-generation interviewees also perceived certain aspects of their own personality to be 'typically Hawiye' or 'typically Darod'. IF3, who is herself a member of the clan-family Hawiye, described the difference between members of Hawiye and the clan-family Darod like this:

> "All the *qabil* have their own norms and values (…). We as Hawiye are well-known for our hospitality. But we are not very helpful to each other. If somebody needs something, we generally don't help them, because we want them to become independent. In the case of Darod on the other hand, if one of their clan-members is in need of something, they immediately give that thing to them."

According to Bjork (2017) Somalis are often able to recognize which clan people belong to based on certain "telling signs", which include dialects, gestures, names and clothing styles (58). The second-generation interviewees all expressed that they would not be able to 'tell clan' – all of them said that they did not even know the clan-affiliation of their own Somali friends. The second-generation interviewees were aware of the existence of these telling signs and clan-based stereotypes, but did not know about them

specifically. While the first-generation interviewees were able to list dishes, dance-styles and of their clans, the second-generation interviewees said that they did not know much about the specific cultural traditions of their clans and saw them as relatively irrelevant in their daily lives. The second-generation interviewees did not view their own personality and behavior as exhibiting 'typical' aspects of their clan, and also did not know any of their friends who perceived themselves in this way. IS2 explained that she also viewed this as one of the reasons why second-generation migrants specifically should not be behaving 'clannishly':

> "If you are born in The Netherlands, there should be no reason for you to categorize people based on *qabil*. Since you don't even exactly know what it means; you haven't been raised in Somalia. You can't think: "People from these clans are like this". Because if you're honest you don't really know that."

Clan and Religion

When explaining the meaning of '*qabil*' multiple interviewees made reference to their religion. Islamic arguments were used to both describe and justify the concept of '*qabil*'. All interviewees from the first generation pointed to a specific Qur'an-verse that, according to them, stated that the existence of clans was instituted by God. One interviewee from the second generation mentioned that her father also made reference to this Qur'an-verse when he explained the meaning of clan to her when she was younger. The verse in question read: "O mankind, We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into races and tribes, so that you may identify one another."[2]

According to the interviewees clans, as well as nations such as 'Somalis' and 'Germans', were created by God and had a specific purpose. This purpose was outlined in the Qur'an-verse itself: the clans were created as a way for people to recognize (Dutch word: "herkennen") each other based on their group-identity. The interviewees who mentioned this verse therefore saw the existence of clans as deriving its legitimacy from Islamic principles. However, according to them this verse could not be used to justify clannism. IF1 stated that the Quran-verse not only makes clear that clans are legitimate, but that it also prescribes the proper way in which the social role of clans should be understood.

[2] Qur'an 49:13.

> "There is a Quran-verse. This Quran-verse states that *qabil* exists, which means that the faith recognizes the *qabil*. But at the same time the verse makes it clear that it is not meant to kill each other, but rather to recognize each other. And also to help each other."

For the second-generation interviewees the link between their faith and the existence of clans was less self-evident. Two interviewees also stated that they perceived there to be a tension between the existence of clans and Islamic principles. This was mainly because they associated Islam with concepts such as 'unity', while they viewed clans as potential causes for division. IS3, a 20 year old Social Work student from Vlaardingen, explained:

> "In Islam there cannot be differences between people. So clans should therefore not be part of a truly Islamic people."

The second-generation interviewees also stated that they associated their Somali identity more with their religious identity, than belonging to a certain clan. While they did not care about marrying someone who was not from their clan (see sub-chapter 'The (Un)Importance of Marriage'), they all expressed that it was a requirement for their future spouse to be Muslim. This is in line with Collet's (2007) research, who stated that 'being Somali' and 'being Muslim' was highly intertwined for young Somali students in Toronto (139). IS1 explains how she associates her Somali identity more with being Muslim than with being a member of a certain clan:

> "I think religion is more important than culture. I think being Somali for me is more linked to being Muslim, than to being from a certain *qabil*."

The clan as a bridge to the homeland

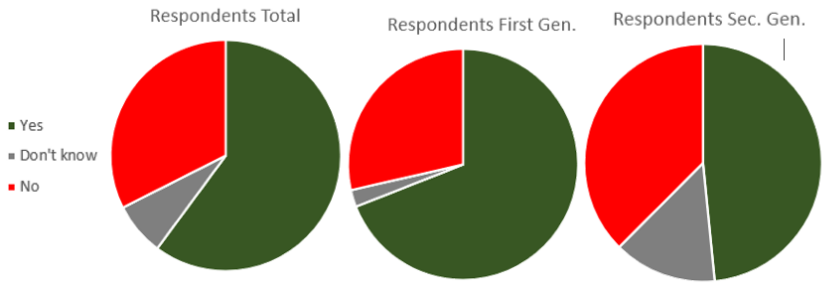
First- and second-generation interviewees experienced clan as something that connected them to Somalia in two ways. Firstly, interviewees from both generations mentioned how they had been contacted in the past by people to raise money for clan-members in Somalia who were in financial need. According to Hammond (2010) remittances to Somalia are one of the ways in which "existing social ties may be reinforced and new ties may be formed between people who come from the same clan or geographical area" (126). The way in which the clan provided a system for Somalis abroad to send financial support to Somalia was mentioned throughout the interviews as being one of the most positive aspects of the clans.

However, most of the interviewees stated that a situation in which clans did not play an important role when it comes to money raising initiatives would be preferable. A financial support system based on clan-identity was thus perceived as being effective, but not ideal. This was most clearly phrased by IF2. After first stating that solidarity with other clan-members was one of the most positive aspects of the clans, he followed that up by saying that it would actually be better if Somalis would help each other regardless of their clan-background:

> "Somalis are sometimes capable to transcend this [sending aid to people in Somalia based on their clan-identity], which is even better. There are instances were all Somalis help each other, and people don't look at the *qabil*."

The majority of the survey respondents also stated that they had been contacted to raise money for clan-members in Somalia who were in need. Among the second-generation respondents a higher percentage indicated that they had not been contacted to financially contribute to clan-members in Somalia, or that they were unsure about this. This might indicate that clan-based remittance networks are becoming less relevant for them. However, this could also be explained by the fact that the second-generation respondents were younger on average, and therefore were not in a financial position to contribute to these kinds of initiatives.

Table 4: "Have you ever been approached by someone from your clan to make a financial contribution when, for example, a disaster occurred in your clan's home area (for example: a flood)?"



Most of the interviewees stated that it was unnecessary for Somalis who had grown up in The Netherlands to know much about their own clan or the clan-system (see also *"The clans as 'useless' in Dutch society*"). IF2 explained that it would still be preferable for them to have

at least some understanding of the clan-system, since this would prove to be useful when travelling back to Somalia:

> "If you go to Somalia and you don't need any help from people then it will not be necessary [to know much about your clan]. But if nobody knows who you are you will not get any help if you are looking for something. So you will need to explain who you are. Stating one, two or three last names will not be enough in that case. You need to say you're Murusade [one of the sub-clans of Hawiye], only then people will know who you are."

The clan connects first- and second generation Somali migrants in The Netherlands to Somalia in two main ways. Firstly since the clans constitute an important part of the remittances structure. And secondly, since having knowledge about ones clan is viewed as being essential when they would decide to travel back to Somalia. The relevance of clans in the lives of the interviewees is thus intimately linked to Somalia as a homeland.

The clan as a way to know history

All the interviewees mentioned that clans play an important role in relation to learning Somalia's history. This should be understood in the context of Somalia having a predominantly oral tradition (Bjork 2017, 10). First-generation interviewees described how they had learned about Somali history through hearing stories about their clans. These stories often revolved around important roles that their clans played during certain eras, such as the colonial period, and also served as a way to instill a sense of 'clan-pride' in them. IF2 smilingly explained how he had learned about the Italian attempts to colonize Somalia through hearing tales about his clan:

> "As a child I was told that we fought against the colonial power Italy for twelve years, to prevent them from coming to our clan's region. They could not colonize our region, so they wanted to come via the sea, close to where our clan lived in Merca, in the Shabelle region. I heard that I belonged to an important and powerful tribe."

Second-generation interviewees on the other hand, had generally not heard these types of stories when they were growing up. However, IS2 explained that when she had wanted to learn more about Somali culture and history, these clan-based stories would automatically come up. According to her, learning about Somali history could be equated to learning about clan:

> "That happens automatically. If you learn more about Somalia's history, you'll learn more about *qabil*. And if you learn more about your family's history, you'll also learn more about *qabil*."

First- and second-generation interviewees related differently to the stories they had heard about their clans, and the extent to which these stories transmitted information that was historically accurate. The first-generation interviewees placed much more trust in the stories they were told, and felt comfortable to make general statements about Somali history based on what they had heard, I therefore sometimes heard conflicting stories when interviewees when interviewees made reference to Somali history. IS1 stated that she took the stories less literally, but that she still viewed them as being relevant.

Marriage and the (un)importance of clan

Most of the interviewees stated that clan-identity would not play a role when looking for a romantic partner. Especially the interviewees from the second generation expressed that they did not care whether the person they were romantically interested belonged to the same clan. They stated that it was more important to them that their potential future spouse was Muslim, and while not viewing it as being essential, the interviewees perceived it to be making things much easier if he or she also had a Somali background. While the interviewees themselves all explicitly expressed that for them clan did not bear importance in this context, some of them perceived intermarriage between people from different clans to be a contentious issue. IS2 even perceived intermarriage, especially marriages with people from minority clans, to be the most sensitive topic among the Somali community:

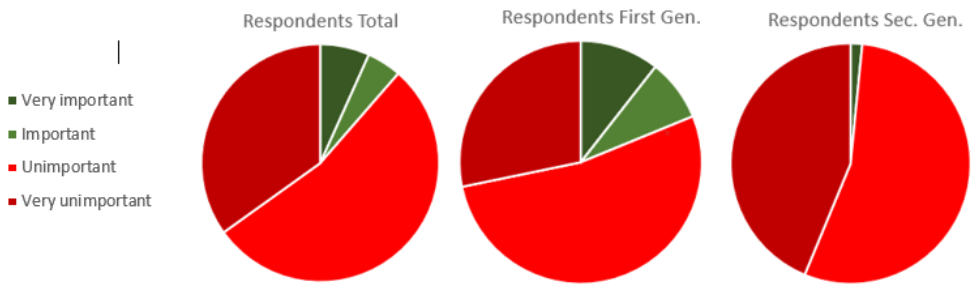
> "When it comes to being friends with someone of another clan, it is not perceived as a problem. But when you want to marry someone 'clan' suddenly comes into the picture. If someone wants to marry someone from a different clan, I think that is still perceived as not being socially acceptable."

Bjork (2017) described clan-related 'marriage taboos' as being ubiquitous among the diaspora community in Finland (53). However, the results from the survey conducted had shown that the vast majority of all respondents – both from the first and second generation – found the clan-background of a potential romantic interest either 'unimportant' or 'totally unimportant'. Most of the interviewees, including all second-generation interviewees and the vast majority of respondents, had indicated that clan was not important for them when looking for a potential spouse. The notion of there being 'marriage-taboos' thus seemed to be

counterintuitive. The interview with IF3, who had repeatedly denounced clannism during the interview, indicated that some of the interviewees might have exaggerated the extent to which they professed to be 'open-minded' about intermarriage. IF3 had herself been married to someone from a different clan before, and attributed the failing of the marriage mainly to their different clan-background. When discussing if she preferred her children to marry with someone from their own clan she replied:

> "I would not want to force it upon them. But I believe it would be preferable."

Table 5: "How important is it for you that your romantic partner (male/female) comes from the same qabil?"



Clan as something for older people

All interviewees had stated that they observed stark generational differences when it comes to the role plays in the social life of older and younger members of the community. IS3 stated that clan "definitely plays a role among the older generation, but among my young friends it is never an issue". Interviewees from both generations explained that it were mainly older people who asked other people about their clan-background. The fact that this was uncommon among younger generations was perceived as a positive development, since it was mainly understood as a decrease of clannism among the community. The first-generation interviewees even expressed that they would understand it if younger members of the community would criticize and/or denounce older generations for being focused on clans too much. IF1 explained

that he believed that it would be justified if younger generations would criticize older generations for the clannism that existed within the community:

> "If children would say that [criticizing the older generation for their clannism] and if they point their fingers to their parents, they would have a point. They would be right."

The first-generation interviewees themselves did not hold a grudge towards the older generation in relation to clannism. They also did not hold strong opinions on whether the younger generation had a responsibility to proactively campaign against clannism within the community. This might have partly been influenced by their general lack of interest in the topic of clan, and because they had not have had many negative experiences with clannism themselves. IS2 stated that it was a positive development if clannism were to decrease among the community, but saw it mainly as a responsibility of the older generation. According to her it was enough for the younger generation to just focus on their own direct environment (e.g. family, friends):

> "I don't think we have to use protest signs [Dutch: 'spandoeken'], and go out in protest. But I do think the [community] elders should change it. I think we as young people have to do it in our own environment, tell your friends that is not okay."

Sub-Chapter 2

This sub-chapter deals with the themes relating to the first sub-question, namely: "How does identification with the Dutch cultural identity and living in The Netherlands influence the way in which clan is constructed?".

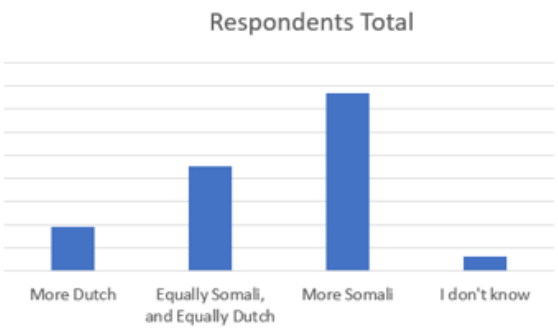
'Dutchness' and 'Somaliness'

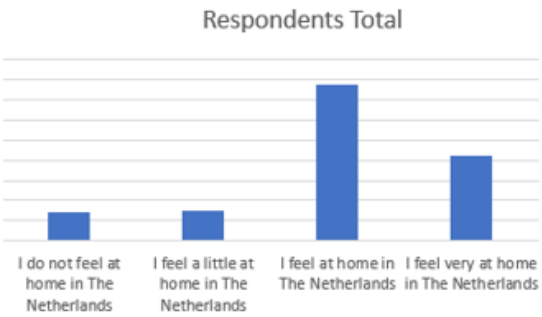
All the interviewees expressed that they perceived Somali culture and Dutch culture to be different in some respects. They generally described Somali culture as being "warmer" and more "communal". Traits that were associated with Dutch culture included "well-organized" and "more focused on the individual". The interviewees all viewed themselves as incorporating character traits that were considered to be more 'Dutch', as well as having traits that they considered to be more 'Somali'. IF2 expressed this in the follow way:

> "Generally I think that Somali people are more focused on thing such as clan, and someone's background. In The Netherlands people are more focused on who you are as an individual human."

First-generation interviewees tended to feel 'more Somali', while the second-generation interviewees generally felt that they identified with both their 'Dutch' and their 'Somali' sides. Overall, the majority of interviewees tended to feel more Somali, than that they felt Dutch. This did not mean they did not feel at home in The Netherlands, since all the interviewees expressed that they generally enjoyed living in The Netherlands and/or planned on staying there. The attitudes of the interviewees were reflective of the results from the respondents, since a plurality of them stated that they generally felt 'more Somali', while at the same time they also indicated that they felt at home in The Netherlands.

Table 6: Do you feel more 'Dutch' or more 'Somali'? & "Do you generally feel at home in The Netherlands?"





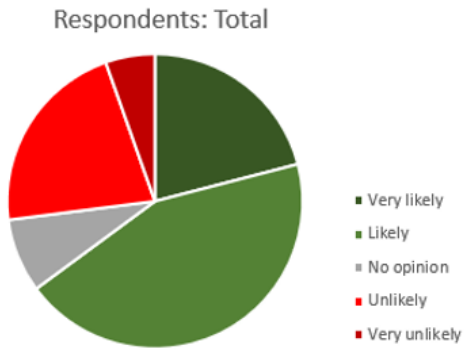
The clans as 'useless' in Dutch society

All the interviewees believed that life in The Netherlands had caused clans to become increasingly 'irrelevant'. This was rooted in the shared understanding that clans fulfilled certain social roles in Somalia, that they did not fulfill anymore in the context of Dutch society. Furthermore, the interviewees stated members of the Somali-Dutch community were confronted less with their clan-identity in their day-to-day lives by the people around them (also see "Life in The Netherlands: an antidote to clannism?"). Important functions that the clans

fulfilled in Somalia; such as providing a sense of safety and community, were not perceived as being as relevant anymore in the context of The Netherlands.

This led the interviewees to believe that clan-divisions would become almost non-existent in the future. According to all the interviewees clan would not play a significant role anymore among the Somali community in The Netherlands within either fifty, or a hundred years. This sentiment was shared among survey respondents. When asked whether clans would still be important in The Netherlands within fifty years, a sizable majority of the respondents stated that this was either 'probable' or 'very probable'.

Table 7: How likely do you think this statement is: "Among Somali-Dutch people, clans will no longer be important in fifty years"



Conversely, all of the interviewees stated that within this same timeframe the clans would still play a central role in the lives of Somalis who were living in Somalia. IF1 had experienced stark differences when it comes to the extent to which people were exposed to clan in their day-to-day life since he arrived in The Netherlands in 2010. He explained this difference in the following way:

> "It depends on the circumstances of where people live. When people live here [The Netherlands] people will do less and less with *qabil*. While in Somalia it is part of daily life. Now that people are living in The Netherlands, it will become of less and less importance. When children have a job here, colleagues will never ask what *qabil* they are part of. No one is confronting them with it. That is why it will disappear."

Multiple interviewees pointed out that clans would remain at least somewhat relevant, partly depending on whether new Somali migrants would continue to arrive in The Netherlands in the future. Since newly arrived migrants would come from a context in which clan still played a central role, the interviewees believed that they would bring this mindset with them when coming to The Netherlands. Furthermore, new migrants would often search for clan-members in order to help them navigate life in The Netherlands after having arrived in the country. IF3 detailed how clan-members who were new in The Netherlands would reach out to her for help, on the basis of their shared clan-background:

> "New people who just arrived in The Netherlands know exactly where I live, and who I am. They tell me that they know my name and my phone number because we are from the same clan. They reach out to me because they want me to help them to. As long as refugees keep coming to The Netherlands, the clans will keep existing."

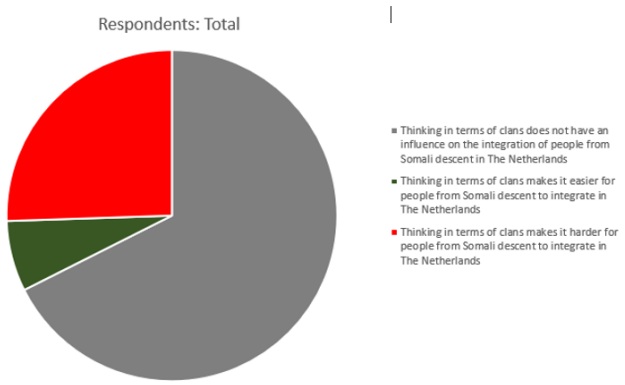
Clan and the (lack of) a cultural clash

It was emphasized in all interviews that being Dutch and being part of a clan were two separate things, which did not bear any relationship to each other. Several of them explained that Somali migrants could be 'fully Dutch', while also embracing their clan-identity. IF3 explained that she had never experienced any tensions related to her clan-background when living in The Netherlands:

> "Why would it not go together? Yes I am Dutch, but I am also part of my clan."

The interviewees unanimously agreed that the existence of clans, and even of clannism, among the Somali community did not have any effects on the integration of Somalis in The Netherlands. They saw clannism and problems that were faced by the Somali community in The Netherlands as being unrelated. A few of them mentioned that clans might even play a beneficial role for the community in the country, mainly because Somali immigrants that just arrived in The Netherlands would know where to find help. An overwhelming majority of survey respondents also thought that 'clannism' did not affect integration in The Netherlands in any way.

Table 8: If you look at the integration of Somali-Dutch people, with which statement do you agree?



Living in The Netherlands: an antidote to clannism?

The interviewees explained that life in The Netherlands caused Somalis to generally behave in less clannish ways, which also connects to the aforementioned issue of the clan becoming 'irrelevant' in the context of The Netherlands. Interviewees pointed to two underlying aspects of living in The Netherlands that reinforced this development; namely the fact that Somalis were a minority community in The Netherlands; and the fact that there was no connection between a person's clan-identity and the geographic location where someone lives.

According to multiple interviewees the minority-status of Somalis in The Netherlands impacted the way in which they interacted with the concept of clan. They stated that because they were a minority, Somalis tended to overlook clan-divisions, and operated increasingly as a collective. Interviewees explained that Somalis in The Netherlands were less hesitant to reach out to members of the community who were not part of their clan, and were willing to invite them to social events. IF2 explained that since the community was relatively small, Somalis could simply 'not afford' to be focused on their clan-identity. Explaining why he thought clannism was decreasing in The Netherlands he stated:

> "This relates to the fact that we are a minority. We are stuck with each other as a group. So it's a necessity for us [to not be clannish]. If someone knows more, or has more insights [with regards to life in The Netherlands], it's necessary to use this information. The situation forces us to band together as a group."

Some of the interviewees explained that in the context of Somalia, clans generally lived together in the same region, which meant that one's clan-identity was also linked to one's regional identity. Since members of the Somali community in The Netherlands live spread across different parts of the country this link did not exist anymore. According to the interviewees, this meant that clan had become a less important part of day-to-day social interactions as compared to Somalia, where neighbors, classmates and/or colleagues were more likely to share the same clan-identity. In The Netherlands it was therefore easier to make friends and meet new people who had a different clan-background. IS1 saw this as a reason for why Somalis had started to interact with each other less on the basis of clan, but rather on the basis of a shared Somali identity:

> "The role of the clan in The Netherlands is different. It is no longer the case that people from one clan live in one region, and that people from another clan live in another region. This means that you interact more with [other Somali] people from other clans."

Clans, Dutch provinces and family-names

Multiple interviewees used Dutch concepts to explain the meaning of 'clan', and compared belonging to a clan with coming from certain cities in provinces in The Netherlands (e.g. "Brabant" or "Rotterdam"), or sharing the same family name. IF3 used a comparison between Dutch provinces and Somali clans to indicate that it were not clans themselves that caused the current problems in Somalia, but rather the fact that institutions did not function properly in the country:

> "I live in The Netherlands now, where we have 'Brabanters' and 'Groningers'. They can live in peace with each other. The problem in Somalia is not the clans, it is that there is a lack of justice."

Framing the meaning of clans in these ways, was not just meant to make the concept understandable to a 'Dutch audience'. Aside from being descriptive, these comparisons also incorporated a normative dimension. According to the interviewees belonging to a clan was not just similar to coming from Brabant or Groningen, but these types of Dutch identity markers also provided a model for how clans should function in the context of Somalia. IS2 used a comparison between the clan with Dutch family-names to illustrate why it is important to know the background of your clan, but that this is not an excuse to treat people in 'clannish' ways:

> "It is important to know who you are and to know your background. But it is like knowing your last name. If someone would be named 'Kim Jansen'; it would be good to know that she is Kim Jansen, but I will not treat her differently based on the last name she has."

Understanding the Results

This thesis aimed to explore how clan is constructed by both first- and second-generation diaspora in The Netherlands. The central research question of thesis was: "*How is clan constructed by first- and second-generation Somali migrants in The Netherlands?*" In this section the key findings of this research are summarized and contextualized in relation to existing literature.

Sub-chapter 1

Both first- and second-generation Somali migrants defined clan in relatively similar terms, usually relating to concepts such as 'lineage' and 'descent' a relatively similar definition of clan, centering around concepts such as 'lineage' and 'descent'. The ways in which the interviewees understand the meaning of clan is similar to the model that Lewis developed the 1950s, in which clans were conceptualized as "segmenting units based on patrilineal reckoning of descent." (Bjork 2017, 13). While this model has since been criticized by researchers, the "Lewisian paradigm" has played an important role in how clan later became conceptualized – including by Somalis themselves (Kapteijns 2004, 3). The findings of this research thus show that this conception of clan has persisted among Somalis in the diaspora, with both first-generation and second-generation interviewees understanding clan primarily through the lens of the segmentary lineage system.

Interviewees from both generations also agreed on the idea that clan was neither inherently positive nor negative, a sentiment that was also reflected in the results from the survey. The interviewees were also willing to speak openly about clan, and members of the community were generally willing to fill in and share the survey with others. This seems to stand in contrast with Bjork's (2017) notion that clan is a topic that is regarded as "sensitive", and viewed mainly as a source of embarrassment among members of Somali diaspora communities (12). The distinction that the interviewees made between 'clan' and 'clannism' is insightful in this regards, since it seems to indicate that they do not necessarily view clan itself

as being problematic, but rather specific ways in which Somali people sometimes engage with clan.

While the first- and second-generation interviewees defined clan in similar terms, there were several clear differences with regards to how clan was understood by both generations, and the extent to which it played a role in their personal lives. Compared to the second-generation interviewees, the first-generation interviewees were generally much more knowledgeable about the clan-system, their own clan-history and specific cultural traditions relating to clans. The first-generation interviewees can therefore be seen as being much more 'clan-competent', a concept that Bjork (2017) uses, and which entails "knowledge of clan genealogies and clan relationships." (21). She bases the idea of clan-competence on Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural competence, which he defines as "knowledge of genealogical relationships and of real connections and skill at using them" (23).

According to Bjork (2007) clan-competence is a necessary prerequisite for individuals to be able to maintain clan-networks, and thereby to acquire social capital (149). The second-generation interviewees stated that they did not view their lack of clan-competence as an obstacle in their lives, and also expressed that clan would not play an important role in the upbringing of their own children. This underlines how the second-generation interviewees were not interested in actively maintaining clan-networks. Furthermore, the second-generation interviewees – unlike the first-generation interviewees – were not able to engage in 'telling clan' of other Somalis, and were not even sure about the clan-identity of their own close friends. The results of this research thus indicate a generational shift with regards to the way clan plays a relevant role in the social life of members of the Somali diaspora in The Netherlands.

Both the first- and second-generation interviewees described that they perceived this generational shift to be occurring as well, with all interviewees agreeing that younger members of the community were generally less preoccupied with clan-relations as compared to older members. This shift was not perceived as being a problematic development by the first-generation interviewees, but was rather encouraged. Chernobrov & Wilmers (2019) pointed out that diaspora communities generally have a complicated relationship with generational change, since older generations often fear that new generations are "becoming disconnected from the memories and cultural roots that are central to diaspora identity." (918). While clan is often described as a central part of Somali cultural identity, the decreasing interest in maintaining clan-networks is thus not perceived as a threat to Somali diasporic identity. Conversely, the

interviewees that I spoke to did not feel the need to proactively challenge and campaign against clannism among the community. This links to the main findings of the second sub-chapter.

Sub-chapter 2

The interviewees perceived Dutch culture to be more individualistic, and Somali culture to be more communal. They also stated that there were no tensions between their Dutch identity and their clan-identity. Furthermore the interviewees, as well as the vast majority of respondents, did not perceive the existence of the clan-system among the Somali community to negatively affect life in The Netherlands. This in line with Brah's (1996) analysis that values that are often perceived as 'Western', in this case Dutch individualism, and values that are perceived as being 'traditional', such as Somali communalism, do not always have to lead to a clash, and that "inter-generational *difference* should not be conflated with *conflict*.". However, living in The Netherlands did have an influence on how the interviewees framed and understood the meaning of clan. The way in which the interviewees explained how clan was actually similar to 'Brabant' or 'Groningen' can be viewed as an example of how diasporic identities are formed "in relation to specific social, cultural and historical contexts rather than being natural, exclusive or fixed" (Collet 2007, 149).

Multiple interviewees explained how they perceived clan to have become 'irrelevant' in the context of The Netherlands. Additionally, all interviewees believed that clans would not play an important role anymore among the community in The Netherlands within the span of a few decades, a sentiment which was shared by the vast majority of survey respondents. Furthermore, living in The Netherlands was perceived as reducing clannism, with IF2 stating that "the situation forces us to band together as a group.". Kleist (2008) described the tension between more universal and more framings of the 'diaspora' as an identity category, which could sometimes either be more inclusive, or actually exacerbate existing divisions based on kinship (1138-1139). The findings of this research reflect a sense among the community that the diasporic identity was predominantly experienced as being an inclusive identity category with regards to clan-divisions, and would increasingly become so in the future.

Conclusion

The concept of 'clan' has meant different things to Somalis in different times. Its meaning has been constructed in radically different ways by Medieval pastoralists, colonial rulers, and Somali politicians. The recent emergence of Somali diaspora communities all around the world has provided new contexts in which clan has to be negotiated. The clan-system has proven to be adaptive to these new circumstances, a testament to how Somalis "can construct clan in modern ways" (Bjork 2017, 21). However new generations of people who view themselves as 'Somali' are growing up in countries where the need to invest in clan-networks is often much less self-evident.

This research aimed to explore the ways in which first- and second-generation members of the Somali diaspora in The Netherlands construct the concept of 'clan'. A review of relevant academic research relating to the clan-system and identity formation among diaspora communities provided the academic context for this research. This was followed by an analysis of six in-depth interviews with both first- and second-generation Somali migrants in The Netherlands, supported by the results from an online survey that was distributed among the community. The main findings of this research were summarized in the discussion section, and brought into conversation with existing literature.

This thesis found that both first- and second-generation members of the Somali diaspora understood and related to clan differently. Clan remained a relevant aspect in the lives of second-generation interviewees in some ways. However, second-generation interviewees were noticeably less 'clan-competent' than their first-generation counterparts. This was indicative of a general generational shift, in which younger generations within the Somali community identify less with their clan-background, and do not actively try to invest in maintaining clan-networks. While there are clear generational differences in this regard, this research also shows that this does not necessarily constitute a generational clash. Rather, the changing attitudes towards clan among the younger generation were perceived by interviewees from both generations as a positive development – one that might potentially make the Somali community in The Netherlands more inclusive in the long term.

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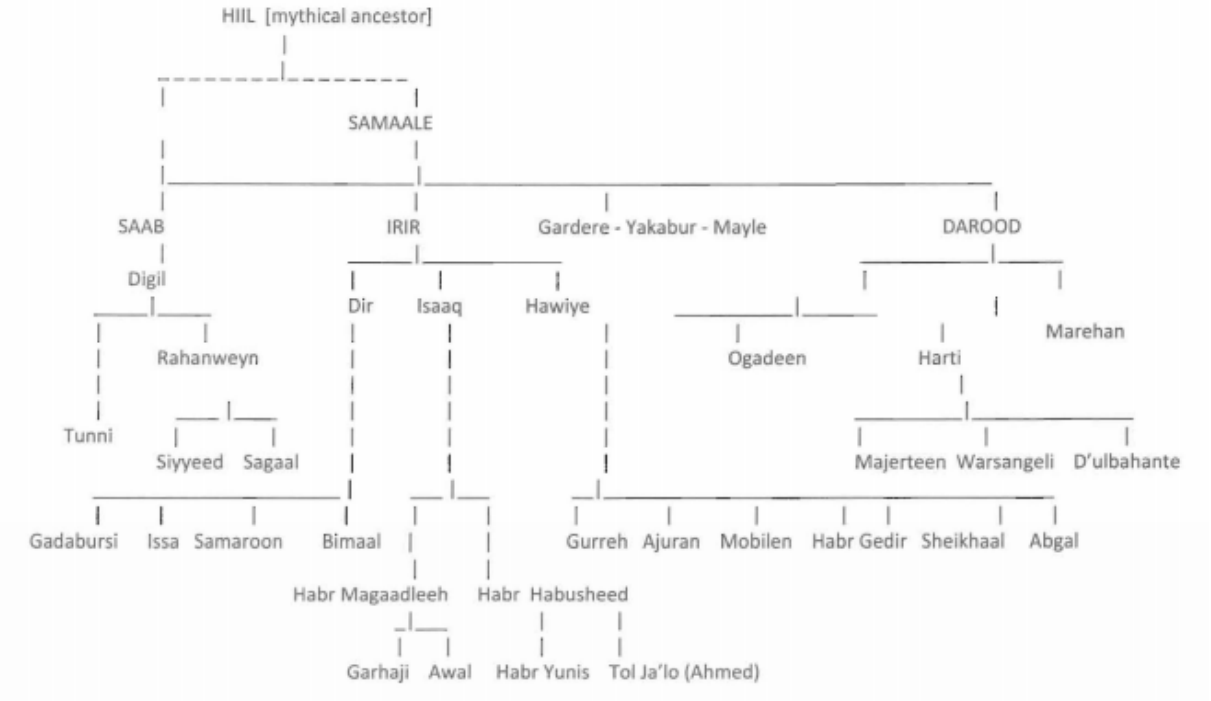
Appendices

Appendix A: A general overview of Somali clan genealogy

1. Chart of the main lines in the total Somali clan genealogy

The chart below is a modified version of the one presented on p. 9 of Lyons and Samatar 1996 (See: References).
It is *one version* of a chart which has been presented by various authors and informants as having several alternative branches.



Source: (Abbink 1999, 5)

Appendix B: Survey (Dutch Language)

Vragenlijst

Welkom bij deze vragenlijst over de rol van clans in de Somalisch-Nederlandse gemeenschap. Mijn naam is Elian Yahye en ik doe onderzoek naar dit onderwerp voor mijn studie aan de universiteit Leiden. Deze vragenlijst is bedoeld voor Somalische-Nederlanders van de eerste en tweede generatie.

Eerste generatie = je bent in Somalië geboren en zelf naar Nederland gekomen. Tweede generatie = je bent zelf geboren in Nederland en 1 of 2 van je ouders zijn in Somalië geboren.

Het invullen van de vragenlijst kost ongeveer 5 minuten. Het onderzoek is anoniem, dus we vragen niet naar je naam.

Algemene informatie

1. Geslacht:

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Man
   - Vrouw

2. Leeftijd:

   _____

3. Huidige woonplaats:

   _____

4. Ik ben geboren in:

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Nederland
   - Somalië
   - Anders: _____

5. Werk of studeer je?

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Ik werk fulltime
   - Ik werk parttime
   - Ik ben werkzoekende
   - Ik werk niet meer
   - Ik studeer (Universitair onderwijs)
   - Ik studeer (HBO)
   - Ik studeer (MBO)
   - Ik zit op de middelbare school (VWO)
   - Ik zit op de middelbare school (HAVO)
   - Ik zit op de middelbare school (VMBO)
   - Anders: _____

6. Wat is je hoogst behaalde Nederlandse diploma?

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Universitaire PhD
   - Universitaire master
   - Universitaire bachelor
   - HBO-master
   - HBO-Bachelor
   - MBO-diploma
   - Ik heb geen Nederlandse diploma
   - Anders: _____

7. Heb je in Somalië onderwijs gevolgd, en zo ja, wat is het hoogste niveau onderwijs dat je gevolgd hebt?

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Universitair/hoger onderwijs (Somalisch: Jaamacad)
   - Middelbare school (Somalisch: dugsi sare)
   - Basisschool (Somalisch: Dugsiga hoose Dhexe)
   - Ik heb in Somalië gewoond, maar ik heb daar geen onderwijs gevolgd
   - Ik heb niet in Somalië gewoond

Vragen over de clans ('qabils')

8. Tot welke hoofdclan behoor je?

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Darod
   - Hawiye
   - Isaaq
   - Dir
   - Digil iyo Mirifle
   - Anders: _____

9. Als het gaat om de namen van je voorouders, hoeveel generaties kan je dan terugrekenen? (Bijvoorbeeld: 'Ali Yahye Ali Cibaar Mohamed' = 4 generaties)

   Markeer slechts één ovaal.

   - Minder dan 5 namen
   - Tussen de 5 en 10 namen
   - Meer dan 10 namen
   - Tot de hoofdclan (Bijvoorbeeld Darod, of Hawiye)

10. Is het belangrijk dat je romantische partner (man of vrouw) afkomstig is uit dezelfde clan?

    Markeer slechts één ovaal.

    - Heel belangrijk
    - Belangrijk
    - Onbelangrijk
    - Heel onbelangrijk

11. Ken je de vertegenwoordiger van je clan (in het Somalisch: ugaas/oday) in Nederland?

    Markeer slechts één ovaal.

    - Ja
    - Nee

12. Heb je ooit advies gekregen van een vertegenwoordiger van je clan (ugaas/oday) in Nederland over iets wat in je leven speelde (bijvoorbeeld over: huwelijk/werk/onderwijs/geloof)?

    Markeer slechts één ovaal.

    - Ja
    - Nee

13. Hoe belangrijk zou je het advies van deze vertegenwoordiger (ugaas/oday) vinden?

    Markeer slechts één ovaal.

    - Heel belangrijk
    - Belangrijk
    - Een beetje belangrijk
    - Onbelangrijk
    - Heel onbelangrijk

14. Ben je ooit benaderd door iemand van je clan om een financiële bijdrage te leveren toen er bijvoorbeeld een ramp plaatsvond in het woongebied van je clan (bijvoorbeeld: een overstroming)?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ja
- Nee
- Weet ik niet

15. Roept het woord 'clan/qabil' positieve of negatieve gedachten bij je op?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Heel positief
- Positief
- Niet positief en niet negatief
- Negatief
- Heel negatief

16. Ben je het eens met de volgende uitspraak: "Het denken in termen van clans (in het Somalisch: 'qabyaalad') zorgt voor veel problemen in Somalië"

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Zeer mee eens
- Eens
- Geen mening
- Oneens
- Zeer mee oneens

17. Ben je het eens met de volgende uitspraak: "De clans horen bij de Somalische cultuur en moet daarom blijven bestaan"

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Zeer mee eens
- Eens
- Geen mening
- Oneens
- Zeer mee oneens

18. Vind je het belangrijk dat je kinderen weten bij welke clan ze horen en dat ze de geschiedenis van jouw clan kennen?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Heel belangrijk
- Belangrijk
- Een beetje belangrijk
- Niet belangrijk
- Helemaal niet belangirjk

19. Als je kijkt naar de integratie van Somalische-Nederlanders, met welke uitspraak ben je het dan eens?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Het denken in termen van clans maakt het moeilijker voor Somaliërs om in Nederland te integreren
- Het denken in termen van clans heeft geen invloed op de integratie van Somaliërs in Nederland
- Het denken in termen van clans maakt het makkelijker voor Somaliërs om in Nederland te integreren

20. Hoe waarschijnlijk vind je deze uitspraak: "Onder Somalische-Nederlanders zullen clans over vijftig jaar niet meer belangrijk zijn"

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Heel waarschijnlijk
- Waarschijnlijk
- Geen mening
- Onwaarschijnlijk
- Heel onwaarschijnlijk

De laatste vragen

21. Spreek je Somalisch?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ja, ik spreek vloeiend Somalisch
- Ja, ik spreek redelijk goed Somalisch
- Ik spreek een klein beetje Somalisch
- Nee, ik spreek geen Somalisch

22. Spreek je Nederlands?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ja, ik spreek vloeiend Nederland
- Ja, ik spreek redelijk goed Nederlands
- Ik spreek een beetje Nederlands

23. Voel je je thuis in Nederland?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ik voel me heel erg thuis in Nederland
- Ik voel me thuis in Nederland
- Ik voel me een beetje thuis in Nederland
- Ik voel me niet thuis in Nederland
- Ik voel me helemaal niet thuis in Nederland

24. Voel je je meer Somalisch, of meer Nederlands?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Meer Somalisch
- Meer Nederlands
- Evenveel Somalisch als Nederlands
- Ik weet het niet

25. Heb je veel vrienden van niet-Somalische afkomst in Nederland?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- De meerderheid van mijn vrienden heeft geen Somalische afkomst
- De meerderheid van mijn vrienden heeft een Somalische afkomst, maar ik heb ook veel vrienden met een niet-Somalische afkomst
- Ik heb een paar vrienden van niet-Somalische afkomst
- Ik heb geen vrienden van niet-Somalische afkomst

Dankjewel voor het invullen van de vragenlijst!

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Appendix C: Survey (Somali Language)

14-6-2021 Vragenlijst

14. Weli qof aad isku qabiil tihiin ma kula soo xiriiray isaga oo ku weydiinayo in aad bixiso qaaraan loo ururunaya qabiilkiina maadaama ay dhibaato ka dhacday deegaanka qabiilkiina (Tusaale ahaan in ay jiraan abaaro, daad (Fatahaad wabi)?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa
- Maya
- Ma xasuusan karo ama ma garanaayo

15. Roept het woord 'clan/qabil' positieve of negatieve gedachten bij je op? Marka aad maqasho erayga qabiil/clan dareen sidee ah ayaa dareentaa posetief (Togan) ama negatied (taban)

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Dareen aad iyo u togan oo postief ah
- Dareen toga posatief
- Dareen aanan toganeen (postief) ama taban (negatief) ahayn (Dhex dhexaad)
- Dareen taban Negatief ah
- Dareen aad iyo u taban oo negatief ah

16. Aragtidan ma qabtaa mise ku raacsan tahay: in ku dhaqanka qabyaalada ay Soomaaliya dhibaatooyin badan ku heyso.

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aad ayaan u qabaa aragtidaan oo aan ku raacsanahay
- Waan qabaa aragtidaan
- Wax fikrad ah kama qabo
- Kuma raacsani fikradan
- Fikradan maba qabo oo kuma raacsani

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17. Ma raacsan tahay aragtida ama fikrada ah: in qabiilku dhaqanka soomaalida qayb muhiim ah ka qaato, sidaa darteedna waa muhiim in uu sii jiraa.

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aragtidan aad iyo aad ayaan u raacsanahay
- Waan raacsanahay
- Wax aragti ah kama qabo
- Aragtidan ma qabo oo ma raacsani
- Aragtidan aad iyo aad ayaan uga soo horjeedaa oo ma aaminsani

18. Muhiim miyaa u aragtaa in caruurtaada garanayaan oo bartaan qabiilka ay ka dhasheen iyo in ay garanayaan taarikhda qabiilkaaga?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aad iyo aad ayey muhiim iigu tahay arinkan
- Waa muhiim
- Waa yara muhiim
- Muhiim ma ahan
- Wax muhiimad oo ay ii leedahay ma jirto

19. Haddii aad fiiriso integraadsiga la jaanqaadka ama la qabsashad Soomaalidda Nederland ah, aragtidaa kula saxsan oo aad raacsan tahay?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ku dhaqanka qabiilka dhibaato weyn ayuu ku hayaa la qabsiga wadankan Nedeland
- Ku dhaqanka qabiilka wax lug ah kuma laha la jaanqaadka integrasiga Soomaalidda Nederland
- Ku dhaqanka qabiilka wuxuu Soomaalidda u sahlaa siddii ay wadankan ula qabsan lahaayeen

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20. Ma kula tahay in 50 sano ka dib ku dhaqnka qabiilka Soomaalidda Nederland uusan muhiim u ahaan doonin

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aad iyo aad ayaan u maleynayaa in uu muhiim u ahaan doonin
- Waan maleynayaa
- Wax fikrad ah kama qabo
- Uma maleynayo
- Waa mid aanan aad iyo aad u maleyneynin

Su-aalihii ugu danbeeyey

21. Ma ku hadashaa luqada Soomaaliga?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa, si flican ayaan ugu hadlaa
- Haa, in igu filan ayaan ku hadlaa
- Wax yar ayaan ku hadlaa
- Maya, kuma hadlo luqada Soomaaliga

22. Ma ku hadashaa luqada Nederland ka ah"

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa, si flican ayaan ugu hadlaa luqada Nederlandka
- Haa, in igu filan ayaan ku hadlaa
- In yar ayaan ku hadlaa

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14-6-2021 Vragenlijst

23. Ma dareensan tahay in Nederland hoygaagu ama wadankaaga tahay?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa aad iyo aad ayaan u dareemaa in Nederland tahay hoygeyga ama wadankeyga
- Waxaan u dareemaa in Nederland in ay tahay hoygeyga ama wadankeyga
- In yar ayaan dareema in Nederland tahay hoygeyga ama wadankeyga
- Ma dareemo in Nederland tahay hoygeyga ama wadankeyga
- Sideedaba uma arko ama u dareemo in Nederland tahay hoygeyga ama wadankeyga

24. Badanaa ma waxaa dareentaa in aad Soomaali tahay mise Nederland?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Badanaa Soomaali
- Badanaa Nederland
- Marba waa si, marna Soomaali marna Nederland
- Ma sheegi karo, ma garanaayo

25. Ma leedahay saaxiibo badan oo aanan Soomaali ahayn?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Asxaabteyda badankood waa ajaanib oo uma dhalan Soomaali
- Asxaabteyda waxa ay u badan yihiin Soomaali, waana lee yahay saaxiibo kale oo Nederland ah
- Saaxiibo yar oo ajaanib ah ayaan leeyahay oo aanan Soomaali ahayn
- Saaxiibo ajaanib ah ma lihi

Aad iyo aad ayaan kaaga mahadcelineynaa in aad buuxisay su-aalahan cilmi baarista ah

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Vragenlijst

1. Lab mise dhedig ayaa tahay

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Lab (Nin)
- Dhedig (Dumar)

2. Imisa Jir ayaa tahay

_____

3. Halkee ayaa degan tahay waqtigan xaadirka ah?

_____

4. Waxaan ku Dhashay

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Nederland
- Somalié
- Anders: _____

5. Shaqo ama Waxbarasho?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Waxan shaqeeyaa maalin walba (Fultime)
- Waxan shaqeeyaa maalmaha qaarkood (Partime)
- Waxan ahay shaqo doon
- Ma shaqeeyo
- Waxan dhigtaa (Jaamacad)
- Waxan dhigtaa (HBO)
- Waxan dhigtaa (MBO)
- Waxan ku jiraa dugsiga sare
- waxan ku jiraa dusiga dhexe
- Waxan ku jiraal (VMBO)
- Anders: _____

6. Waa maxay shahaadada ugu sareysa ee aad ka qaadatay wadanjan Nederland?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Heer jaamacadeed PhD
- Heer jaamacadeed master
- Heer jaamacadeed bachelor
- HBO-master
- HBO-Bachelor
- MBO-diploma (Shahaadada MBO)
- Ma haysto shahaada nederland ah (Nederland waxna kuma baran)
- Anders: _____

7. Soomaaliya wax ma ku soo baratay, haddii aaad wax soo baratay halkee waxbarashada ka gaartey?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Universitair/hoger onderwijs (Somalisch: Jaamacad)
- Middelbare school (Somalisch: dugsi sare)
- Basisschool (Somalisch: Dugsiga hoose Dhexe)
- Somaaliya ayaan ku noolaan jiray, laakiin halkaa waxba maanan ku soo baran.
- Anigu Soomaaliya kuma aanan soo noolaan

Su'aalo aadan qabiilka ama (qabyaalada)

8. Qabiilkee ayaad u dhalatay?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Darod
- Hawiye
- Isaaq
- Dir
- Digil iyo Mirifle
- Anders: _____

9. Ilaa iyo intee in la eg ayaad af(ab) tirsan kartaa? (Tusaale ahaan: Ali Yahye Ali Cibaar Mahamed = waa 4 jiil)

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Ilaa iyo in 5 magac ka yar
- Inta u dhaxeysa 5 ilaa 10 magac
- In ka badan 10 magac ayaan af/ab tirsan karaa
- Ilaa iyo qabiilkeyga waan af/ab tirsan karaa (Tusaale ahaan ilaa Darod, ama Hawiye)

10. Muhiim miyey kuu tahay in qof aad nolosha wadaageysaan (Nina ma Dumar) in aad isku qabiil tihiin?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aad iyo aad ayey muhiim iigu tahay
- Waa muhiim
- Muhiim iima aha
- Wax muhiimad ah oo ay ii leedahay ma jirto

11. Aqoon ma u leedahay odayga ama ugaaska reerkiina ee jooga Nederland?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa
- Maya

12. Weligaa wax talo ah ma ku siiyey odayga ama ugaaska reerkiina ee jooga Nederland, sidda tusaale ahaan (qofka aad guursaneyso, shaqada aad qabaneyso, arimaha diinta ama waxa aad baraneyso)

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Haa
- Maya

13. Ilaa iyo intee in la-eg ayey taladaani muhiim kuu tahay, oo aad raaceysaa?

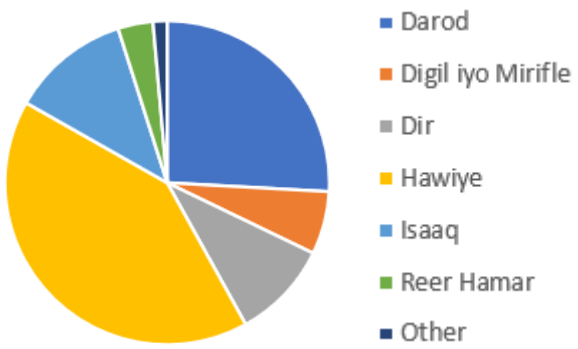
Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Aad ayey muhiim u tahay
- Muhiim
- Waa ii yara muhiim
- Muhiim iima ahan
- Wax muhiimad ah oo ay ii leedahay ma jirto

Appendix D: Sociodemographic data survey respondents

	All respondents	**First-Generation Respondents**	**Second-Generation Respondents**
Number of respondents:	149	85	64
Number male:	51	36	15
Number female:	98	49	50
Average age:	31,6	38,2	22,8

Clan-background respondents:



Regional background respondents: