

**Sussex
Centre for
Migration
Research**

Sussex Migration Working Paper no. 22

**Next Stop Britain: The Influence of Transnational Networks
on the Secondary Movement of Danish Somalis**

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March 2004

Abstract

This paper explores the phenomenon of secondary movement amongst a group of Somali refugees who have obtained Danish citizenship and subsequently migrated to Britain. It analyses how the Danish Somalis' transnational social networks in Britain disseminate information about the country whereby an idyllic image of Britain is constructed. This image together with the mere presence of social networks in the country influence the Danish Somalis in their migration decision-making. It is argued that this uncritical decision-making can be seen in relation to the nomadic lifestyle of many Somalis where movement is a natural part of life. Nomadism does however not explain the secondary movement, and the social context and negotiations amongst the individual members of the diverse diaspora are essential to include in the analysis.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all my respondents for their will to participate in this study and in particular Ingeborg Kragegaard and Hashim Duale for their help with locating potential respondents and for the information they provided me with. I would also like to thank Esme Peach at ICAR in London and my supervisor, Dr. Katy Gardner, for her guidance.

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Introduction

This paper examines the recent phenomenon of secondary movement among a group of Somali refugees who, after obtaining Danish citizenship, have migrated during the last one or two years to Britain in rather large numbers. It discusses how their decision to migrate is based on information about life in Britain disseminated transnationally among the Somalis in exile, and how the Danish Somalis¹ in their considerations of the secondary movement to Britain relate to issues of movement, settlement and choice. The concept of *secondary movement* has mainly been used in connection with asylum seekers who move through so-called safe countries before claiming asylum, sometimes referred to as *asylum shopping* (Collyer, 2002 and 2003). However, in this paper the concept of secondary movement refers to the onward movement of a group of people with refugee status and Danish citizenship who migrate to Britain. They are thus not applying for asylum in their third country of settlement, but are, as EU citizens, able to move and settle freely within the EU. Such a form of onward movement from the country of exile to a third country rarely receives attention in the literature on migration (Crisp, 1999), but is nevertheless relevant to examine, since the migration process is seldom a linear movement from the country of origin to a host society, but continues as onwards movements both within the host society and, as in this example, to other countries.

The Somalis have been dispersed to several countries due to the civil war in Somalia in the beginning of the 1990s (Griffiths, 2002; McGown, 1999). Despite the distance, the members of the Somali diaspora keep in contact with each other. To understand the secondary movement of the Danish Somalis, this study examines how transnational contact between Somalis in Denmark and Britain respectively influences the migration decision-making. Whereas studies on transnationalism most often focus on the contact between migrants and their country of origin, this paper examines the transnational contact between members of the diaspora in two countries of exile.

¹ The term 'Danish Somali' may be problematic, but it is however used to identify the Somalis with Danish citizenship.

The study is based on twelve in-depth interviews with Danish Somalis living in Britain, Danish Somalis who have decided to stay in Denmark, and social advisers for Somalis in both Denmark and Britain. To understand the contact between Somalis in Denmark and Britain the concept of *diaspora* as understood by Cohen (1997) and Brah (1996) forms an important point of departure. Closely related to this concept is the idea of *transnationalism* and *transnational social networks* (Glick Schiller et al, 1992; Basch et al, 1994). The studies by Robinson and Segrott (2002) and Koser and Pinkerton (2002) on *decision-making* and choice of country in the migration process are also useful. Although their focus is on asylum seekers, their research is nevertheless relevant to consider in relation to the study of Danish Somalis' secondary movement, because of their finding that most asylum seekers base their choice – if any – of country on information they have obtained from transnational social networks.

The analysis is organised into two main sections. The first analyses how the Danish Somalis obtain information about British society both through their friends and family already living in the country and by short visits to Britain. Through this an image of Britain is constructed. Hence, issues of solely communicating the positive aspects of life in Britain are discussed as well as the Somalis' apparently uncritical evaluation of the information obtained. The second section examines the issues of movement, place and choice inherent in the Danish Somalis' considerations of moving to Britain. Underlying the dissatisfaction with Danish society, some of the respondents relate to the Somali nomadic lifestyle when talking about their decision to migrate to Britain. It is discussed how their movement takes place both within and beyond nation states (Glick Schiller et al, 1992; Faist, 2000). With the example of the Danish Somalis and their nomadic lifestyle in mind, the paper discusses whether movement is an integral and natural part of people's life as Clifford (1992, 1997) and Olwig (2001) suggest.

The paper argues that while movement is an important part of the Somali identity both for the Danish Somalis in Britain and the Danish Somalis who have decided not to move on, it is necessary to understand the context of their nomadic lifestyle. At the same time it is important to stress that not all Somalis are able to move (Bauman,

1998) and that nomadism is continuously questioned and negotiated among the Somalis making the diaspora diverse. The phenomenon of secondary movement opens up questions of a more general character regarding settlement and movement amongst migrants. What consequences does the idea of movement – instead of only settlement - as an integral part of people's life have for typologies of *temporary* and *permanent* migrants? Moreover, what effects does this have on notions of *sending* and *receiving* societies, which have often been the focus in studies on transnationalism?

Diaspora, transnationalism and migration choice

Diaspora

Originally a concept referring to the dispersion of Jews, diaspora is now used in a variety of contexts in the literature on migration (Schwartz, 1997: 256; Van Hear, 1998: 47; Cohen, 1997: 21). Unlike many other scholars in the field of migration, Cohen attempts to approach a thorough definition of diaspora, which is a rather complex phenomenon. In his list of criteria characterising a diasporic community, the following aspects are of particular interest for the case of the Danish Somalis: dispersal of a people from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions, a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time based on a sense of distinctiveness and a common history, a troubled relationship with host societies, a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement and the possibility of a distinctive enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism (1997: 26).

Not disagreeing with Cohen's idea, Brah amplifies the components of journey, settling down and change inherent in the notion of diaspora. Central to a diaspora is the image of a journey or a movement, but at the same time "...diasporic journeys are ... about settling down, about putting roots 'elsewhere'" (1996: 182). To give meaning to the concept of diaspora, the journey must be historicised. That is, instead of looking at *who* travels, one has to consider *when, how and under what circumstances* people travel (1996: 182). Are the migrants for instance fleeing civil war or are they migrating for employment?

Just as the reasons for departure are important to

consider, so are the circumstances of arrival and settling down in a host society. According to Brah it is important to analyse how the group is positioned within the social relations of class, gender and racism in the society. Whereas the journey of a diaspora in fact includes a multiple of journeys of both individuals and groups to different countries, there will be differences between the members in terms of how they are situated in their respective host societies. However, what is important in the analysis of a diaspora is how the journeys of, for instance Somalis, to countries in the Middle East, in Europe and in North America configure into one journey consisting of a collective memory of history and fate between the co-ethnics in exile and at 'home'. The concept of diaspora thus refers to what Brah and also Vertovec characterise as 'multi-locality' within and across territorial boundaries (Brah, 1996: 182-184, 197; Vertovec, 1999: 450). However, while a diaspora consists of a 'we', it is at the same time important to stress that diasporas are contested spaces consisting of persons of different class, gender and age. The diaspora is not a fixed entity, but is constantly negotiated and redefined by its members. Therefore, change and agency are important terms (Brah, 1996: 184; Van Hear, 1998: 13-14).

How do the Danish Somalis refer to place and belonging, and how do they act in their new setting and change their situated-ness in exile together with co-ethnics in other countries? To understand the character of the relationship between the members of the Somali diaspora, it is useful to introduce the concepts of transnationalism and transnational networks.

Transnationalism and transnational networks

Just like the concept of diaspora, *transnationalism* is often used without specificity (Basch et al, 1994: 4). According to Basch et al., transnationalism is a recent phenomenon covering "...the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (1994: 7). The concept is thus closely linked to diaspora. Transmigrants, as Glick Schiller et al. call the migrants living in this transnational field, take actions, make decisions and feel concerns within a field of social relations that expands the borders of the nation state (1992: ix). Paradoxically transmigrants operate within the

framework of nation states but are at the same time reacting to the conditions of subordination that the nation states impose on them. Transnationalism can thus both be seen as an accommodation and a resistance to a global capitalist system (1992:12), and - one could add - in particular to the global migration regime, as understood by Van Hear (1998)². The transnational network between co-ethnics of the diaspora can thus provide loyalty in an uncertain situation of exile, and the network can furthermore provide information about opportunities that are otherwise denied (Portes, 1996: 164).

Work on transnationalism refers to a range of phenomena, for instance, analyses of social networks, capital flows and information and skill transfers between migrants in a host society and their country of origin (Vertovec, 1999: 448). However, this study will argue that what is somewhat absent from the literature is the transnational contact between co-ethnics in different host societies. To understand why Somalis in Denmark decide to migrate to Britain, it is necessary to analyse the character of the transnational networks between the Somalis in the two countries of exile. The focus here on the Somali diaspora is therefore on their links to co-ethnics in other countries of exile and not so much on their links to their homeland. In their decision to migrate to Britain, do the Danish Somalis act within or beyond nation states? Furthermore, a central concern is how the social networks of Somalis in Britain influence the decision to migrate. Therefore, theoretical concerns of information and decision-making in the migration context are relevant to the discussion.

Information and decision-making in the migration process

Koser and Pinkerton (2002) and Robinson and Segrott (2002) have analysed the complex relationship between social networks, information dissemination about a particular country³, and the migration decision-making process. Both studies are an indirect rupture with neo-classical theories

² Van Hear defines the global migration regime as "the national and international body of law, regulations, institutions and policy dealing with movement of people" (1998: 16).

³ Since both their studies are made for the Home Office, focus is on Britain.

of the decision-making of potential migrants which are based on the assumptions that a migrant has perfect information about a potential destination, that he or she behaves in an unconditionally rational manner and is an individual with no social context (Fischer et al, 1997: 53-69). Koser and Pinkerton's and Robinson and Segrott's studies focus on asylum seekers and their decision to migrate. Nevertheless, this work is relevant to consider in the study of the Danish Somalis even though they are not applying for asylum in Britain.

While the issue of safety remains the main reason for most asylum seekers to migrate in the first place, Robinson and Segrott also find that social networks consisting of family and friends in the country of asylum shape the migration decisions of their respondents in two ways. Firstly, it is important that the asylum seekers know someone upon arrival in Britain who can assist them in the beginning, and secondly relatives and friends pass on information about life in Britain to the potential asylum seekers (2002:39). The character of the information is however important to analyse. In Robinson and Segrott's study only a few respondents are well informed about matters of welfare benefits, housing and health care for asylum seekers in Britain upon arrival, just as they are, with few exceptions, not well informed about employment opportunities or the education system (2002: 49, 53-54).

This can be related to the tendency of the social network living in the country of asylum to focus solely on the positive aspects of their new country, resulting in the potential migrants obtaining a distorted idea of the country (Koser and Pinkerton, 2002:1). From the information the social networks disseminate to the potential asylum seekers, images of Britain are created that influence their decision to migrate. The images deal with the political climate in Britain, the British culture and perceptions of the British people (Robinson and Segrott, 2002: 27). However, the presence of family and friends in the country of asylum was for the majority of the respondents the most important reason for choosing a particular country, a conclusion other scholars agree on (Koser and Pinkerton, 2002; Barsky, 1995)⁴.

⁴ See however Collyer (2002 and 2003) who in his studies on Algerians' migration to Britain finds that family and friends do not play as dominant a role in directing migration towards a specific country.

While asylum seekers' choice of destination is relevant to consider, it is at the same time important to stress that for people fleeing persecution there is often a limited choice of countries due to the often chaotic situation, visa restrictions and carrier sanctions (Barsky, 1999: 128; Crisp, 1999, Zavodny, 1999). Therefore, it is interesting for this particular study to see if there are any differences in decision-making when the main reason for migrating is no longer a question of safety. Many of the Somalis came to Denmark by mere chance as asylum seekers fleeing civil war. Now, with Danish citizenship, the Danish Somalis are able to migrate again and resettle in another EU country⁵ and many of them have therefore decided to migrate to Britain. The question is how their transnational social network influences this decision both in terms of its presence in Britain and regarding the information it communicates to the co-ethnics in Denmark. The study focuses on the nature of the information about Britain, the Somali diaspora communicates, and how this is evaluated by the Danish Somalis.

Historical context of the Somali diaspora in Britain and Denmark

To understand the linkages between Somalis in Britain and Denmark, it is relevant to examine the historical context of the migration to these two countries. Therefore, firstly, the historical background of the Somalis in Britain is examined, followed by the context of Somalis in Denmark.

Somalis in Britain: Labour migrants, students, refugees and EU nationals

As a colonial ruler in the northwestern part of Somalia in the British Protectorate of Somaliland, Britain has historically been closely connected to Somalia and because of this, there has been a long tradition of Somalis settling in Britain (Daahir

and Duale, 2002: 67-68; Lewis, 1984). According to Griffiths the migration of Somalis to Britain can be divided into four phases. The first phase refers to Somali seamen settling down in the British Docklands areas of Cardiff, Liverpool and London by the turn of the 20th century. The Somali seamen worked in the British Merchant Navy while their wives still lived in Somalia. The second phase was marked by the run-down of the Merchant Navy in the 1960s. The Somali seamen changed employment to industrial occupations and were joined by wives and family. The Somali women who began to settle and set up community organisations in the British cities mainly marked the third phase. The last phase from the early 1980s witnessed the beginning of civil war in Somalia resulting in large amounts of Somali refugees fleeing the conflict of power between different clans in Somalia which led to the collapse of the state in 1991. Refugees continued to arrive in Britain until the mid 1990s. The migration of Somalis to Britain is, therefore, characterised by complexity and overlaps between successive waves of arrival (Griffiths, 1997: 9 and 2002: 77-79; see also El-Solh, 1991; Farah, 2000: 96-113, Gundel, 2002: 256-257; Summerfield, 1993).

Even though it has yet to be thoroughly documented, I will argue that a fifth wave of Somalis migrating to Britain can be added to the waves mentioned by Griffiths. That is the considerable number of Somalis with EU citizenship who has migrated to Britain from the Netherlands and the Scandinavia within the last few years (ICAR, 2003; Daahir and Duale, 2002: 4). The number of arrivals of EU nationals is uncertain, especially because the 'EU Somalis' are registered as citizens of a particular EU country and not as Somalis. Nevertheless, as will be shown by focusing on the case of Danish Somalis, it is indeed a tendency that the Somalis themselves discuss and which is experienced by social workers in both Britain and Denmark.

The Somalis are not registered as a separate group in the British statistics on ethnic minorities (Census, 2001), but according to the largest estimates, there are around 75,000 Somalis in Britain (Monclos, 2003: 44).

Somalis in Denmark: a recent group of refugees

Compared to the long tradition of Somalis in Britain, the period of Somali migration to

⁵ The legal movement of the Danish Somalis has to be seen within the framework of EC law. According to article 17 of EC law "Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union" and article 18(1) stating that "Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty..." See also articles 39, 42, 43. (Foster, N: *Blackstone's EC Legislation 2002-2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Denmark is rather short. In the 1980s, a relatively small group of Somali intellectuals who had criticised the dictatorship of Siad Barre fled Somalia and subsequently applied for asylum in Denmark. However, the majority of the Somalis who live in Denmark came as asylum seekers fleeing civil war in Somalia in the early 1990s (DRC, 2003; Bejder, 1996). The Somalis in Denmark number around 17,000 persons, most of them with refugee status. Furthermore, several are currently obtaining Danish citizenship (DRC, 2003; DST, 2003). The number of Somalis is, however, decreasing since many (some say every fourth Somali) have left the country to move to the UK, USA or Canada travelling as Danish citizens. This development has accelerated in the last year⁶.

Field Study

Researching a transnational phenomenon such as the secondary movement of Danish Somalis requires consideration of how to delimit the field of study because the units of the study are spatially dispersed (Hannerz, 1998: 247). The phenomenon of Somalis migrating to Britain is widely discussed among the Somalis in Denmark. Therefore, other persons than solely the Danish Somalis who have migrated to Britain are part of the process. This study has thus adopted the approach that Marcus designates a *multi-sited ethnography* where the researcher needs to "...keep in view and mind two or more ethnographically conceived sites juxtaposed" (1998: 4). In a multi-sited study the researcher traces a cultural formation, a people or a phenomenon that does not restrict itself to one site such as is the case with the secondary movement between Denmark and Britain (Marcus, 1995: 90-92). One disadvantage of this approach is however that breadth of the study is prioritised at the expense of depth (Hannerz, 1998: 248).

To understand the motivations of the Danish Somalis for migrating to Britain or others' decisions not to, the most appropriate method of data collection is interviews. According to Kvale, interviews are particularly suited for "...studying people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world" (1996:

105). By conducting interviews, the main characters of the phenomenon can thus express their motivations for the migration themselves.

Access to the respondents was gained through the strategy of snowball sampling (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). The study is based on twelve in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996:124) of on average one hour each. Six of the interviews are with Danish Somalis living in Britain, two with Danish Somalis who have decided not to migrate from Denmark, one with a Somali who had returned to Denmark after having lived in Britain, and three with social advisers for Somalis in Britain and Denmark, respectively. In addition to the interviews I had informal conversations with gatekeepers, with Somalis in Leicester where I spent one day talking to Somalis, visiting Somali owned shops and 'St. Matthews Resource Centre' for Somalis, as well as conversations with Somalis in Aarhus, whom I know from previous work. Furthermore, a seminar about Somalis in London given by David Griffiths, where several Somalis participated, gave me some insight into the life of Somalis in Britain⁷. While this small sample cannot lead to any generalisations in terms of secondary movement among Somalis, the interviews, the informal conversations and the seminar have been useful in triangulating the information obtained (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 305-307). The aim has not been to obtain some kind of objective 'truth' about the phenomenon, but rather to find aspects of consensus as well as of disagreement among the respondents in order to present the different voices in the study (Kvale, 1996: 235-252; Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The interviews were conducted in either Danish or English, and most of them have been recorded and transcribed. I have translated statements in Danish to English if they are used as quotations. Even though I have tried to stay as close to the wording as possible, some aspects are lost in a translation.

Transnational networks and the decision to migrate again

In the last few years more and more Somalis have decided to migrate from Denmark, their country of asylum where most of them have lived for 10-

⁶ Information based on communication with the director of an advice centre for Somalis in Aarhus, Denmark.

⁷ The seminar "Refugee Community Organisations: Somalis and Kurds in London" on the 11th of March 2003, arranged by ICAR.

12 years and have subsequently obtained citizenship, to live in Britain. One social adviser for Somalis in Aarhus (Denmark) estimates that about 3-400 Somalis with Danish citizenship have moved to England from Aarhus within the last 1-2 years, while a Somali man, who has moved himself, believes that more than 1000 Somalis have moved from Copenhagen and Aarhus to England within the last year. Though the precise number is unknown, the tendency is clear. As one informant, who has moved to Leicester, puts it:

“As an EU citizen you can move everywhere, that’s what the Somalis do now. It’s not only from Denmark. They move to England from Holland and Sweden as well...and also from Norway and Finland”.

Hence, while the focus here is on the Somalis moving from Denmark to Britain, it is important to recognise that the same is true for Somalis in other North European countries. Characteristic of these secondary movements is that Britain is the only country in the EU that the ‘EU Somalis’ move to.

The Somalis who are moving from Denmark are a diverse group of single men or women moving alone or with their children, women moving ahead of their husbands while they wait to receive a Danish passport, families, and young Somalis moving on their own after finishing school. The respondents however stress that it is the most resourceful Somalis who decide to migrate. The next section discusses how and to what extent the Danish Somalis use their social networks of family and friends in Denmark and Britain in obtaining information about Britain, and how it influences the Danish Somalis in their decision to migrate.

The Somali diaspora and information

Due to the flight from civil war in Somalia many of the Danish Somalis are separated from family members and friends they had in Somalia. What is however characteristic of the respondents is their knowledge of how their family in other parts of the world is, and what they are doing, even though at times it can be difficult to keep up with everything as one male respondent tells:

‘The Somalis know each other even though they live everywhere. We have a big family with many branches spread all over the world. There are cousins in America and almost all countries...Africa, Australia, New Zealand and

Europe. We have contact, but I can’t think about all of them...what do my uncle’s family do now...it hurts.’

To my question as to whether a female respondent, still living in Denmark, could keep in touch with her siblings who live in Sweden, England and Canada, she replies:

‘Yes, we talk together a lot... really a lot. You know these phone cards. My husband and I we use... at least 3 or 4 every month. I call my siblings a lot. We have good contact and we talk together if someone needs advice... If one is buying a new house or a car... We talk about how we can help each other economically...and if something new has happened...maybe in Somalia or in our countries... so there is a network in this way.’

As the respondent says, some of the conversations between family members and friends deal with information on the different countries they live in. This information has however not affected her decision to stay in Denmark. Meanwhile, for the respondents who have moved to Britain, telephone conversations with relatives and friends living in Britain have in general been an important source of information about life and opportunities in Britain, which has influenced the respondents’ decision to migrate.

Information about Britain is, however, not solely communicated transnationally, but is also frequently passed on to and discussed among the Somalis still living in Denmark. What is characteristic is that the information is obtained from other Somalis and not from authorities, social workers or professional advisers for refugees. As Ingeborg Kragegaard, who is adviser for Somalis in Aarhus, explains:

‘Information about England goes through each other [...] it’s this Somali way... they advise each other’.

Hashim Duale, an adviser for Somalis in Leicester, supplements this statement:

‘Somalis share information by talking. It’s worth more than a hundred books.’

The transnational communication also takes a written form, such as letters and emails between family and friends. However, oral communication seems more prevalent.

Another important source of information about Britain are visits to the country. All but one of the

respondents who have moved to Britain had visited the country before, often on holidays visiting family or friends. In these visits the Danish Somalis had the opportunity to obtain a brief impression of the life of their relatives and of the opportunities in the country. Bashiir⁸, who moved to Leicester from Aarhus one and a half years ago, expresses a general tendency among the respondents who have moved in his statement:

“I went to England ...to a friend...before we moved here... to check out the possibilities [of] education and jobs. I was here for four months. I was looking and asking [...] Then I went back to Denmark, and the family moved here”

However, some of the respondents only go to Britain for a few weeks on these visits, which makes Bashiir's example exceptional. Thus, the Somalis are informing each other on the possibilities in Britain and some travel to see for themselves before they decide to move.

Compared to Koser and Pinkerton's (2002) and to Robinson and Segrott's (2002) studies of information dissemination about a particular country, in the case of the Danish Somalis the information about Britain is not only obtained through communication with the social network in the country, but also via visits to the country. However, it seems as though the information obtained from conversations with family members and friends living in Britain carry greater weight in the process of decision-making than the short visits. Since the communication is more dominant than the visits in the decision-making, it is relevant to examine what kind of information the transnational network passes on to their relatives and friends in Denmark. This is discussed in the following section.

The image of Britain

The information that is communicated by relatives and friends in Britain is discussed among the Somalis in Denmark, and thereby an image of Britain is created, which influences the decision to migrate. It was thus significant that almost all respondents had the same ideas of Britain, though they prioritised them differently in their

⁸ The names of the respondents are pseudonyms apart from the three social advisers.

reasons to migrate.⁹ Their image of Britain consists of different components. What is first of all emphasised by all the respondents, including the ones who have decided not to migrate, is the conviction that it is easier to be a foreigner and Somali in Britain than in Denmark due to the tradition in Britain of both immigrants in general and in particular of Somalis. Thus, Ibrahim, who just moved to Britain, expresses a general view among the respondents when he says:

One positive thing I can say about Britain is that you don't feel like a foreigner. It's really a multicultural society. You can say that you are home... that you are part of the society.

The Danish Somalis find that the Somalis are more part of the society in Britain than it is the case in Denmark, and that they are focused less upon as a group. In connection to this, several of them mention the colonial link between Somalia and Britain, which means that British people are used to contact with Somalis. This contrasts with the bad image that the Somalis in Denmark have, and the respondents in general experience that they are undesirable here. This is also what the adviser for Somalis in Denmark tells:

Then there is the bad image of the Somalis in the media...for example with the recent focus on circumcision. The problem is that there is not found one single example of circumcised girls, but nevertheless there is this focus... The Somalis have got this bad image, and therefore many of them migrate [...] they feel they are an exposed group.¹⁰

Another related part of the image of Britain is the idea that there is lesser control of refugees in Britain. Many of the respondents feel that the Danish society in general is a society of control where they cannot have a private life. For instance some of the women do not feel that they

⁹ As Collyer rightly points out, the study of past motivations and decisions is a shaky subject (2002). In this particular case it is difficult to be certain whether the respondents remember what they thought of Britain before moving there. However, here the multi-sited approach has been helpful, because the Danish Somalis in Britain, the Danish Somalis still in Denmark and the social advisers, mention the same components.

¹⁰ In the statement the respondent refers to a debate in the media concerning circumcision of Somalis in Denmark. Despite evidence, the Somalis have been criticised for circumcising young girls, which many Danes regard as a violation of the human rights of the individual.

are allowed to stay at home looking after their children but are instead forced to do language courses and job training as part of the Introduction Scheme in which all migrants have to participate during the first three years of their stay in Denmark in order to receive social benefits.¹¹ Several of the respondents complain about this control. Moreover, some of the respondents feel that the Danish society intervenes in their religious practice and general way of life by continuously questioning veiling and other Muslim habits, in contrast to Britain where there is in general not so great a focus on minority religious groups: *'In Britain you are free to live as you like'*, one respondent explains.

A flexible education system and better employment opportunities are furthermore what most of the respondents emphasise about Britain. With regard to education many families prioritise the future of their children and find the British education system better suited for Somalis who might return to Somalia or move to another country, because the structure of and the language in the British education system is considered more international. As one respondent, who moved with his family, explains:

'With regard to employment, the Danish Somalis, both the ones who have moved and the ones still living in Denmark, generally think it is harder to get a job in Denmark than in Britain.'

One young male respondent, who is waiting for a Danish passport in order to move to Britain, clarifies:

'It's difficult to get a job in Denmark. When I was in England, I saw many places, where I could get a job. In Denmark everyone [Somalis] is cleaning. In England you can get a job everywhere. In the offices there are all kinds of persons... Somalis and English people.'

Though perhaps a bit simplistic, one can say that the image of Britain is constructed in opposition to the Danish Somalis' ideas of what Denmark as a country, a society and system is. According to many of the respondents, Denmark is thus a

society of control, racism and discrimination in employment opportunities, whereas Britain, or 'England' as they most often name it, is a country of freedom, tolerance and opportunities. That is, Britain consists of all the good aspects that Denmark does not possess and this is the image, which has made some of the respondents migrate to Britain as well as the image they communicate to Danish Somalis still living in Denmark.

However, it is also important to stress that other, more positive, aspects are mentioned in the interviews about Denmark by some of the Danish Somalis now living in Britain, as well as negative experiences in Britain are stressed. For instance some of the respondents, who now live in Britain, stress how clean Denmark is, and how easy it is to get good accommodation. In Britain, on the other hand, in their experience housing is worn out and expensive, and there are no playgrounds for their children. These negative aspects of Britain are, however, not prioritised in the migration decision-making process, if they are at all communicated. One male respondent now living in Leicester summarises: *'In England housing is worn out, it's poor. But people are happy.'*

Hence, the Danish Somalis characterise Britain as a multicultural and tolerant society, the opposite to their perception of Denmark. Gupta and Ferguson argue that the experience of space is socially constructed (1992: 11), and it is at the moment not relevant to judge whether the space or image constructed by the Danish Somalis and their transnational networks is consistent with reality but rather to understand how the image is constructed and how the Danish Somalis act on this idea of Britain. Before similarities and differences between studies of asylum seekers' versus Somalis' with Danish citizenship choice of country are discussed, it is relevant to analyse the role of the transnational networks in the migration decision-making process of the Danish Somalis.

Transnational networks: a reason and a vehicle for the secondary migration

The manner in which the Danish Somalis' transnational social networks in Britain communicate information about the society and the British people to family and friends in Denmark has been analysed. This communication can be considered as an essential source of information for the Danish Somalis, who only supplement the information by short visits to

¹¹ The Introductory Scheme is part of the Danish Law on Integration from 1999 which has undergone radical changes especially in 2002 after the present liberal-conservative government came to power (see: <http://www.inm.dk> and <http://www.flygtning.dk> for the changes made).

Britain to inspect the conditions themselves. Transnational social networks in Britain have, however, also proved to be an important incentive *per se* for the Danish Somalis to move to Britain especially for the respondents who have close family members such as siblings in the country. Ibrahim's example is suitable to describe the variety of reasons which can influence the decision to migrate to Britain. In talking about the bad image of the Somalis in Denmark, he comments:

'I think I have been struggling for the last 7-8 years in Denmark. It has not been easy being a Somali. And when the children [listen to] all these bad things about Somalia, then they believe that Somalia is something bad... that's one reason why we are moving... We are moving because my wife has family in England... there are also some of them who have moved from Sweden... so she has five or six brothers and sisters in England, and they say: come to us, we'll help you... that's also a reason why we are moving to England... because of the family over there...'

The respondents emphasise that they would not consider moving if they were satisfied with their life opportunities in Denmark. However now, when they consider other options, the presence of family and friends in Britain has an influence on their choice, both by their presence *per se* and in terms of their role as information providers.

According to both Koser and Pinkerton (2002) and to Robinson and Segrott (2002), social networks in the potential country of exile are the most important reason for choice of country among the asylum seekers they interviewed, apart from the overall question of safety. Other reasons for choice of a particular country were language, image of the country and colonial links. To some extent their conclusions are therefore similar to the findings of this study. However, because the asylum seekers' motivations for migrating were a question of safety, they did not focus much on employment opportunities or education (Robinson and Segrott, 2002: 53-56). This is nevertheless the case for the Danish Somalis, who are no longer searching for safety. They are now looking for better life opportunities such as employment. Therefore, much of the information that they obtain from relatives in Britain deals exactly with employment opportunities.

The Danish Somalis are thus choosing their next

country based on deficiencies in the country of asylum, i.e. Denmark, and not in the country of origin. Because the Danish Somalis have experienced racism and discrimination in Denmark, this is also what they focus on in their assessment of Britain. Hence, while many of the same considerations about the choice of country apply for the two studies of asylum seekers and for the secondary migrants, focus and prioritisation are different as they are primarily based on the present situation of the respective groups. It must however be emphasised that the two groups are far from homogenous individually, therefore it is important to examine each person's context and motivations for migrating. The following section examines in more detail what kind of information the Danish Somalis receive from the transnational social network and how they evaluate it.

Evaluation of information and the decision not to migrate

As analysed above the Danish Somalis, together with their transnational networks, construct an image of Britain on which they decide whether to migrate or not. Just as Robinson and Segrott (2002) find in their study, there is however a problem with the information about Britain communicated in the Somali diaspora. According to all three of the Somali advisers interviewed, only the positive aspects of Britain are mentioned in the talk about Britain among the Somalis (see also Crisp, 1999; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002; Collyer, 2002). This can result in disappointment for the Danish Somalis when they arrive in Britain, since many of them have an idealised notion of the country. Hashim Duale, who advises Somalis in Leicester where several Somalis from other EU countries arrive (ICAR, 2003; Daahir and Duale, 2002), enlarges on this problem:

'People [Somalis coming to Leicester] are ill prepared. They don't have enough information about British society [...] they obtain information from each other... from Somalis living in Britain. The problem is that the British Somalis emphasise the positive things. It's not that they lie. But a Somali will not tell about negative features of life. It has to do with pride... Even though they are hungry, they will say they are fine.'

And Abshar, who advises Somalis in London, furthermore tells:

'The Somalis who come are informed, but some of them still become shocked by the standards here. I know two families who returned to Europe because the standard of housing is so bad here.'

Likewise, several of the Danish Somalis describe their surprise about British society, but in most cases other aspects compensate for the disappointment about, for instance, housing. Other, perhaps more serious, disappointments are the difficulties in finding proper jobs or the health care system, which is not what many of the Danish Somalis are used to. For instance it is striking that Somalis figure as one of the ethnic groups with the highest percentage of unemployment both in Denmark and in Britain¹², a fact indicating that the information communicated about Britain distorts some aspects of reality.

It is thus a problem that not all the Danish Somalis appear to critically evaluate the information communicated from the social network in Britain. One female respondent, who has decided to stay in Denmark, formulates the problem: *'It's because we are a copying community...in a way that when something is happening, several will copy it.'* Ibrahim, who just moved to Britain, also tells how the decision to move influences his social network in Aarhus where he lived: *'When they heard I was going to Britain, they said 'If Ibrahim moves, then we will move'. None of them will risk being the last Somali in Aarhus.'*¹³

Yet, there are examples of Danish Somalis who critically consider their opportunities in both countries, and who question what they hear about Britain. Some evaluate the information and in spite of that decide to move; others in their evaluation decide that they do not want to migrate again. One female respondent relates how she had been convinced she would move again since she came to Denmark, but how a visit to Britain to her family, with whom she has a lot of contact, changed the idea:

'I thought: it's a romantic idea I have had. It doesn't exist. I had the ideas of my family

and the society and all these things, and they were destroyed when I was there [...] each of us has developed towards the Danish or the British society.'

In this example, visiting family in Britain thus had the opposite effect of inspiring the respondent to move since she now obtains a more realistic idea of the situation in the country. Liban, who had in the same way expected to move as soon as he was able to, tells how he changed his mind:

'I have considered moving to England, but here I have a job... you can get a job in England, I have checked it once I was there...but what if I don't make it as soon as I come there... I have fought here for 10 years and so has my wife. I know what it means to get by and not get by. Their salary [in Britain] is low and the housing is bad, and I don't want to be on social benefits [...] Then I say, no, not now.'

Liban's situation is perhaps different from some of the Danish Somalis who decide to move, since he has a job in Denmark. Nevertheless, he had seriously considered moving but critically evaluated his knowledge of Britain. What is important to emphasise is however that his decision is not final. He also stresses the problems of so many Danish Somalis moving without critically considering the situation in Britain. According to him, they move because others do, as the female respondent above also emphasised. Liban refers to a Somali proverb that according to him is of importance to many Somalis, but warns against Somalis migrating to Britain without critical considerations:

'We have this proverb: 'Dhul Xiiso Kuuma Oga'. And it means: If you love a place, the place doesn't love you. It is you who have to manage. When people move to England they can feel it is nice, but perhaps this is not because of the place. And it is a problem that the Somalis move just because England should be nice; maybe it's not nice for them. Take care; it is you who have to manage. The place doesn't manage everything for you.'

Liban is thus critical of the way that many Danish Somalis move to Britain without reflecting on their own opportunities. He finds that too many Somalis are convinced that Britain is the Promised Land where everything is possible. According to him, secondary movement is closely tied to

¹² In 2000 the employment rate among Somalis in Denmark was 11 per cent (*Arbejdsmarkedspolitisk Agenda*, nr.5, 2000), and the situation is only slightly better in Britain. Monclos states that 15 per cent of the Somalis in London are employed (2003: 50).

¹³ In Aarhus there were 3,139 Somalis in January 2003 (Source: Aarhus Statistisk Kontor).

notions of place and agency.

Secondary movement and place

The Danish Somalis: Transnational nomads?

As mentioned above, the respondents who had moved to Britain in general explained their migration in relation to their experience of Danish society, which instead of giving migrants opportunities and respect, controls their lives. Furthermore, the social network in Britain is an important reason for moving. However, several respondents at the same time emphasised that the secondary movement has to be seen in relation to the Somali tradition of nomadism. Hashim Duale thus expresses a general view among the respondents when he says:

'It [the secondary movement of Somalis] has to do with nomadism...African nomadism, where you move out of necessity. The African nomadism is pastoral. Here fresh water and grass is the drive...[because] life depends on the living of the animals and they need water and grass. Therefore, the Somalis will always look for grass in other places. We move out of necessity, but as a culture we are not scared of moving... the Europeans sometimes are...'

At first, the nomadic character of the Somalis in Somalia as well as in exile seems to contrast with the Somali proverb which emphasises that a place does not simply offer an individual opportunities, but that the individual has to create opportunities him or herself. For instance, Britain does not simply offer a lot of opportunities, but the individual Somali has to create the opportunities. However, as Hashim Duale is confronted with the proverb, he explains how it can be considered as in keeping with Somali nomadism:

'It is correct that the system is not just there waiting for you. You have to do something yourself [...] But people will only know whether it is good, and if they can make these opportunities, if they go and see for themselves. At the moment the Somalis from Europe are just checking out the possibilities in England...'

As a nomad searching for the best opportunities, the Somali will thus have to move to the country of which he or she has obtained information, in this case Britain. Even though the situation is not much better in Britain in terms of, for instance, employment, several find it worth trying their luck

since they are not satisfied with their situation in Denmark. The nomadic lifestyle of the Somalis is not solely expressed by the respondents in the interviews, but also finds expression in the fact that several times when I was given the telephone number of a potential respondent, he or she was often no longer living in the city or even the country where the previous respondent expected him or her to live. For instance, when I came to Leicester where I had four interview appointments, one of the respondents had moved to Birmingham, and in another occasion when I had an interview appointment with a Danish Somali in London, he had suddenly moved to Canada.

One question, which comes to the mind, is whether the nomadic tendency among the Somalis is a typical feature solely of the Somalis, or whether it is a general human characteristic that individuals will always move for better opportunities. While this is discussed further in the last chapter, it is relevant to mention that several scholars, who have researched the Somalis in either Somalia or in exile in Europe, stress the nomadic feature of the Somali identity. Hence, Lewis defines the Somali nomadism as a mode of livelihood. He thus describes how the Somali nomads "...move about their country with their livestock in search of pasture and water, ordering their movements to conform as closely as possible to the distribution of these two necessities in life" (1980 [1965]: 9). Moreover, what he finds characteristic for the Somalis is the manner in which they do not develop any ties to locality (Lewis, 1980: 9). Another example where the Somalis are characterised as nomads is Griffiths' (1997, 2002) study of Somalis in London, i.e. in exile. Griffiths stresses that nomadism, which is not solely referring to the Somalis who lived in the countryside but also to the Somalis of the cities, is still a central feature of the Somali imagined identity in London. He thus finds that among the Somalis there is a high level of mobility across London as well as a tendency to move frequently within the rest of Britain (Griffiths, 1997: 10; 2002: 78-80, 172, 198).

While Lewis defines the Somali nomadism as a mode of livelihood, Griffiths rather characterises nomadism as the Somali way of living and moving within London and the rest of Britain (See also Horst, 2002; Farah, 2000: 173-4 for other examples of Somali nomadism). This nomadism may also be considered as a kind of lifestyle

rather than as a livelihood, i.e. a way to literally survive. The idea of a Somali nomadic 'lifestyle' continuing in exile can be specified by Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* which he defines as a "...system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices" (1979:vii). With this concept Bourdieu seeks to explain people's practices mediating the gap between structure and agency in social science. People are disposed towards certain attitudes and ways of behaving as a result of the influence of their cultural trajectories. And what is important in this context is that these dispositions are transposable, that is, they continue even though the context changes (Bourdieu, 1979; Webb et al., 2002: 31-44). But even though Bourdieu stresses that people are structured in their action, they nevertheless question and negotiate these dispositions. Hence, it is important to emphasise that 'culture' (or the cultural trajectory) is not fixed, but rather fluid being constantly defined and redefined. This is for instance expressed in the fact that not all Danish Somalis move again. They question and negotiate what nomadism means in exile.

However, when stressing that several of the Danish Somalis are continuing their nomadic cultural trajectory in exile, it is at the same time important to analyse the context of this nomadism. As Hashim Duale emphasises, the movement takes place out of necessity, hence Danish Somalis first migrated because of civil war and now due to a discriminating host society. This context is rarely taken into account in analyses of the nomadism of Somalis in exile.

Secondary movement can be seen *in relation* to a nomadic cultural trajectory, yet nomadism does not *explain* the movement. The explanation is to be found in the Danish Somalis' experience of the Danish society and its intolerant control of Somalis, making some of the Danish Somalis feel they need to try out other opportunities. Britain is on the surface a good option for them among other things because they have a social network there. Nevertheless, while Denmark was once their opportunity to escape civil war in Somalia, the optimal conditions are never statically connected to one place, but change continually so that Britain might now be a better option.

While Griffiths' analysis of the Somali nomadism is restricted to their migration within Britain, the study of secondary movement and nomadism of

Danish Somalis are to be understood first of all as transnational, but the question is whether the decision to move also takes place within nation states. That is, do the Danish Somalis act within the nation states of Denmark and Britain at the same time as acting in a transnational field, and how do they in their nomadic lifestyle refer to these places? Does 'place' as such mean anything? This is discussed in the following section.

Acting within, beyond and against nation states

At first the use of transnational social networks among the Somalis, and the Danish Somalis' decision to leave Denmark can be considered as taking place beyond nation states as a kind of resistance to the Danish nation state, but on the other hand it has to be stressed that the Danish Somalis are still acting both within the nation state and the European Union (EU). This complex relationship between the transnational field, the nation state and the supra-national state, is also expressed by some of the respondents. One respondent explains:

'The Danish Somalis are grateful that they get this little piece of paper [a Danish passport] from the Danish authorities. But the problem is that the Danish system is not flexible or tolerant. The Somalis have nothing against the Danes as such, but [the Somalis] keep in contact with their relatives in England, and therefore they hear about the country...'

While Wahlbeck stresses that transnationalism indicates relationships and action beyond nation states (1998: 4), most other scholars in the field of transnationalism have emphasised that transnational does not mean post-national (Glick Schiller et al, 1992: 6; Basch et al, 1994: 8; Clifford, 1997: 9; Faist, 2000: 258-261). This is particularly evident in the case of the Danish Somalis who wait for Danish citizenship, in order to migrate legally. As one female respondent tells: '*Many Somalis in Denmark have known for a long time that they want to move on, they are just waiting for their Danish passport*'. They are thus acting within the Danish nation state, and with their Danish citizenship also within the EU as EU citizens who, according to EC law, can move and live freely within the region (see footnote 5). Thereby they employ the national legal means of moving and settling in another country.

Nevertheless, at the same time as the Danish Somalis act within the nation state, they are also escaping the control of their lives executed by the Danish nation state. In the words of Koser and Pinkerton the onward movement of refugees can be considered as '...a way of exercising at least some control over their own destinies' (Koser and Pinkerton, 2002:12). Other scholars adduce that migration in some cases can be characterised as a mode of resistance in the way that the migrants somehow dissociate themselves from where they live (see Vertovec, 1999; Gardner and Osella, 2002). According to Vertovec, even in the transnational relationships there is a 'refusal of fixity often serving as a valuable resource for resisting repressive local and global situations' (1999: 451). Is the secondary movement a resistance to the nation state? Perhaps the transnational contact between members of the Somali diaspora should not be seen as a field entirely separated from the nation state but rather as a field where information is obtained and where social contact is maintained otherwise denied the members of the diaspora (cf. Portes, 1996). Instead of refusing the nation state and the EU system, the respondents are rather taking advantage of the possibilities that membership entails for moving on. Information on these opportunities is also communicated transnationally. The Danish Somalis can thus be seen as acting both at the meso- and the macro-level in their decision to migrate again. But is citizenship the only sign of belonging to the Danish society after the secondary movement and how do they refer to 'place'?

Quite surprisingly, all the respondents who had moved to Britain declared that they felt nostalgia for life in Denmark, that their children missed the Danish playgrounds, or that they longed for Danish food. One respondent even said: '*I'm Danish*', while another tells, '*Denmark is my second country, I miss it very much...It's hard to forget about*'. It is also usual for most of the respondents living in Britain to watch the Danish news either on satellite television or on the Internet. At the same time, all of them have contact with family and friends in Denmark, as was the case with the transnational contact to relatives in Britain prior to their secondary movement. It thus seems like they continue to live in a transnational field but where they are now at the same time attached to both Denmark, Britain and to Somalia, though their country of origin has not been focused much upon in the

interviews. Hence, their nomadic lifestyle does not mean that they do not attach themselves to anywhere; places have an influence on their life experience, contrary to what Lewis argues in his analysis of the Somali nomadism, as mentioned above.

According to Appadurai and Breckenridge, 'diasporas always leave a trail of collective memory about another place and time and create new maps of desire and of attachment'(1989: i). Whereas, this 'other place' in Appadurai and Breckenridge's study refers to the homeland of the diaspora, in the case of the Danish Somalis who have moved onward from their country of exile, the memory consists of both the place they have just left and of their country of origin. This, together with their attachment to Britain, entails a multi-local attachment (Brah, 1996; Vertovec, 1999). Furthermore, with the Danish Somalis in mind, the creation of "new maps of desire and attachment" is to be considered as an ongoing process, because different social contexts and the nomadic lifestyle of the Somalis mean that the Somalis constantly recreate maps of where they would prefer to live. But in their constant movement they become attached to certain places even though they may decide to leave them. In the terminology of Gupta, the Danish Somalis thus re-inscribe space continually (1992: 63).

According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992) within anthropology, there has been a tendency to equal a culture with a territory (e.g. Somali culture is to be found in Somalia). But, as people move, which is not a new phenomenon, this assumption is indeed problematic. However, movement does not entail that space becomes irrelevant, rather that it is re-territorialised. Gupta and Ferguson thus refer to how transnational cultures' memory of their homeland entails that their identities become de-territorialised. They do not live in the place that they are attached to (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 8-9, See also Malkki, 1992). In the case of the Danish Somalis who do not solely have a transnational contact with people in their country of origin but, as has been argued above, also with co-ethnics in other countries of exile, their identities cross several territories or places. Furthermore, their continuous nomadic lifestyle means that the space they inhabit is constantly changing.

The Danish Somalis in Britain identify with more than one place. Their movement is thus perhaps

not to be considered as a form of resistance to the nation state. Despite the hegemonic power relationship between the Danish nation state and the Danish Somalis, the nation state is actually a place, which can provide them with an instrument to be able to move on. As Olwig stresses, 'many people combine various national and transnational elements in their lives, depending on their particular circumstances' (Olwig, 2001: 10). So do the Danish Somalis who can be said to live both within and beyond, not solely two, but several nation states at the same time as they are acting in a transnational space.

Movement: a natural aspect of life trajectories?

Perhaps the Danish Somalis are to be characterised as a 'travelling culture' (Clifford, 1992 and 1997), in the way that they can only be understood in relation to both their travel¹⁴ and their dwelling. Expanding on Gupta and Ferguson's argument mentioned above, Clifford argues that whereas, anthropologists have traditionally localised cultures, cultures have to be considered as travelling just as much as they are settled. Therefore, to understand cultural meanings focus must be on movements between places of settlement and not so much on the settlement itself, since nobody is rooted (Clifford, 1992: 97, 101, 105; 1997: 6-7). Olwig supports Clifford's argument in her claim that movement cannot be considered an abnormal or temporal interruption, but is an integral part of people's life: 'Livelihood practices quite commonly engage people in extensive movements at local, regional, national and transnational levels' (Olwig, 2001: 9).

Clifford and Olwig's arguments are useful for characterising the life of the Danish Somalis who have moved to Britain. The Danish Somalis in Britain are to be understood in relation to moving and settling, not solely settling. Furthermore, it is important to stress that the decision to move to a place (in this case the secondary movement to Britain) is never a final decision. Some have returned to Denmark, some have moved on to the United States or Canada, and some are staying, at least for the time being, 'checking out the conditions', as they put it themselves. Thus, the

migration of the respondents is not a predictable unilinear movement from their country of origin to a country of exile as the migration process is often portrayed (Schwartz, 1997: 259), but can instead be characterised as back-forth-and-onwards movements where the next place is constantly considered and reconsidered, Britain is just one stop. The problem of the apparent lack of critical evaluation by the Danish Somalis has to be seen in this context since it is closely related to their attitude towards movement. For many of the Somalis interviewed movement was not an exceptional aspect of life and it is more important for them to check out whether they can improve their opportunities in other places, than remaining settled. Inspired by Clifford (1997), the Danish Somalis can be considered to be dwelling in their movement.

However, when celebrating movement, as Clifford and Olwig to some extent do, there is first of all a risk that the specific circumstances of movement are not focused upon (cf. Brah, 1996: 182). In the case of the Danish Somalis the contexts surrounding firstly their flight from civil war in Somalia and secondly their migration from the intolerant Denmark are deeply serious leaving them with both traumas and negative experiences, which are not forgotten because they move on. The respondents emphasise that their nomadic lifestyle is taking place out of necessity, i.e. it is a way to survive, and is thus not an unambiguous expression of freedom. Furthermore, if a group of people or a family is moving, who takes the decision to do so, and who is rather forced to follow? Among the respondents and their families, there were, for instance, examples of children who would prefer to stay in Denmark.

Secondly, as Clifford (1997: 41-43) also briefly touches upon, it is important to emphasise that while movement is an integral part of the life of some people, there are at the same time others who do not move either because they do not want to or because they are economically or politically restricted from doing so. Zygmunt Bauman (1998: 93) argue that globalisation - among other things characterised by the free movement of goods, capital and knowledge - goes hand in hand with '...the pressure to dig new moats and erect new walls (variously called "immigration" or "nationality" laws) barring the movement of those who are uprooted, spiritually or bodily, as a result' (1998: 93). At the same

¹⁴ Clifford utilises the term 'travel' as a "translation term" that is, a word with general application covering all forms of movement such as migration, nomadism, tourism, travelling and visits (1997:39).

time as we are in an era of free movement, we are also in an Age of Migration (Castles and Miller, 1998) where the less privileged are forced to move, but at the same time restricted from moving where they want to, due to the already mentioned restrictive *migration regime* (Van Hear, 1998:16). According to Bauman, “[i]t lays bare the fact that it is now the ‘access to global mobility’ which has been raised to the topmost rank among the stratifying factors” (1998: 87).

So where do the Danish Somalis and their decision-making concerning the secondary movement to Britain belong in the discussion of movement, settlement and choice? The Danish Somalis fled Somalia but left others behind who did not have the opportunity to migrate, hence it is important to stress that movement is not an integral part of every person's life (Van Hear, 2003). The respondents ended up in Denmark by mere chance and many have known all the time that they prefer to live in Britain, while others have come to this conclusion during their time in Denmark. They have so far been restricted from moving to another country in the EU due to their status as third country nationals and their nomadic lifestyle has thus been restricted by the nation state system. However, after they obtained Danish citizenship, some of them have found a means of moving to Britain, namely the EU system and they have thus been able to overcome the constraints to move on, partly in acting within the level of the nation state, partly in co-operation with their transnational social networks in Britain.

Meanwhile, it is essential to emphasise that while the nomadic nature of the Somalis is widely referred to among the respondents, negotiations and disagreements of what ‘nomadism’ entails are taking place. The diaspora is diverse and even though many Somalis from other North European countries also move to Britain, contributing to the nomadic character of the Somalis in exile, some decide to stay where they have obtained asylum either because they have decided that it is the best option or because they do not possess the capabilities of moving. The meaning of place and movement is questioned and contested, and the respondents do not constitute a homogenous group, as members of transnational communities or diasporas are often perceived to do (see however Rouse, 1995; Brah, 1996; Koser 2003) but consist of individuals with different experiences, strategies and priorities in life. What

is nevertheless striking is the fact that the possibility of onward movement is continuously taken into consideration also among the Danish Somalis who for the moment have decided to stay, corroborating Clifford and Olwig's idea of the role of movement in people's life.

Conclusions

In order to understand the phenomenon of secondary movement among Danish Somalis, a multi-sited approach has been adopted. Through this it has been possible to include not solely the persons who actually migrate but also people who have considered moving and advisers for Somalis who have a general experience with issues regarding this tendency. They are all part of the phenomenon and their different experiences and voices are necessary.

The Danish Somalis, unsatisfied with their opportunities in Denmark, obtain information about opportunities in Britain through their transnational social networks. They act both in a transnational social field but also within the constraints of the nation state which nevertheless provide the Danish Somalis with an instrument to move on, namely Danish and EU citizenship. To understand why so many Danish Somalis move to Britain without critically evaluating the information disseminated transnationally, it is important to understand how they consider movement as an integral but - due to experiences of civil war and discrimination - also necessary part of their life. This paper thus argues that while nomadism cannot explain the secondary movement, the tendency has to be seen in relation to the nomadic cultural trajectory of the respondents. Unlike most other studies on transnationalism that often restrict focus to include communication and other exchanges between people in the sending society and the host society, focus has here been on two societies of exile and how their contact influences the migration process.

This case study of the secondary movement of Danish Somalis cannot lead to any generalisations, neither regarding the general movement of Somalis nor the migration process of others. Nevertheless, the importance of the transnational contact between co-ethnics in different countries of exile, and the relevance of notions of both settlement and movement raise important questions of a more general character. For instance, even though scholars on

transnationalism often acknowledge the presence of more than one country of exile, the relationship between the people in these countries is rarely discussed (see e.g. Glick Schiller et al, 1992: 1-2; Basch et al, 1994: 7). The question is whether important social processes amongst exiles in different countries are not thereby neglected when focus is restricted to encompass only the sending society and one country of exile.

Moreover, when focus is on both movement and settlement as in this example, what influence does it have for assumptions of *sending* and *receiving* societies which are often taken-for-granted terms in studies on transnationalism? Is Denmark a sending or a receiving country in the example of the Danish Somalis? The two terms seem too static to encompass the back-forth-and-onward movements taking place, which at the same time address the question of the relevance of other typologies such as *temporal* versus *permanent* migrants. The meaning of movement to the Danish Somalis also makes it misleading to talk of a 'diaspora lifecycle' that consists of a predictable migration process of dispersal, settlement and return to a homeland as Koser (2003: 8) does.

This case shows that refugees do not necessarily wait passively in their country of asylum until the situation at 'home' has changed, but act according to the situation and its opportunities. This has somehow been neglected in studies of refugees that often perceive this group to be more passive due to their sudden flight than is the case with migrants who are considered to take the active choice of leaving their country in order to follow opportunities elsewhere. The two groups are not necessarily that different from each other in terms of agency despite different contexts of migration.

In connection to this, when acknowledging movement as essential to the life of a group of people, it calls into question assumptions of settlement as the natural state of being. What consequences does this have for the notion itself? For the Danish Somalis who have moved to Britain and perhaps onwards to yet another country, permanent settlement may not be the aim. Several of the respondents are constantly on the move making Britain solely one stop on their route. However, somehow they still feel attached to the places where they have lived, making their reference to movement and settlement rather complex. The two notions are not mutually exclusive and the Somalis can to some extent be

said to be settling in their movement (cf. Clifford).

At the same time as the phenomenon of secondary movement calls into question issues of movement and settlement in the migration process, it is also an example of the diversity and dynamic processes existing in a diaspora. This aspect is rarely taken into account in the literature, which has a tendency to focus more on common origin, common history of dispersion and mutual solidarity in exile, which are all features that characterise the diaspora (cf. Cohen). The result is that diaspora appears as not only a homogenous but also a static concept without the capability of encompassing conflicts, negotiations and movement. This assumption is unrealistic and it is thus more useful to focus on the dynamic aspects among the diaspora members.

Among the Somalis, issues of nomadism, place, and belonging are constantly considered and challenged by the individuals who, as one respondent says, on the one hand are part of a 'copying' society but on the other hand consist of persons with different experiences and aims. In relation to place and movement the diversity of the Somali diaspora means that some Somalis never left Somalia, some have for the moment chosen to stay in their first country of exile and others are moving on. The diaspora is constantly defined and redefined, and it is therefore more relevant to talk of a process of diaspora formation. This sample has been too small to analyse diversity in terms of gender, age, class and experiences in different countries of exile, but for further research it would be interesting to see how these aspects diversify the diaspora.

The diaspora is at the same time homogenous and diverse and even though some of the Danish Somalis do not want to move and others are not able to do so, several are nevertheless at this moment considering whether the grass is greener in another place on their lifelong route of movement.

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