"If Hamar becomes Hamar"
Somali narratives on the idea of home

By Shukri Sharif
Master Thesis

Master of Arts in Culture, Communication and Globalization
Stream specialization Migration and Ethnic relations
Study Board Cross-Cultural Studies, Aalborg University
Supervisor: Peter Hervik
2nd January 2019

Table of Contents

Abstract

This study seeks to investigate how the Somalis live with a home in Somalia and in Denmark. In the literature on migration scholars have relied on various notions such as de-territorialization, exile, transnationalism and mobility to understand current movements and process amongst immigrants and refugees. In highlighting the mobile, ambivalent and shifting meanings that immigrants give to home there has been a tendency to underplay the resilience of its stable, bounded and fixed interpretations. This study employs the theory of diaspora to shed light on migrants' orientation towards their home-land and the notion of return. By using concepts such as diaspora and the multifaceted notion of home and, by means of in-depth qualitative interviews with first generation Somalis, this study examines how the Somalis in Denmark live with a home in Somalia and in Denmark. It identifies the meaning of home in three different ways. Firstly, in the meaning of order or system (Nidhaam) as a longing for a national past, a time when Somalia was peaceful and in the process of nation-building. Secondly, as ghurba- being away from home, a form of estrangement experienced as a lack of psychological well-being which denotes how the consultants feel about being and living in Denmark. Lastly, as patience (sabr) as an existential strategy found in the religious practice of Islam to deal with the emotional and social challenges. The notion of home becomes significant due to being relocated involuntary, and due to the hostile and unreceptive environment which problematizes the presence of immigrants. Thus, the notion, and meaning of home becomes greatly idealized and functions as a coping mechanism to deal with current grievances, and to orient oneself towards a present that is acceptable and meaningful. By adopting an existential focus home also becomes something deeply meaningful in the lives of the Somali immigrants, as the search for home is the search for meaning and purpose. The notion of home is at the same problematic in the face of war and an unstable home-land, which raises the question of return, can one go back home? Despite war and violence Somalis remains a home in the sense that the memory of the past provides a sense of meaning and purpose. Thus, the Somalis live with home as part of composing a past that they can live with, and a point of reference to the difficulties of the present.

Introduction

Edward Said proclaimed that our current era is "the age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration" (2000, p. 174). Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that cultures, identities, selves, and traditions change with movement and travel and "we have a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities" (4). Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (1993) believe that "being rootless, displaced between world, living between a lost past and fluid present, are perhaps the most fitting metaphors for the journeying, modern consciousness" (p.23). These assumptions and idealization of people who are on the move, mobile or displaced, I contend, ignore the complexities and tensions involved in experiencing a certain attachment to a particular place.

Last summer, I read Rashid Rushy's autobiography *You Promised We Were Going Home*, (Du lovede vi skulle hjem), about her parents' migration to Denmark in the 1970s. The story is a moving account of how an initial plan to migrate and return within 5 years became about settling in Denmark and becoming an immigrant (indvandrer), due to unexpected events and challenges. At one point in the story Malika, the mother and wife says to Mohsin, the husband and father

> Every day I dream about the day they will come home with their paycheck and ask me to share it with us. But this is not going to happen. We have lost Asim, and Karim is never home. When he is finally home, he is not concerned about how we are doing. He comes home, sleeps, eats and then he leaves again. Nobody knows where he goes, and when I ask him to do groceries for me he comes up with thousand excuses. If these boys cannot live up to their obligations- and it seems they cannot- I think it is time for us to go home. Home to Pakistan, where people are concerned about us (p.281).

For Malika and Mohsin their home is in Pakistan, where people are concerned about their well-being. The decision to go home has always been the predominant goal but tended to be overshadowed and postponed by issues from Pakistan and Denmark. The turning point in the story and where the desire to go home becomes urgent is when the children display independent and "Danish behavior" thus jeopardizing the dream of returning and building a house in Pakistan.

Mohsin replies to Malika "I promise you Malika that we will go home. Even though it will be without our children. We do not have a decent future in Denmark, even though our children are successful. Being here means that we will not be able to rely on their care (p.281).

Another critical moment is when the decision is finally made, and the dream is once again disturbed by the reactions of relatives and the community. When Malika and Mohsin finally return home, Malika overhears a conversation between her sister-in law, Fauzia and her mother on the phone

The mother had apparently asked Fauzia how she was doing, and she answered in a low voice "oh mother, you know how it is, when these ´Danmarkie´ are visiting. I slog away all the time to cook, clean and service them. And now where Malika Baji has become disabled, I must cater to her day and night. I have to massage her legs and back. I told them that they need to hire a massage therapist to do it; I can't do it anymore. My back is hurting from driving her around in her wheelchair. She is heavy even though she is all skin and bones. After listening for a while Fauzia replied with a little laughter "yes, yes, their palace is almost complete then hopefully they will leave me alone. They almost spent 100.000 rupees on building an elevator. Yes, an elevator, can you believe it?! They come here and are playing rich man and rich woman right in front of us. The whole neighborhood is talking about it, do you know what they are saying? Mohsin could have built several schools for that amount of money, but no, the Queen must be able to reach the roof. I know mother, I owe her everything. And she is going through difficult times, I know that as well. But she is not making things easy for me (..)Their children? No, they are not with them. They are fine in Denmark, I guess they are happy to have someone else take care of the burden. They don't have time to take care of their mother. They have become too Danish, I guess that is why Mohsin and Malika are returning to Pakistan

In this moment the dream of returning is once and for all shattered, first by the children's refusal to join the parents and secondly by being rejected and represented as strangers in Pakistan. The case of Rushy Rashid's parents is far from unique. Kristine Grünenberg (2006) in her research on

Bosnian refugees notes how upon returning to Bosnia, the returnees were seen to be different and having "changed" and this was disappointing for the them as it meant that returnees no longer were perceived to be part of the national Bosnian community. They were now strangers and, in many cases, not welcomed. Albert Camus (2015), the French philosopher, in his book *The Myth of Sisyphus* wrote that " you feel at home in a world you can explain, even though the explanation does not hold, but in a universe in which the illusion, and a sense of meaning is lost, the human being feels estranged" (p.20) (my own translation)[1]. Camus says that feeling at home is about being in a place in which you can explain, in other words in which you can justify, make sense of and which is meaningful, but when this meaning or illusion is lost, then the individual is alienated from the world. As long as Rashid's parents dreamt about going home, with the work and commitment that entailed, the world and their immediate surroundings made sense, but once that meaning and purpose disappeared, their identity and the whole project of migrating was put into question. Or in the terminology of Camus, the world became "absurd", which is the gap that arises when the human beings quest for meaning and a sense of purpose is met with "a meaningless silence" (2015, p. 43).

The story of Rashid's parents and the life stories presented in this study raises questions about the meaning of home. The concept of home becomes a coping mechanism to deal with trials and tribulations. It presents itself in moments of ruptures. Rupture is a concept used by the cultural psychologist Tania Zittoun (2006), to describe critical moments such as illness, war, and death. Ruptures are where irregularities and discontinuities are exposed and demands attention. In such critical moments the notion of home becomes a powerful force and is awakened in its absence. However, the literature on home and migration increasingly emphasize how home has become mobile (Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Where home can be found in movement and transition. I contend that the concept of home, as belonging somewhere to a place, society and community is resilient, and is a means of overcoming challenges and finding meaning in a world in which one feels increasingly alienated from. Although, going home or return is difficult if not impossible, as Stuart Hall noted "migration is a one-way trip" (p.44). The question of home is essentially an existential question as the search for home is the search for meaning and purpose. I approach this

---

[1] The translation is from Danish: En verden som man kan forklare, føler man sig hjemme i, selvom forklaringen ikke holder stik. Men i et univers, som pludselig frarøves enhver illusion og enhver mening, føler mennesket sig som en fremmed.

study with an existential focus. Inspired by the work of existentialist philosophers and by the American anthropologist Michael Jackson (2008; 2013).

With this approach guiding this study and the issue of home as my focal point, the following problem formulation (PF) has been formulated,

How does the Somalis in Denmark live with the idea of a home in Somalia and in Denmark?

To arrive at an answer, I break up the PF into sub-questions

1. How does Somalis understand the meaning of "home"? (semantically and pragmatically
2. Do they perceive their home to be in Somalia or Denmark, or both?

Engaging with the study and question of home allows me to transcend the heated debate about minority and majority relations that is a major issue in Western countries. It draws attention to an easily overlooked perspective namely that of immigrants' own narratives and experiences. By exploring individuals' life-stories and experiences we can recognize how immigrants' values and meanings are related to their past and the ways in which they become involved in new, cultural and social contexts.

This study proceeds as follows, first a short background description of the Somalis and the discourse of integration which in large determines how they are incorporated into the Danish society. Next, the methodological approach will be examined, followed by the theories applied in this study. Afterwards I will analyze the interviews based on the theories examined and discuss my observations against some of the literature on refugees and displacement. Lastly the conclusion which will reflect on an answer to the PF

As this study deals with the concept of home from the perspective of the Somalis we will take a brief look at the background story of the Somalis.

Background

What do you want the most? I once asked an old Somali. To be well-governed, but to be left alone, he told me (Hanley, 1993, p. 75).

Before the civil war in 1991 Somalis did not leave their country as refugees but Gerald Hanley noted they were "great travelers". With the development of shipping from India through the Suez Canal during the nineteenth century and the expansion of the bunkering business at Aden, Somalis travelled abroad in search of short-term employment - heaving coal on the wharves at Aden or working as stokers and seamen aboard ships trading between Europe and the subcontinent (Geshekter, 1985). By the twentieth century, Somalis had formed small immigrant communities in Aden, Liverpool, Manchester, and Cardiff. For example, some Somalis opened boarding houses and restaurants which catered to black American soldiers stationed in England during the Second World War. Others who came from Berbera, Northern Somalia, who participated in the 1895 Crystal Palace Exposition on Somaliland in London, were subsequently employed by Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark Exposition in Hamburg. They accumulated considerable wealth in Germany and then returned to Somaliland in the 1920s and 1930s where they invested heavily in town properties (Geshekter, 1985). In addition, the Somali men would work in the Gulf countries in the booming oil industry in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait and later return to build houses for their families. Some of them would return wealthy prestigious entrepreneurs, and others resumed their pastoralist life. Charles L. Geshekter (1985) notes that

> Somalis were renowned for their ability to pursue advantages wherever they found them and for a willingness to respond to incentives that demonstrated pragmatic or survival-directed qualities. It may have been the precarious nature of nomadic pastoralist life - the intense competition for pastureland, prevalence of animal predators, uncertainties of rainfall - which encouraged their independence of action, aggressiveness, bravery, and mobility (p. 21).

Much of the description of the Somalis refer to them as "great travelers", or just travelers (Farer, 1965, Hanley, 1993) Their country has been described as "the most inhospitable part of the horn

of Africa" and because they are nomadic, they "disregard international boundaries" (Background on world politics, 1958). They have, in the African context been said to enjoy "a rare ethnic simplicity. All but a trifling few of its inhabitants speak Somali as their first and usually only language and have always thought of themselves as being Somali" (Davidson, 1975, p. 20). The attribution of one ethnicity, as a homogenous people, with "one language, culture and ethnicity" (Geshekter, 1985, Eriksen, 2010) are frequently stumbled upon in the representations of Somalia. As Hussein Adam for instance writes "the Islamic faith and the common cultural and linguistic elements make Somalia one of the few relatively homogeneous nations in Africa" (1995, p. 195). David Laitin (1977) notes how the Somali society is very egalitarian. "When I taught in the Somali Republic, I was surprised that the school bus-driver sat down and participated actively in staff meetings, and amazed that my Somali colleagues saw this behavior as quite legitimate" (p. 11). This egalitarian society alluded to by Laitin is reiterated by Ioan Lewis (2011) who says that the Somali society is profoundly decentralized, there are no stable hierarchical political units and no chiefs wielding centralized power.

The Somalis and their relationship to home

Gerald Hanley (1971) in his memoir on Somalia, where he was stationed as a soldier during the Second World War says this about Somalis and their "home"

> Frightened of nothing on earth, willing to try anything anywhere, the Somali is never over-impressed by what he sees in the West, and they are great travelers. If he sees New York, London or Paris, the sight of these places with their superb machinery in no way diminishes his love of his desert home. He will go back there one day and wander with camels again (p. 155).

This was before the civil war had turned the "desert home" upside down. The Somali novelist Nuruddin Farah (2000) makes a similar observation about Somalis and their home

The Somalis are citizens of a sorrowful country, though many of them hold passports from other nations. When they have a love affair with the world they go to Italy. But Somalia remains their abiding passion, and when they come together they speak of home (p.18).

Hence, migration formed an important life of the Somalis, but the civil war changed the ways in which they used to travel as now it was not out of free will but of necessity. They now had to create a new home and decide which role their former homer in Somalia should play. In such a context what does it mean to go home or to be at home to migrant and refugees? Such topics have often been discussed and described in literature, in the writings of the so called "diasporic writers" for example Said, Salman Rushdie, Farah and countless others. When returning home is problematic and displacement unravels the taken-for-granted ways of being, home becomes significantly meaningful and existential. As Mykolo Soroko (2007) points out "home gives meaning to life and a sense of belonging" (p.452).

In this thesis my focus will be on Somali refugees, the first generation who involuntary left Somalia after the civil war and they do in fact love to speak about their homes, homes that are vividly remembered sometimes in painful ways and sometimes in exhilarating ways. Before moving on to theory and analysis the method I have applied will be described in the next section.

Methodology

I conducted six in-depth qualitative interviews. Mostly with Somali women, and one with a Somali male- Abdi Haji. Due to research ethics and personal confidentiality the consultant names were changed. The initial contact to the respondents was established through the Chairwoman of the Somali Women Association in Aalborg. I used to volunteer at this association and participate in their activities. The contact with Abdi Haji was established through the chairwoman, Amina Hassan. I met Luul by assisting her with interpreting letters from her e-boks, and when I told her about my study she was kind to let me interview her. Luul came to Denmark in 2012 and has been overwhelmed by the transition to the Danish society which she finds very "confusing", which is the word she uses most of the time to describe how she feels about living in Denmark. I did a formal interview at first and later had informal conversations where she provided more

details to her life story. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face and lasted from 1 to 4 hours. The interview with Faduma lasted for almost four hours. I remember how I entered her apartment and she immediately started talking about her life. I did not ask many questions during the interview, only towards the end, to clarify statements and ask some final questions. After I transcribed the interview, a few days after, I called her to follow up on some of my questions, and I had a one-hour long conversation with her. I did not record the interview with Abdi Haji as he found it uncomfortable. Instead I had to take notes while interviewing him and write it all down from memory and the notes afterwards. Safiya and Samira are members of the Somali Women Association, and I conducted the interview with Samira at her place and Safiya came to my apartment to do the interview. I later called her as well to follow-up on some statements and ask further questions. All in all, the interviews are supplemented by additional conversations afterwards either by phone or in person. Because one interview rarely provides the space for an individual to tell his or her story. I started the interviews with asking the participants to tell their life stories. To narrate about their life from the time they could remember until now, as much as possible. The approach was ethnographic, which is characterized by openness, a total lack of control. It is informal and is not taking on the role of an interrogator (Barker, 2012).

 Since I did unstructured ethnographic interviews the interviews did not follow a chronological pattern in which the participants answered specific questions. Often the questions I would ask was formulated in response to statements and stories they have told, prompting them to explain further. Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but they are also characterized by a minimum of control over the consultants' responses. The purpose is to get people to "open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace" (Bernard cited in Barker 2012, p. 204). This was my idea to let the individuals tell their stories at their own pace and at their own terms, without much interference from my side. To do so one needs to trust the person with his or her story, and this trust was in part established because most of them had known me from volunteering at the Women Association, and because I assisted them with interpreting letters and other forms of communication with Danish authorities. Lastly because the contact had been established by someone they knew. I did all the interviews in Somali, which is the language I believe they were able to express themselves confidently and freely in. Abdi Haji began the interview in Danish but later he switched to Somali, because certain expressions were best understood and formulated in the Somali

language. Doing the interviews in Somali, I believe, also cemented the trust further. Initially I thought that being a Somali myself, I would have no problem gaining access to the community and find willing consultants. But the task became more difficult than I imagined, and I turned to formal channels of access and cooperation from community leaders and noted individuals. I realized that being a member of the community, an insider, did not necessarily mean automatic access to its members. In other words, an ethnographic insider's demographic or cultural similarities to participants do not guarantee entrée to the community (Kusow, 2004).

People are unique individuals with different experiences, personalities, expectations, hopes and aspirations. After I did the first interview with Faduma I believed I could repeat the same form of interviewing with the other consultants. Her interview was the ideal which was given to me spontaneously, I searched for the same openness and spontaneity in the other interviews. But not everybody is comfortable with providing you with the personal and private details of their life. The interview with Samira was marked by her traumatic experiences during the civil war. Her memory of her home was overshadowed by the violent experience of war and she found it difficult to make sense of a place and time that were marked by such violent ruptures – so hard indeed, that she struggled to integrate it into a story. This rupture, it seems, formed the most intensely felt pain of displacement. In contrast to the fluidity and lightness that marked the way Samira storied her life before the war. Thus, it was in the form of fragments that Samira told me about her life which happened to be mostly about the war. Remembering Somalia was for her equal to remembering the war. In contrast Faduma's story or Abdi Haji there is no mention of war as they fled before it took place. Their memory of Somalia is a peaceful and beautiful place. Luul was born after the war and never experienced a peaceful place. This is to highlight how individuals and their stories is shaped by many different factors. That experiences are cut across gender and class lines, historical experiences, geographical location and so on.

Life story

I approached the interviews with the aim of having the respondents tell me their life stories. But not everybody responded to that request, so the interview with Safiya turned into a conventional semi-structured interview while the others took a more narrative turn. Julia Brennet (2013)

argues that life stories are typically conventionalized narrative expressions of life experiences. Life stories are mediated through memories and memories are "monuments that we visit but they are also ruins which are subject to restoration" (Antze cited in Brennet, 2013, p. 2). Life stories are also retrospective accounts of decision, actions, events often relating to a distant period and located in particular context, situations, and relationships (Brennet, 2013). Narrating a life story does not necessarily follow a chronological order, for example when Faduma narrated her story she went back and forth between her memories of Somalia, of coming to Denmark, and then back again. In fact, she started the interview in media res and it took me a while to follow and understand her story in a coherent way. Life stories does not only tell us about how people experience the past, but also how they experience the present. Being attentive to way in which a story is narrated emphasizes how memories are not only reflections of the past but also subject to restoration (Brennet, 2013). Claude Levi-Strauss acknowledged the particular quality of life stories: "They allow one to perceive a foreign culture from within, as a living whole, rather than as a set of seemingly conflicting norms, values, roles, rituals, and the like" (cited in Bertaux and Kohli, 1984, p. 232). The life story as a method cannot stand alone and must be supplemented by putting it into historical, cultural and political contexts. Since life story interviews are lengthy and done without much interference the interviews may be very different from one another. Taken together, however, they can reveal a great deal of information, both on common social processes that have impacted people's lives and about individual responses to similar predicaments. Lastly, it is important to understand that the aim was not a biographical account of the participants lives, but how individuals interpret and understand their own lived experience. The enterprise is not about arriving at empirical truth but about understanding one person's life and its meaning to that person in the context of broader history and culture (Brettell, 2002). As Sara Lamb points out, "the telling of stories is one of the practices by which people reflect, exercise agency, contest interpretations of things, make meaning, feel sorrow and hope, and live their lives" (cited in Brettell, 2002, p. 439). As people reflect on their lives, on their past, they are doing it from the vantage point of present events and circumstances.

Evaluation of the data

Before embarking on the interviews, I had read literature on the concept of home, refugees and displacement. After conducting the first interview with Faduma I found myself slightly confused as I could not make the literature fit with the interview I just finished. However, by "forgetting the literature" and taking point of departure in the life stories of the consultants I arrived at how to position the literature with the interviews, the data. Thus, my method was to interpret the data, see what clues and statements that emerged, and proceed to formulate theories around those main themes. I would read the interviews several times and go back and forth between the interviews and the literature.

I went to conduct the interviews with a vague concept of home, but it was difficult to translate it into the Somali language as there is no proper equivalent to home or hjem in Danish. In the Danish and English terminology there is house and home (hus/hjem). In Somali there is house (guri) but not home. It was therefore a bit difficult to introduce my subject to the respondents.

In analyzing the interviews secondary data was used extensively, in the form of literature review, journals, reports, autobiographies, newspaper articles and documentaries. In analyzing the interviews, and in the conversations, I had with the consultants, I paid close attention to specific terms such as ghurba (estrangement/alienation), Nidhaam (system/order) and sabr (patience) terms that were not easily translatable but carried with them a larger social, cultural and political meaning, and which emerged naturally through the interviews and subsequent conversations. These terms were used repeatedly and across the interviews and I pursued them academically in the analysis. I analyzed those concepts separately, but they are of course interconnected, and relate to the broader and abstract meaning of home. In addition, the analysis was also based on applying the theory of diaspora as an analytical category with its emphasis on forcible removal and a perceived attachment to a homeland. Theories, argues Kirsten Hastrup, (2005) "are not final answers to human riddles (..) but temporary instruments through which we can handle social complexities" (p. 144). In other words, they help us comprehend why things are as they are.

Hence, I analyzed the life stories by identifying the significant themes and developing theories around those themes. For instance, one major theme was the historical, political and cultural period of the former president of Somalia, this was part of the respondents' childhood which was a recurrent theme in Faduma, Abdi Haji, Safiya and to a lesser extent Samira. The

representations were remarkably similar, and we can call them national memories. Another major theme was the decision to leave Somalia and how their lives unfolded in Denmark. The interview with Luul was different as she mostly narrated her life in Denmark but always in contrast to her life in Somalia. I connected those themes to the theory of diaspora, and the concept of home which is multifaceted.

Limitations

In any research there are limitations, and this is the case in this study as well. The consultants were women except from one male, Abdi Haji. Thus, the study largely reflects their views. This study did not set out to conduct a feminist analysis of Somali women's experiences. Likewise, I did not aim to generalize findings to all Somali people, but rather to explore the complexity of Somali participants' lives prioritizing their own narrative constructions. Conducting genuine life stories requires trusting relationships which need to be developed over time, expecting the participants to share in depth personal stories with me when we had only just met was also challenging. But adding informal conversations seem to have enhanced the relationships.

Literature Review

The literature on the concept and meaning of home is tremendous and it spans across various disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, architecture, geography, anthropology, psychology and political science. In all those areas different conceptualizations of home are investigated. For example, Kirsten Gram-Hansen and Klaus Bech-Danielsen (2012) in their article, "Creating a New Home: Somali, Iraqi and Turkish Immigrants and Their Home in Danish Social Housing", set out to concretely examine how these groups understand home. They look at the house as a dwelling, a place of familiar relations and examine whether the Somalis and the Turks can establish a home in the Danish social housing. Because the Danish social housing was created to suit Danish nuclear families and the authors assume that immigrants have different family structures and expectations to what a home should be, which is largely determined by their previous experiences in their country of origin. Their findings concluded that privacy was very important, illustrated by the importance of curtains. Cleanliness was an aspect which was

emphasized greatly by the Turks who pointed out that an unclean house would be embarrassing and cause one to lose face in their community. In addition, Bech-Danielsen and Gram-Hansen were interested to know whether the groups felt "at home" in the Danish social housing. Gram-Hansen and Bech-Danielsen suggest that "the diaspora seemed to be a barrier to developing the feeling of home in the Danish environment" (p. 101). They do not specify and define what they mean by diaspora, as in having a greater attachment to the country of origin and therefore this would cause the immigrants to feel less at home in their residences, they just merely state it. Finally, they conclude that feeling at home depends on how much time one spends in Denmark and on the good experiences immigrants accumulate over time. Furthermore, one of the crucial elements in feeling at home is the presence of the family. Family ties was in general considered important for the well-being of the immigrants. The authors note that their intention was not to compare the different groups as they are different in composition, some old and young, some came as guest workers in the 60s, and others as refugees in the 1990s, however the notion of home seems to be common regardless of cultural background. Celia McMichael' study "Everywhere is Allah's Place: Islam and the Everyday Life of Somali Women in Melbourne" (2002) takes the concept of home to a metaphysical level, in this context Islam is the" home" of the Somali women. During displacement and resettlement Islam provides solace and refugee. In this study, home is not located in a place, but it is found in the practice and ideology of Islam. In McMichael's approach home is in a set of practices and routines which transcends the physical structure of a house. Karen Fog Olwig's article "Cultural Sites: Sustaining a Home in a De-territorialized World "(1997), examine Caribbean migrants' relationship to their home. She writes from an anthropological point of view about the notion of cultural sites. A cultural site attempts to incorporate the locality, place of a person at the same time as they accommodate the global conditions of life. It is a fusion of the local and global conditions people are immersed into. Olwig carries out field work in the West Indian Island of Nevis but also in the places the migrants have re-located to. She pinpoints the global social relations and networks enacted and maintained by the migrants from the Island and illustrates how their lives are still grounded in the Island of Nevis and thus becomes a "cultural site" in the global Nevisian community. It is where they go for holidays, where their relatives live, where they send remittances and invest in property. Thus, Olwig explores how a sense of home is maintained by various social and economic practices and reconciles the division between localized and de-territorialized people by

pointing to a middle way in the concept of a cultural site. Kristine Grünenberg (2006) investigates the concept of home and belonging amongst the Bosnian refugees in Denmark, she accompanies a Bosnian family on a trip back home to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Grünenberg explores how home is perceived and understood by the refugees once they return to Bosnia. She deconstructs the notion that we belong to a certain place merely by being born and raised there and shows how the family is received in hostile ways by the local population who no longer consider them part of the national Bosnian community. The Bosnian family increasingly feel they belong to Denmark and consider it to be their home. In Grünenberg's approach to home she emphasizes how home can be a strange and alienating experience after migration and war which has altered the social, political and economic structures of a society. The article "Never at Home? Migrants Between Societies" by Mariann Märtsin and Hala Mahmoud (2014) discusses in the detail the meaning of home in the context of migration. They approach the subject dialectically in terms of exploring home to its opposite non-home. Instead of viewing migration as a form of merely displacement and loss they argue that it is an opportunity to re-establish patterns and way of life from the previous home. The study changes between studying Estonians in the UK and Sudanese refugees in Cairo, who are both far from home but experiences being away from home radically different. The authors write from a social psychology perspective and therefore focus on identity and how migration is a major rupture in the identity of migrants and introduces a break, into the normal way of being. They highlight how one can be at home, in one's country of birth and still feel alienated, and how being away from home transforms one's identity and sense of belonging. Nicole Constable (1999) examines the concept of home from a gendered perspective. She interviews Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong and observes that while they imagine the Philippines as their home, they feel more at home in Hong Kong. In the time they have spent away from home they realize, on their occasional trips back home, that their homes in the Philippines are confining, repressive and they long to go back to Hong Kong. Life in Hong Kong despite the difficult labor provides a space for the women to be independent and free. It has expanded their horizon and freed them from the obligations of motherhood and marriage. It is like the way in which Märtsin and Mahmoud understood home to be both alienating and inspiring. It is in other words ambivalent, the Filipino women are managing two places and figuring out where they can be at "home". "The Search for Home", by Leila Habib (1996), is a more personal account of the meaning of home when one is exiled. The civil war and

the painful journey abroad has led Habib to reflect on what home means, and this makes her question the classical approach to the concept of home. One of her main points is that home evolves with time and is a complex phenomenon. The civil war in Lebanon entailed the loss of her home, her relatives. When she finally returned "home was not to be found and the past was not to be recreated" (p. 97). The civil war entailed the loss of meaning, everything became blurred, there were no boundaries and it in this context home loses its meaning and even Habib's identity became a source of confusion. In the civil war what mattered was ethnic and religious identities. Habib's account highlights how home can be a problematic notion in the face of war and resettlement. Steve Striffler investigates Mexican migration to the US and makes interesting and noteworthy observations. In his article "Neither here, Nor There: Mexican Immigrant Workers and the Search for Home" (2007), he becomes part of the Mexican community in Arkansas and travels with them on their annual trip to Mexico. In these trips he discovers how the migrants harbor contradictory understandings of home which is shaped by migration and life in the US. On the one hand, Mexico is seen almost like a mythical place where Mexicans are free and independent, and where they can display the wealth and riches that migration has provided. On the other hand, Mexico is also devalued, as a place plagued by corruption and laziness, and as a place that is backward with no future. Despite these contradictory understandings, the trip back to Mexico is planned most of the time they spent in the US, and the Mexican migrants strongly identify with and are attached to Mexico. However, the migrants do not feel they belong to the US either as they face discrimination, racism and marginalization. Thus, Striffler brings awareness to how the process of migration creates tension and contradictory understandings of home.

Theoretical framework

The theories applied in this study are diaspora and the notion of home. The concept of diaspora illuminates how the diasporas- groups of people are forcibly scattered around the world and because of this involuntary relocation desire to return. It highlights how minority and migrant populations share forms of longing, memory, and identification. The concept embodies a notion of center, "a home from where the dispersion occurs" (Brah, 1996, p. 181). Because diaspora is

closely related to the notion of home I examine the concept of home on different levels- home in terms of nation and nationalism, home as a place and home as opposed to non- home in the context of migration.

Before embarking on the theory of diaspora and the concept of home in its various meanings, we need to introduce the structures that govern the way immigrants are incorporated into the Danish society.

The discourse on integration- "The pesky Somalis"

The concept of home cannot be understood without introducing the discourse of integration as it has unfolded since the late 1980s when immigrants and refugees began to be problematized in Western Europe.

The integration perspective which is the governing structure for incorporating newcomers to the Danish society refers to a "linear and a sequential process, in which migrants are expected to 'uproot' themselves from their 'home countries' in time and integrate themselves into the countries of settlement" (Caglar, 2016, p.958). The integration perspective which has become an obsession in political and public debate rarely reflects the reality and situation of many immigrants who are in fact desperately trying to become "integrated". I remember an interview I did with an elder Somali man, Ahmed, who told me how the word confused him. He had been put in an internship at a company and worked very hard to prove himself as he said "I was just killing myself with doing so much work (..) I thought they would hire me. When my internship came to an end, the company evaluated me and said, he is good and a nice guy, but he does not integrate very well". From this conversation, Ahmed concluded "I realized that their culture and our culture was very different, at least on this point". For Ahmed it became about differences in cultural understanding which was perceived to be insurmountable. It shows how the term integration officially is a positive word but in everyday encounters it is used against immigrants to stigmatize and marginalize them, and it solely places the power to determine who is integrated or not on Danish authorities. The line can never be crossed because it is, as Ahmed discovered, not up to him to determine when he has become integrated, no matter how hard he worked. The decision lies with the majority. To be integrated is to be a Dane which as the Professor Marianne

Gullestad in the Norwegian context showed was an unattainable state for immigrants. What initially was just a neutral concept aimed at assisting newcomers with finding employment housing and proper education has gradually changed into gaining a politicized meaning. Now it has become a cultural problem. The discourse and everyday practice of integration has ceased to make any sense and serves another purpose, namely exclusive purposes. Olwig (2008) argues that integration is an ideological loaded concept linked to Danish ideas of belonging and equality. The integration lens is highly Eurocentric and does not give us a proper understanding of the everyday lives of immigrants and robs them of their agency and history. Stuart Hall argues that the first-generation working-class immigrants were not primed for integration into English society, and they "quickly debunked the concept as a colonialist myth. They silently abandoned "integration" as a practical aspiration and instead turned to other things like making a living and a tolerable life for themselves, among their own people in their own areas" (cited in Farred, 1996, p. 45). This is exactly what Rashid's parents did, as their main preoccupation was to go home. The whole idea of migrating was never about settling permanently, that was the unintended consequence, the idea was to fulfill a dream of making a fortune abroad and going home to enjoy the success and fruits of the hard labor. A dream that seemed simple but turned out to be very complicated as they got entangled in a new socio-economic and political logic. The underlying meaning behind the concept of integration implies that real integration takes place in being, in becoming Danish. Integration is conceived as involving being rather than acting (Sjørslev, 2011). It is thus about a perceived essence, what it means to be a Dane rather than making space for immigrants to participate in Danish society.

In the Danish discourse on integration the Somalis are primarily represented as "a problem". Outsiders tend to regard the Somalis as inherently "pesky" people. In a text on the politics in the Middle East and Africa from the 1950s Somalia is listed as "the Somali problem", whereas other countries are just listed with their names such as Ghana or Kenya. Or the "nomadic problem" (Ware, 65, p. 174). Or the "problem of tribalism" (Lewis, 1960, p. 293). Thus, the Somalis seem to confront the world with a bundle of problems. In Denmark the Somalis have been perceived to be "unmanageable" and represented as the "pesky Somalis" (Hervik; Vestergaard; Fadel, 1999). They are perceived to lack the will to integrate, a nuisance and just burdensome. Somalis are aware of how they are perceived and many of them have relocated to England from Denmark,

Netherlands and other European countries. In fact, they are the only group of immigrants that diminishes every year (Fyens Stiftstidende, 2011). The desire to relocate to England is not only due to racism and discrimination but it brings them closer to other relatives and Somalis and allows them to live in a big Somali community, in for example Leicester (Plougsgaard, Vinter, 2003). In Denmark they have also been regarded as a closed, isolated group who are distrustful of foreigners (Jakobsen; Pedersen; Birgitte; 2016). Katrine Fangen (2006) in her research on Somalis in Norway describes how the Somalis feel humiliated in their encounters with Norwegian officials and how the officials in turn tend to describe Somalis as 'the most difficult immigrants to integrate', but simultaneously as strong, proud and even elegant or aristocratic" (p. 77).

In the 1990s and 1980s the Somalis were regarded as pesky refugees who were impossible to integrate due to insurmountable cultural differences. After 9/11 they became problematic as they increasingly became associated with Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. Marianne Holm Pedersen and Mikkel Rytter (2012) argue that after 9/11 immigrants in Denmark were no longer identified as merely immigrants, in the 60s and 70s they were guest workers, in the 90s they were immigrants and after 9/11 they were identified primarily as Muslims. In the public sphere there has been an increasing Islamization of Muslims where their identity is first and foremost as Muslims and other aspects of their identities are neglected or ignored. This response and discourse about Muslims as a security threat has produced much uncertainty and anxiety about the future where many immigrants contemplate leaving Denmark and finding a place where they can live a safe and secure life without being exposed to Islamophobia and discrimination (Shakoor & Riis cited in Holm & Pedersen, 2012). Pedersen and Rytter observe, that the discourse about Muslims is in many ways much more difficult for the younger generation to handle compared to their parents who are confident in their identity and not necessarily see themselves as a Dane. This process leads to categories being internalized and immigrants begin to view themselves as the "other".

Having established the background structures and context that immigrants are situated in, the next sections will elaborate on the grander theory of diaspora and the multi-faceted notion of home.

Diaspora

The term diaspora has the connotation of being driven out, exiled from one's homeland. It comes from a Greek word which means to scatter, disperse and sow a seed. (Collins English Dictionary) It is embodied with a double consciousness, an inherent contradiction (Dayal, 1996). Brian Axel (2004) argues that "we come to understand diaspora as something objectively present in the world today with regard to something else in the past- "the place of origin" (p. 28). But how do we, or should we understand the concept of diaspora, what is its defining features and how can the concept illuminate the state of refugee communities? The meaning and application of diaspora is contested, and it has been accused of becoming an increasingly fashionable term (Baumann, 2000). Originally the term was intertwined with Jewish history (Gilroy, 1994). It referred to the dispersal and plight of the Jewish people and was a very much a context-bound term. Since the 1970s the term has come to describe people living away from their homeland. The term has also been applied by Africans in exile, the slave trade that dispersed the African people all over the globe. Later, the term was adopted by the elite and university staff and thus gained recognition and acceptance in different department and studies (Baumann, 2000). Within diaspora studies it has been noticed that the term has gained a broad meaning and for example Martin Baumann (2000) searches for a more meaningful, and precise usage of term because he believes it has been misused:

> Authors, and writers use the once restricted notion in an arbitrary, unspecified, fairly freeway. Apparently, an often plainly metaphorical application of "diaspora" is prevalent, encompassing under the very term a wide range of phenomena considered appropriate. The term's popularity has resulted in a dissolution of semantics (p.325).

Because the notion of diaspora has been used to define any group that has been scattered around the globe, a more precise definition is called for. In Collins English Dictionary its says that diaspora means "people who come from a particular nation, or whose ancestors came from it, but who now live in many different parts of the world are sometimes referred to as a diaspora". This definition is rather tentative and broad. Furthermore, the dictionary refers to the Jews and the African people dispersed by the slave trade as diasporas. These are the original diasporas;

however, the term today has increasingly been used to refer to any processes of dispersion and to relate to countless so-called dislocated, de-territorialized communities (Baumann, 2002). Paul Gilroy (1994) believes that diaspora can be applied to any people where slavery, pogroms, indenture, and genocide have all figured in the constitution of diasporas. And in the constitution of diaspora, identity is focused less on common territory and more on memory, or, more accurately, on the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration. Gilroy's definition is also quite broad and is not useful as an analytical category. Brah (2014) states as well that not all form of migrations can be considered to be diasporas. "At minimum, diasporas are not temporary sojourns, rather they are about settling down elsewhere, putting roots and creating 'home' away from the place of origin" (p.164). Thus, Brah adds to the definition of diaspora that there is an element of effort in establishing a home elsewhere.

 If we turn to the definition of William Safran we find a more precise definition. His definition is more exclusive and adheres to certain criteria. Safran (2005) believes that the Jewish diaspora is the prototype as they demonstrate features such as ethnicity, religion, minority status, history of migration, expulsion, and a continuing orientation to a homeland. He also laments the fact that the term has been used to describe almost any immigrant community that has left their homeland. In order for the term not to lose meaning Safran (1991) sets up specific criteria for how diasporas should be defined:

> 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not—and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (pp. 83-84).

What Safran proposes here is an ideal type, which implies that some diaspora communities will not fulfill all the features. Safran clearly emphasizes the forcible removal from the homeland, which, is for example, the difference between diasporas from Tunisia and Algeria and the Armenian diaspora. A characteristic of the diaspora identity is it is fortified by national narratives connected with the homeland, including periods of glory and tragedy (Safran, 2005). Diaspora means loss of a homeland combined with the unfulfilled desire to return (Huyssen, 2003). Hence, the homeland and the imagination related to it is very significant, and the main reason for the dispersal. Hanafi writes that a diaspora has a "center of gravity" (cited in Peteet, 2009). If we look at terms such as like Al- Nakba (the Catastrophe or The Disaster), which is a term the Palestinians use as the origin and cause for their displacement (Al-Shaibi, 2006). There is a clear connection to an original or ancestral place, to a significant and tragic incident that explains the dispersal and justifies the desire for return. In case of the Palestinians, the formative collective experience is that of being exiled, of being a suffering, homeless people, even when not uprooted from their land (Gur-Ze'ev, 2003). It is the loss of the homeland that formulates their identity. Al-Shaibi (2006), a Palestinian-American, expresses this clearly as she refers to "historical Palestine" which, again, points to the main theme, that of a place of origin. The search and yearning for the homeland is omnipresent in the accounts of diasporic people. Al-Shaibi, narrates how her grandparents fled their village in Jaffa when Israeli forces invaded the town in 1948, "So sure were they that they would soon be returning, that the occupation was only temporary, they actually covered the furniture with sheets and locked the doors" (2006, p.35). In addition, the dream of returning to "historical Palestine" never faded. "They believed they would be able to move back in a year or two, but after fifty-seven years, that dream has never materialized for my grandmother. My grandfather died in Iraq in 1983" (Al-Shaibi, 2006, p. 36). Al-Shaibi's account of her life, and her parents, is one expulsion after the other. After her grandparents fled Palestine, they went to Iraq, in Iraq soon the war between Iraq and Iran broke out and the family had to flee once again. As Al-Shaibi writes "we spent the next several years moving from country to country, trying to settle down in an Arab world that wouldn't renew the visas of Iraqi nationals. In each country where we lived, some aspect of our mixed Iraqi-Palestinian, Shiite-Sunni or American identity was problematic" (p. 37). Thus,

the desire to return to the homeland, or the event that caused the "exodus", whether you're an immigrant, a refugee, an exile, the idea of the home or a homeland is all-pervasive in the lives of diasporic people. In this regard, Rima Berns-Mcgown (2007) suggests that a new definition of diaspora is needed, one that is flexible enough to include all peoples who share diasporic attributes, one that allows for shifts in the identity of the diasporic population and its relationship with the wider society, and one that reflects an international system that is coping regularly and increasingly with populations' migration and resettlement. The danger with such an encompassing definition is that it becomes too broad and loses its significance and meaning. Precisely, what Baumann was criticizing, and Safran (1991) argues that not all "dispersed" minority populations can legitimately be considered diasporas" (p. 86). It is, also, important to be aware of not only who travels but, when, how and under what circumstances? (Brah, 1996, p. 182). James Clifford (1994), acknowledges that Safran's comparative approach is certainly the best way to specify a complex discursive and historical field. However, he cautions against making Jewish history and experience a definitive model. Clifford's approach emphasizes the "routing" of diaspora discourses in specific maps/histories. In contrast to "rooting" them to a specific geographical location. Diasporic subjects, he argues, are distinct versions of modern, transnational, intercultural experience. However, in order to apply the concept of diaspora analytically Safran's definition is helpful as it can be used to describe and study some specific qualities of a diaspora community. Ideal types never exist in a pure form and are always constructed for analytical purposes only (Wahlbeck, 2002). Seeing refugees as living in a diasporic relation is a way of shedding some more light on the special relationships that refugees have with both their society of origin and society of settlement (Wahlbeck, 20002).

Gilroy (1991), also, sees the concept of diaspora as contributing something valuable to the analysis of inter-cultural and trans-cultural processes and forms. Roger Brubaker (2005) is also critical of how the meaning of diaspora has been stretched so much that is has lost its usefulness. As he eloquently puts it "If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so. The term loses its discriminating power / its ability to pick out phenomena, to make distinctions. The universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora" (p. 3).

William Safran (2005) proposes that the diaspora's concern with a homeland may be manifested in instrumental ways. The instrumental way is reflected in a preoccupation with the home-lands'

language and culture. For instance, Al-Shaibi describes in detail her mother's obsession with a headdress that her grandmother left behind when they fled Palestine and her futile attempt of regaining this hair dress." Her disappointment at not being able to "inherit" her heritage, as the headdress is, one symbolic example of, has haunted me my entire life (2006, p. 47). Julia Pitner (1992), in her work on the Palestinian diaspora describes how surprised she is to learn that the Palestinians she interviews, often will name the village in Palestine they are from. "When asked, a Palestinian will tell you s/he is from a specific village in Palestine even though they may have never seen it themselves. It is passed down from generation to generation, like the land itself was before the dispersion, as an inheritance" (p. 68). There is strong emphasis on remembering the homeland and inculcating this in children and passing it on, generation after generation. Forgetting the homeland and the reason for exile is tantamount to forgetting oneself, to losing one's identity. Apart from the memory, what would tie one to a distant past and place? Or as Anthony D. Smith, a noted scholar on nationalism, concurred "One might almost say: no memory, no identity; no identity, no nation" (cited in Gil, 2004, p. 12). To remember ones' origin is to recover traces of national existence.

There is great similarity between the experience of Jews in exile and the experiences of the Palestinians, as Pitner (2007) notices "it is somewhat ironic that what was once meant to describe the Jews in diaspora can, forty-three years after the creation of the State of Israel, be said about the Palestinians" (p. 75). Just as the Jewish expulsion from the Holy land was a turning point for the Jewish diaspora, Al-Nakba is a turning point for the Palestinian diaspora. Thus, what unites diasporas are these turning points, inceptions, and exoduses. These are what shapes and comes to define their experience as a diaspora. Leaving home behind is not only disturbing and upsetting to diaspora communities but can apply to people who left to pursue better economic opportunities. As a daughter of a Thai immigrant notices "migrants always talk about the Day when they will return. My mother has spoken about that day since I arrived (Information, 2018). Hence, the notion of return and homeland does not exclusively belong to diasporas, but in contrast to ordinary migrants, a refugee is someone who has left the country of origin involuntarily and is unable to return. As Andreas Huyssen (2003) observes diaspora is based on geographic displacement.

What is central in the definition and understanding of diaspora is the orientation to the homeland as a source of identity and leaving it involuntary due to a major event like war. This understanding of the concept of diaspora is, as shown above, deeply contested and has been criticized for "rooting people" in specific places, this will be discussed later. However as important the reason for the dispersal of a group is, so are the circumstances of arriving and settling down. As Brah (1996) argues the manner in which a group comes to be "situated" through a wide variety of discourses, state policies and institutional practices is critical to its future (p. 182).

Gendered diaspora

In the concept of diaspora class, gender and other aspects are important to consider as well. Gender is imagined and lived across multiple social and spatial scales (Pessar & Mahler, 2003). Different gender norms in the Western world can be enabling but at the same constraining and difficult for immigrant women to balance. For instance, we see more Somali women expressing a desire and need to return as they find life in the diaspora "exhausting" or as entailing "double work". Apart from the gender aspect the concept of diaspora has to consider class element. "One can hardly ignore the difference between a refugee Bangladeshi or Philippine worker in Saudi Arabia and an academic capitalizing on his/her scholarship in his/her language or literature in American University" (Satchidanandan, 2001, p. 7). The experience of being in diaspora change considerably depending on the level of education, class, language proficiency and gender. Clifford (1996) observed that life for women in diaspora "can be doubly painful as women struggle with the material and spiritual insecurities of exile, with the demands of family and work and with the claims of old and new patriarchies" (p. 314). Furthermore, Clifford argues that what "distinguishes the diasporic family from other multi-local and transnational families is its pronounced orientation towards the axis of origin and return" (p. 321). The women I interviewed clearly expressed a desire to return and lamented the difficulties of child rearing and household work.

 Brah (1996) in her exploration on the concept of diaspora speaks about "homing desire". This concept is twofold as it can describe the desire for home but also the formation of a new home. As she says:

Where is home? On the one hand, home is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of origin. On other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust (Brah, 1996, p.192).

Thus, home is an origin, the place left behind, and it is the new environment and context where one is creating a new home. We can therefore speak of two homes.

To conclude this chapter on the notion of diaspora and the ways in which it can be conceptualized. It has been argued that the concept of diaspora transcends essential notions of race and ethnicity, (Gilroy, 1994). The central idea in the concept of diaspora is the forcible scattering of a people across the globe and their orientation to a homeland, and the way in which they settle down and create a home elsewhere. Similar, to many other concepts in academia, diaspora is contested, where the postmodern approach argue that it is a form of consciousness and boundaries necessarily does not have to be crossed, whereas the other approach emphasizes actual crossing of territorial boundaries and define diaspora according to certain criteria. It is the latter perspective which has been used to study how the Somalis live with the idea of home. The first approach treats diaspora as a condition (Anthias, 1998). Or as Brah (2008) calls it "diaspora consciousness" (p.26). Being forcibly removed from one's land and maintaining ties to it presumably produces some social effect in the new life-world. As Floya Anthias (1998), observes "a notion of primordial bonding seems to lie at the heart of the diaspora notion" (p. 564). This primordial bonding is closely associated with the idea of home. To understand the link, we need to define the concept of home, which is the topic of scrutiny in the next section.

Home

The notion of home has been said to be slippery and tricky (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). The concept is immensely broad and symbolic (Terkenli, 1995). Over the last two decades place, home and movement has come to be viewed as de-territorialized and unfixed. There are roughly

speaking two strands in this type of research, there is the understanding that home refers to a bounded and fixed entity whereas the other understanding sees home as ambivalent, unbonded in a "world in which movement has become fundamental to modern identity, and an experience of non-place and essential component of everyday existence" (Rapport and Dawson, 1993, p. 7). The last point of view emphasizes that with processes such as globalization, transnationalism and cultural hybridity the attachments to a home, place, nation is becoming increasingly loosened and fluid.

Aviezer Tucker (1994) has explored the meaning of home from a philosophical perspective. He argues that home is a multi- level structure that combines several single-level homes, such as an emotional home, and a geographical home. Thus, home can be conceived on different levels. Tucker refers to a former Slovakian president Vaclav Havel who regards home as an "existential experience" (p. 182). This experience can be compared to circles on various levels. "Levels, from the house, the village or town, the family, the social environment, the professional environment, to the nation including culture and language, the civic society. These levels or circles may differ in importance from person to person and change over time. At various points in one's life different circles may gain more or less importance. Hence, in this understanding home is not just the physical structure but home is a country, the family, it is, also experiences in a certain place at a particular time. In addition, home is generally considered the place where conflict is suspended, and where a private sanctuary is attainable (Klodawsky, 2012). Tucker (1994) writes that home is a place where we can be ourselves, at ease, able to express ourselves freely and secure. "Home may be an emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, a historical time and place etc., and a combination of all the above" (p. 184). In this sense, the meaning of home is immensely broad and encompasses a physical structure- the house but it is social experiences, a source of identity, a place and a nation.

Peter Somerville (1992) argues that home has six or seven dimensions of meaning identified by key signifiers. These signifiers are shelter, hearth, privacy, roots, abode and possibly paradise. Each signifier has wider symbolic meaning. For example, shelter corresponds to decent material conditions, hearth to emotional and physical well-being, paradise refers to the ideal home instead the home of everyday life, and roots which refers to a sense of individual identity and

meaningfulness. All these dimensions, Somerville argues, comprise the meaning of home. In each of its key signifiers, home is suffused with ideal meaning, for example expressed in terms of what home ought to be like. Each human being to some extent shapes the reality of their home in accordance with their ideal home.

The significance of home increases upon leaving it. Home is primarily understood in opposition to what it is not. This becomes magnified in the context of migration, where one leaves the place of birth in search for better opportunities and a place where one can be safe and secure. Mahmoud and Märtsin (2014) perceive migration to be dynamic and ambivalent in nature. To migrate is both constraining and enabling, and they suggest we move away from conceiving migration in a linear way which is rupture, shock- coping - new stable being but rather approaching it in a nonlinear way as discontinuity within continuity. This means that the experience of home is at times uncomfortable and other times it provides opportunities and security. Home is not fixed, where one feels at home or has a home can change considerably during one's lifetime. Home is a fleeting concept, it can only be momentarily grasped (Farahani, 2015). Home is an unattainable fiction, Farahani adds. Mary Douglas (1991) says "home is located in space, but it is not necessarily a fixed space" (p. 289). Sara Ahmed (1999) argues along similar lines

> Home is not a pure bounded and fixed space of belonging and identity that is as familiar as the away is both strange and inhabited by strangers. Home encompasses both movement and strangers. Home can be experienced as strange and familiar" (p. 340).

Hence, the meaning of home is very ambiguous, as home can be experienced as strange and familiar simultaneously. Ahmed problematizes the whole notion of associating home with familiarity and comfort and argues that strangeness can be encountered in one's very home. She suggests that "being at home is here a matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel" (p.341). Thus, home is about emotions, of how one feels at a certain place and time. One can be without a roof, homeless and still feel completely "at home". Ahmed (1999) argues migration is an alienating experience which can end up producing too many homes without any of them being or becoming a home. Migration involves becoming estranged from that which was inhabited as a

home. In many ways the meaning of home has to do with feelings, experiences and memories as Fereshteh (2001) suggests "feelings associated with the home are central". The meaning of home becomes salient amongst immigrants and refugees as it highlights the loss of their homeland, the country, place and community left behind, and the physical house.

Home-world and alien-world

Most migrants and refugees leave home behind simply because home ceased to be "a home". This is the perspective put forward in studies of refugees, diaspora and transnationalism/globalization, but not exclusively as it is also prevalent in feminist studies. This can in many instances increase the desire to re-create a sense of home in the new setting. For instance, the Irish community in England kept to themselves as an Irish man explains

> It was alright because we kept to ourselves. We all had our own pubs so you were always with our own Irish company..because we'd just have to craic (amusement, conversation), talk about things we could talk about..the English don't really see the ways we look at things (cited in Leavey, 2006, p.770).

Gerard Leavey (2006) argues that individuals intending to return to Ireland are unable to commit themselves to Britain. Over time the intention to return and settle in Ireland remains an unfulfilled idea. As Leavey says "living in closed Irish communities recreated a sense of home providing a sense of belonging and safety (2006, p. 771). Mahmoud (2014) points out how Sudanese migrants in Cairo burn incense and perform their ordinary habits, activities and hobbies from home, and when possible wear traditional dress. Through these actions they keep the memory of their home alive and the door to return open. Farah, the Somali author, said that he writes "in order to keep Somalia alive" and when asked about how to depict a country lost to him he answers "I keep it here" pointing to his heart (Jaggi, 2012). In other words, it exists in his imagination. Thus, home can be an imaginary concept, it is symbolic, particularly among refugees because it denotes all that is lost to them. Merritt Buyer (2008) argues that as long as refugees hold on to their identity as displaced people, they retain the possibility of going home.

Home is maintained by reproducing the past with memories and through the hope of return. "The question then of being at home or leaving home is always a question of memory, of the discontinuity between past and present (Ahmed, 1999, p. 343).

In order to gain a sense of home the body plays an important role in that process. According to Edmund Husserl the lived body is a constituting element in experience, it must play a vital role in what is perceived as normal or as alien or abnormal. (Cited in Donohoe, 2011). This point is best illustrated if we look at the individuals in the documentary *Lost Boys*. It is about young men from South Sudan who flees war, ends up in a refugee camp in Kenya and is later resettled in the US as refugees. In the documentary we see how the boys learn to ice skate and how they will fall trip and laugh hysterically at the same time. They experience being out of place in a bodily sense, it is abnormal, strange and exciting at the same time. Later in a clip we see one of the men Santino, who lives in Houston, explain how people stare at him and he becomes aware of how black he is, like "really black", as he says, even "blacker than the black people in the US" which he calls brown, and he concludes "I feel shame". One can sense how he feels physically ashamed, how he has become aware that his blackness is unusual, abnormal and this is experienced through the body. It seems Santino did not realize his blackness until being surrounded by its opposite and the negative connotations and repercussions of it in the United States. During one of the events where the boys unite, one of them says to the other "by now it's clear there's no heaven on earth". The Sudanese men believed that all their troubles would disappear once they came to the US but here they are still searching for the opportunities and hope they lacked in Sudan and Kenya. When the hopes and aspirations remain unrealized the notion of home becomes meaningful and idealized, and a gap is created between the current home and the ideal home. Janet Donohoe (2011) distinguishes between alien-world where one does not feel at home and the home-world where one feels at home, she argues that

> Home-world is the place where my body is most habituated. It is not that the home-world is thereby found to be ethically superior, it is that any other place is more or less alien by relation to and in constitution with the home-world. I am not at home when I am bodily uneasy, when my habits do not fit, or when they do not yield the results I expect" (p.33).

She also points out that we may be attracted to the alien-world precisely because it is not home. It may seem exciting and mysterious, or even more welcoming, if my own home is a place of violence or neglect. Nonetheless. Donohoe emphasizes that it does not change the role of home as home because the home-world provides a "normative power in so far as it is familiar and is the hallmark by which we measure any other place and where our experiences are typical and are in conformity with our bodily expectations" (p. 34). In the interviews the consultants will often explain situations and events in Denmark by comparing it with similar circumstances in Somalia. These two concepts home-world and alien-world are derived from Edmund Husserl and are used to describe migrants' position from the home-world (origin) to the alien-world or life-world (new environment). Home-world is drawn into relief by the experience of the alien-world. Theano Terkenli (1995) writes that the idea and experience of home becomes significant by comparing it to non-home. "With distance from home a person is temporarily or permanently dissociated from it and becomes both more conscious of its role in life and increasingly appreciative of its inherent qualities as well as its contribution to personal sustenance and psychological well-being" (p. 328). Thus, home is about one's identity, to be home involves knowing who you are, and to orient oneself to future possibilities. By leaving home one's identity and perception of the world is questioned and put under scrutiny. For example, by realizing that one is "very black" as Santino said. It is when home is lost or left behind that the meaning of home becomes relevant, contemplated upon, and yearned for. Tucker (1994) argues that most people "spend their lives in search of home, in the gap between the natural home and the ideal home" (p. 69). He goes on to suggest that this search may be a "confused search, a sentimental and nostalgic journey for a lost time and space. It may also be a religious pilgrimage or search for a Promised Land" (p. 69). The gap that Tucker points out and the search is existential because he describes the search as "confused", "sentimental" and "nostalgic". What is this search for home about, what is this pressing need that prompts the search? The question lies in the gap that Tucker pointed out. The majority of human beings seek order and harmony yet find it difficult to achieve, and this is where the gap arises. Between what is sought and what one finds.

Jackson, writes about home from a phenomenological perspective. He points out that being at home in the world is a matter of striking a balance between being able to live on one's terms and accepting the different term on which others choose to live. "We often feel at home in the world when what we do has some effect and what we say carries some weight" (cited in Mallett, 2007,

p. 80). In a similar fashion John Di Stefano (2002) states that "being at home" may have more to do with how people get along with each other, how they understand and are understood by others, as opposed to being in an actual place- so that feeling included and accounted for becomes a means of defining a sense of belonging. Being at home is a metaphor for comfort, for security, for longing, for meaning. To be at home one has to feel, to a certain degree, "a willful subject in one's home" (Hage, 2010, p. 418).

Home and Place

Despite the fact, that home has different meanings as we mentioned earlier, home can be associated with a specific place and is thus territorializing but also deeply metaphysical (Malkki, 1992). People believe that their home is located in a specific place, despite experiences of displacement and relocation. The notion of home invokes as sense of place which is intimately tied to a sense of self (Antonsich, 2010). Susanne Wessendorf (2007) in her study on second-generation Italians in Switzerland observes how the parents' longing for, and fantasies about, Italy has been transferred to the next generation. "For example, today, many second-generation Italians publicly celebrate their Italianness and they continue to visit Italy regularly" (p. 1088). Thus, place continues to be of much relevance.

Edward Casey (1993) is one of the scholars who has emphasized the importance of place. He provides a philosophical account of place, a topic which he believes has been given sparse attention in academia where the focus often has been on time and space. Although since he published his book *Getting back into place*, there has been an increasing place-awareness which Casey believes is due to various reasons which are all connected. First globalization which connects people across many cultures and emphasizes one's own place against the homogenizing force of globalization. Secondly what he calls the "massive upsurge in forced migrations" which brings the loss of place into attention as many people are in a state of "place-mourning". Hence, the importance of place is closely tied to the "upsurge in forced migrations". Casey moves away from the current fascination with homelessness, exile and displacement and emphasizes the importance and meaning of place.

 For Casey, what is important is the role of the home as hearth, as situation for living and as a foundation for identity. Who we are has to do with where we are from, "the place we occupy,

however briefly- has everything to do with what and who we are" (p.xiii). Casey notes that the first thing we ask a person when we meet them is "where are you from" (p.xiv), and "we rarely consider how frequently people refer back to a certain place of origin as to an exemplar against which all subsequent places are implicitly to be measured: to their birthplaces, their childhood home "(p.xiiv).

Hence places play a fundamental role in people's lives, it "displays an air of obviousness" (Cresswell, 1993, p. 159). The identification of the place a person is from gives a sense of the person, and we may determine whether the person is like "us" or different from us, and if we come from the same place we share a sense of kinship (Donohoe, 2014). Janet Donohoe has written about the importance of place in connection with memory and tradition. She, as Casey believes that place as a concept has long been overlooked, untheorized and forgotten (2014). According to her, place is distinct from space, place "is limited, bounded and exclusive while space is an unbounded, homogenous realm" (p.10). Donohoe emphasizes how place is intersubjective, we share places, the world with other human beings. In this regard she criticizes Casey for his individual focus on places and Donohoe is more interested in "how does something so personal become something that is collective?" (p. 12). We rarely imagine ourselves being in a place alone, it is by sharing it with other people that the place becomes meaningful and significant.

We tend to identify ourselves according to the places in which we dwell. Casey adopts this term from Martin Heidegger, who describes home in terms of our ability to dwell there. Dwelling is a basic character of being and entails a wish to belong to the environment, to be at home. Drawing further upon Heidegger's notion of being-in-the-world Casey says being-in place can best be described as being-in-the world "to be in the world, to be situated at all, is to be in place" (p.xv). For him place is paramount and foundational to the existence of human beings. Place "far from being merely locatory or situational, place belongs to the very concept of existence". (p. 15). Casey calls this implacement. To be is thus to be in place, to be implaced, which is an ongoing cultural process. "What matters most is the experience being in that place and more particularly becoming part of the place" (p.33). We are emplaced due to our bodies "we are bound by body to be in place" (p.104). Thus, our bodies orient and ground us in places and Casey observes how we do not think much about place until we become disoriented or lost "We find our way in place" (p.29). He discusses what displacement means, a term that is often used about refugees, refugees,

are people who are displaced and at some point, should return, is the common understanding. Casey argues that displacement is best understood by comparing it to implacement. He cites the example of the Native Indians in northeastern Arizona, the Navajo to illustrate how displacement works. The Navajos have been subject to displacement by the US government since 1974 where they were forcibly removed from the land they used to live in. The result of the relocation has been devastating, argues Casey. The majority of them have died from suicide "alcoholism, depression, and acute disorientation are rampant" (p.35). The forcible relocation has been traumatic and Casey attributes it to the fact that they have lost their place- their land, to the Navajos "to lose one's land is tantamount to losing one's existence (p.37). The solution for the illness, Casey proposes is "getting back into place". Hence, being out of place can make one ill, as one's identity and existence is tied to a specific place. But it is not merely a place, it is a specific place imbued with meaning. A place does not cease to be a place as long as one has been there, "it has become a place" (p.103). Because it bears the traces of our presence. Perhaps this is the nostalgic version of place, the enduring attachment to a place, long after one have left it. Historically nostalgia has been treated as a disease for example applied to Swiss soldiers in the field who were overcome with a "sad mood" and the effect it had on the morale of soldiers in general. According to Johannes Hofer the remedy was clear if all attempts of lessening the patients' obsession failed, they had to be taken home, 'however weak and feeble, without delay, whether by a traveling carriage with four wheels, or by sedan chair, or by any other means' (cited in Lems, 2014, p. 420). It is similar to the solution proposed by Casey regarding the Navajo Indians in the US- putting them back into their place. Nostalgia appears as a longing for lost places and as a longing for past times. It is originally a Greek word made up by nostos referring to the return to a native land and algos which means suffering or grief (Lems, 2014). Nostalgia is not only a glance at the past, but nostalgia can become a means of actively confronting a new place and a new time (Hage, 2010). In that sense nostalgia, Hage argues, should be seen in a more positive light as a way of engaging with the past by making sense of the future. Casey (1987) links nostalgia to place instead of linking it to past times, as he says, "It is exceedingly rare that we are nostalgic about something that is unplaced or placeless" (p. 363). In this way nostalgia is place-oriented "In being nostalgic, what we seem to miss, to lack or need, is a world as it was once established in a place" (Casey, 1987, p. 363).

Gaston Bachelard (1958) writes about home as a dwelling place, and home is intimately connected to memory. In fact, he understands the home as retaining our past and opening up an immemorial domain. He says that "our house is our corner of the world" (p.4). He goes on to say that "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (p.5). In other words, home is our point of departure, the place from which we depart unto the world, and the place to which we refer back to. Bachelard uses the word house not so much home to refer to the actual dwelling place, according to him the house is foundational "without it man, man would be a dispersed being. It maintains him through the storms of heavens and through those of life. It is body and soul. It is the human being's first world" (p.7). Referring to home as "human being's first world" is like the concept of diaspora with its emphasis on the attachment to an origin or as Erikson (1993) suggest home is the "ontological center of the world" (p. 236).

We can see that the meaning of place is very subjective, and the meaning of home is associated with a particular place as imbued with meaning. This is the understanding put forward by Casey, Donohoe, Bachelard. The other understanding of the notion of home represents it as "unfixed", a "fleeting concept", "unattainable fiction" and so on. Rather than arguing that these two notions are opposite they overlap, each position emphasizing a different aspect of the same phenomenon.

Up until now I have focused on the more experiential, emotional and metaphysical side of home in the context of migration where home is understood in relation to the opposite and absence of home. How home is related to a certain place and becomes a meaningful entity. The following section deals with the more political meaning of home. This political meaning, is best understood in the theory of nation and nationalism which also tend to be expressed in metaphysical categories.

The nation as a "home"

Another obvious meaning of home is the country, the nations-state. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2010), a Norwegian anthropologist argues that nationalism just like the idea of home "offers security and perceived stability when life-worlds are being fragmented and people are being uprooted" (p.126).

Defining nationalism is a difficult endeavor. It is a broad field with different theories and conceptualizations of the formation and origin of nations and nationalism. In this section the purpose is to explore how the concept of home is equated with the idea of a nation and the emotions, narratives and attachment that supposedly follows. It is an inclusive and exclusive concept. The aim is to explore how home is perceived in national terms, as the nation has powerful associations with particular territories and localities (Malkki, 1992).

The nation has been likened to a growing tree, a family or lineage, a village or a homestead or an individual person (Eriksen,1997). Sometimes we forget that people who arrive as refugees and migrants have a national background, that they were part of a nation with its own narrative of glory, greatness and uniqueness. These narratives do not magically disappear once they for various reasons leave their country of birth. In fact, national narratives may gain greater significance in the diaspora where one is exposed to discrimination and othering, and where one is expected to sever the links to the past. Or someone may long for a nation that has crumbled and vanished from the face of the earth but is still alive in one's imagination. Monika Palmberger (2008), in her study on nostalgia has identified a Yugo-nostalgia amongst people from the former republic of Yugoslavia where people long for Yugoslavia as a nation, and as a home. "One could say that Yugoslavia is what Aida experiences as home, but a home that no longer exists. Yugoslavia was where she felt secure and where she was able to look towards the future optimistically" (p. 364). In this case one does not need to leave a country to long for a nation, for a home, that no longer exists. In the context of Yugoslavia, the longing is primarily directed to the communist past. Hence, the idea of the nation-state addresses a fundamental need of having a secure and established identity (Riefffer, 2003). It does not necessarily have to be regarded in a purely negative, and exclusive way. The attachment to a nation can satisfy the desire to sustain a coherent identity. This can be found in the idea of a nation, which Ernest Renan (1990) believes is a "spiritual principle, it has a sentimental side to it. "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle" (pp 17-19), which possess a rich "legacy of memories" (p.19), this lies in the past and in the present is the desire to live together. "A heroic past, great men, glory- this is the social capital upon one which bases a national idea" (p.19). Thus, what constitutes a nation is a past of great memory and to have a common will in the present. Hans Kohn defines nationalism as a "state of mind, an act of consciousness" (cited in Kramer, 1998, p. 527). This points to the idea of the nation as something transcending, eternal and ahistorical. This can also be called national

memory (Poole, 2008). This type of memory often highlights the triumphs and various glorious aspect of the nation and downplays the negative aspects. Ross Poole (2008) points out that it is not surprising that the birth of the academic discipline of history coincided with the development of national self-awareness. "Many of the great historians of the nineteenth century were in the business of creating memories for the nations that were jostling for position on the stage of world history" (p. 275). Every country prioritizes its own country's narrative of greatness and glory in school and educational systems, and this is one of the reasons why the national memory becomes a presence in the life of the individual. Another reason is, that it is taught as "our" history. As Poole (2008) points out the stories that people are told introduce them to what is their past and what is not. This is repeated and circulated at every given opportunity at festivals, monuments, national holidays, museums etc. Part of the meaning of such artefacts and rituals are their reference to the nation's past. "The members of the nation know, or perhaps ought to know, how to interpret that meaning, and in so doing recognize themselves as the bearers of that memory "(Poole, 2008, pp. 275-276). As Eriksen observed "an important part of nationalism is to create a sentiment of wholeness and continuity with the past" (p. 126).

Benedict Anderson (1983), is an influential scholar on nationalism. His point of departure is that nationalism is "cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (p.4). To understand the phenomenon of nationalism better, we need to interrogate "how they come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why today they command such profound emotional legitimacy" (p.4). Anderson proposes that nationalism belongs to categories such as kinship and religion rather than with liberalism or fascism. He defines the nation as "an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". The reason why it is imagined is "because the members of the even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p.6). It is, also, imagined as a community "because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p.7). And it this community that compels millions of human beings "to die for such limited imaginings" (p.7). The answer for such sacrifices, Anderson suggest should be found in the "cultural roots of nationalism". These cultural roots, Anderson suggest is to be

found in the religious community and the dynastic realm. The decline of these cultural systems provided the historical and geographical space necessary for the rise of nations

> With the ebbing of religious belief, the suffering which belief in part composed did not disappear. Disintegration of paradise: nothing makes fatality more arbitrary. Absurdity of salvation: nothing makes another style of continuity more necessary. What then was required was a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning. As we shall see, few things were (are) better suited to this end than an idea of nation (p.11)

Ernest Gellner (1981), is another prominent scholar of nations and nationalism. He argues that the modern world is "inevitably a nationalist one" (p.761). According to Gellner nationalism is deeply embedded in the history of industrialization and capitalism, modern society, he points out, is egalitarian in the sense that it requires its citizens "to be the same kind of species" (p. 768). And when this equality fails "there is trouble" (p.768). Gellner does not believe that a people's identification with a nation is normal, natural or given, but rather it is novel and recent "modern people 'do not in general become nationalists from sentiment or sentimentality, atavistic or not, well-based or myth-founded: they become nationalists through genuine, objective, practical necessity, however obscurely recognized" (cited in O'Leary,1997, p.194). Anderson believed that "it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny" (p.12). In other words what is solely just a coincidence becomes infused with inherent meaning, "for the nationalists, nationality is an inherent attribute of the human condition" (Ôzkirimli, 2000, p.53). Thus, through the artifacts, rituals, and the active fostering of a collective memory the individual becomes part of the national community and this opens "up an emotional world far richer than that available to the solitary individual" (Poole, 2008, p. 276). Liisa Malkki (1992) observed that nationalism beside from being merely territorializing is also deeply metaphysical. She cites examples such as the act of kissing the ground when one has been away from the "national soil" (p.27), for a long time. Or how the body or ashes of a deceased person is brought back to the homeland. Nationalism can be interpreted in abstract and even existential ways. Andre Gingrich (2006) claims that nationalist ideologies "always claim to pursue eternal and unique values" (p. 198), which conjures up religious connotations. In such an understanding, no one would want to migrate and leave behind their "home", the place where one belongs. As a Somali man in the

interview said, "I never intended or imagined to become a refugee". It illustrates how even the thought is appalling and dreadful. As if "the moment he has no fatherland he is no more; if not dead, he is worse off than dead." (Kaplan, 1981, p. 17).

Ideas about home has major public and political relevance and "the home is also a site of politics" (Hollow cited in Boccagni, 2017, p. 90). Whether migrants can claim a place as their home depends in large on the climate of majority-minority in a given context. Home is also where one wishes to keep "strangers" and "intruders" out, where boundaries are sharply drawn. As in the ad the Australian government put up in 2014 to warn refugees from seeking asylum "no way you will not make Australia home" (Laughland, 2014). Gingrich (2006) argues that most forms of nationalism aggressively construct and mobilize for an "emotionalized us" (p.199). Thereby downplaying any internal conflicts among the imagined "us". Gullestad (2002) in her research on the immigration debate in Norway argues that in Norway there is a tendency to imagine the nation as a moral community, based on family metaphors and generalized kinship and in this context the nation is perceived like a home where the host are the native Norwegians and the immigrants are guest. This implies that the immigrants are at the mercy of the natives and a hierarchy is established. Such understandings are prevalent in Danish society as well. In the Danish context the idea of the nation is built on metaphors of lineage, family relations and tribal affiliation which are quite abstract and at the same concrete in its reference to blood and pus (Olwig, 2008). In this form of nationalism immigrants are asked to become Danish, Norwegians etc., but it is simultaneously understood that this is not something they can achieve. It is a paradox. The very idea of the nation rests upon the assumption that it is threatened by a looming foreign world. Homi Bhabha argues that there "is a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation" (Cited in Kramer, 1997, p.537). Nationalism is thus a history of conflicts over competing narratives that seek to define a social community. More specifically, it is a history of contestation between those who seek a fully coherent narrative of the community's existence and those whose presence, ideas, color or culture undermine the possibility of that coherence (Kramer, 1997). Nations and nationalisms, in this view, repeatedly face a dialectical struggle between the quest for coherence or unity and the inevitable frustration of that quest by the challenge or complexity of difference. There would be no meaning in the search for unity within a nation or against other nations if the difference did

not exist; nationalisms depend on difference. It is therefore the presence of "otherness" that both fuels the desire for a fully coherent nation and at the same time makes it impossible for that totalizing desire to be fulfilled (Kramer, 1997).

In the Third World nationalism has been associated with modernization, progress and development, as we will later see this was the case with Somalia where nationalism was equated with being modern and progressive. As O'leary (1997) notes "nationalists believed that nationalism would assist modernization in the way that it had the British, the Americans, the French, and the German". (p.205). In this way nationalism was much like an enlightenment project that would drive the Third World nations towards the level of prosperity they witnessed in the West. However, the modernization project was more successful in dismantling traditional structures rather than replacing them with enduring modern replacements (Soltan, 1997).
The concept of the nation-state suggests the identification between a people and the governing body which rules them (Soltan, 1997). This is the identification which has been tried to be forged in the Third World where people do not easily identify with their rulers. The essence of nation-building process is the presence of conflicting identities, and Soltan (1997) argues that conflicting identities and the oscillation among them is a phenomenon that can be seen throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The Islamic phenomenon in the Middle East is a strong one which searches for a common political identity due to the lack of legitimacy the nation-state suffers in the region

The essentialist understanding of nationalism where ethnic and national identities are taken for granted and seen as static and fixed, has been undermined in the last couple of decades by an increasing number of studies which underline how ethnic and national identities are constructed. And by how boundaries are continuously negotiated and redefined in each generation as groups react or adapt to changing circumstances (Özkrimli, 2000). Nevertheless, the understanding of home as linked to the idea of the nation-state as something metaphysical, eternal and primary is powerful and enduring.

So far, we have established how the concept of home is multifaceted and have a wide range of meanings, and is strongly connected to place, and how home can be perceived in national terms.

In the next chapter I will analyze the interviews based on the theories examined so far and with an existential focus. The existential focus will primarily be applied in the sections on alienation and patience where I zoom in on the stories narrated by Faduma and Luul.

Analysis

Remembering Somalia as a home, a nation, a place

Places, homes, have a particular historical and temporal background (Sixsmith, 1986). I want to look at the particular historical and temporal background that Faduma and Abdi Hajji are narrating. The places they describe and the life they had in those places does not exist anymore. The government of Siyad Barre, the last president of Somalia before the civil war, and his reign which they talk about extensively in the interviews, are relics of the past. The past is remembered vividly and missed, and the past is hold up as a contrast to the present which they describe as a "mess" or "dirt". Gilroy (1994) claims that in the diaspora experience, the co-presence of "here" and "there" is articulated with an anti- teleological, sometimes messianic temporality. Linear history is broken, the present constantly shadowed by a past that is also a desired, but obstructed. One of the defining criteria for the concept of diaspora is the forcible removal from one's homeland. In general, the Somalis fled their country because of the civil war. They often emphasize that they did not leave their country out of free will. Abdi Haji for example says "it was never my dream or intention to become a refugee, it is not something that you imagine. It never crossed my mind to leave Somalia". His way of life in Somalia, according to Abdi Haji, was beautiful, peaceful and full of opportunities. Much of his dreams were tied to Somalia. "It never crossed his mind to leave Somalia" he formulated it as if Somalia was the best place in the world, nothing else could measure up. He explained in detail that he enjoyed a higher standard of living in Somalia, compared to Denmark. "The system (Nidhaam) in Somalia was like the Danish, if not even better, I would say. Life in Somalia was quite progressive". Abdi Haji came from a wealthy family, his father was a businessman with three wives. In Somalia, it is common for a man to have more than one wife, as they follow the Islamic code the number cannot exceed

four wives at any one time. However, the number of wives depends on how rich and successful a man is (Lewis, 2008). Hence, being married to more than one wife is a sign of status and wealth. Abdi Haji also mentions that he went to a daycare which only the wealthy had access to. He travelled to India and Saudi Arabia where he worked and studied psychology. He said he "lived in a castle" in Somalia, he showed me pictures of his life in Somalia, and pointed out how well-dressed he was, how beautiful the house was. He spoke about the trip to the beach every Friday with his family. He continuously stressed how advanced and prosperous his life was, and that is linked to how Somalia as a state, a nation was perceived to be progressive, prosperous and modern, at that point in time. The memories of the past are being contrasted with the present, by contrasting their past with the present they implicit highlight their current abnormality, lack of security and control. This instability is a common feature of the lives of the displaced (Mirchneck and Kabachnik, 2010). Nauja Kleist (2010) interviewed a woman who, like Abdi Haji, narrates that "if one has the money, one lives very well. My family in Somalia lived in a big apartment, six rooms" (p.53). Somali refugees tend to be surprised and taken back by a life where their former status and wealth has no meaning and is to no avail.

Abdi Haji continuously contrast the present state of Somalia with the time when it was peaceful, during the reign of Barre. He mentions several times how progressive Somalia was, and progressive meant that men and women were equal, that women did not wear the veil. Lewis (2008) writes that women, particularly among the nomads, are traditionally not veiled and enjoy a considerable amount of movement and independence. He also notes that women in Somalia "tend to be forceful characters who often exercise more influence than appears on the surface" (p. 13). Lewis also contributes the wearing of the veil to fundamentalist influence which he says became common in the 1980s. Abdi Haji believes that the "Islamic revival" in Somalia is alien and strange, as he explains

> There was no head covering, all this stuff came after the war. The girls would wear afros and pants. There was no injustice or discrimination towards women, like it is today. The nomadic women had bare arms and braided the hair. The hijab and the jilbaab were not a Somali tradition, they were not. It came from somewhere else. We don't know what it is and where it came from.

Lewis (2008), notes that Somalis are "firmly attached to Islam" (p.16), and because of trading connections to the Arabian Peninsula, the Somalis were converted to Islam at an early date. Religion played a role and was part of everyday life, but not a dominant and pervasive one. Abdi Haji grew up in a society where women were not veiled and perceives the veil to be imposed from the outside. Thus, his perception corresponds with that of Lewis. Farah voices a similar view when in an interview he narrates how he was once attacked online for insisting the "Afghan-type body tent is not culturally Somali (..) My mother never wore a veil, nor my sisters. They said my mother was not a Muslim". (The Guardian, 2012). There is a confrontation between what "Somali" and "Muslim" means and the ways in which religious symbols and traditions should be interpreted and the role it should play in the public sphere. According to the interviews and particularly in the accounts of Faduma and Abdi Haji the period of Barre was a great period of progress and wealth where religion did not play a dominant role.

 Barre had been a police inspector during the British Military Administration (Lewis, 2008), he had been in Italy where he had studied politics. In October 1969 Siyad Barre seized power and set up a Marxist state (Wall Street Journal, 1993). This Marxist state which Lewis calls "scientific socialism" was an attempt, a strategy aimed at abolishing traditional clan divisions and strengthening the nation. It was an attempt of nation-building after independence from colonial rule. Nation-building is the effort to forge a national identity that can unite disparage people. This means that the clan affiliation had to be erased and the Somalis should pledge loyalty to the nation- state. Islam and clan membership were regarded as obstacles to achieving Somali nationalism. In fact, an observer in Somalia in the 1970s, at the height of the "social revolution" said "the world of "sheiks and warriors," the world of Somali tradition, has reached the end of the road" (Davidson, 1975, p. 25). This was the spirit of those time, a spirit of becoming modern, progressing and leaving "traditions" and Islam behind. Islam was politically regarded to be a threat to the path towards modernity as well as the clans.

Abdi Haji explained that in Somalia it was forbidden to mention your clan

> We were told that we were one nation. The clans didn't use to fight, this is something that the British brought with them. Of course, there were clans, the Darod, the Hawiye but it was not an issue. However, when the British arrived they used the clan affiliation to cause division and hatred amongst us. Bear in mind, that all these clan married, in a family, your

mother was for example Dulbahante, your father was Isaq and so on. We lived together and married across clan ties. After the war, the clan became the dominant affiliation and topic. I didn't like it.

Interestingly, Abdi Haji says that we were *told*, implying that the notion of a nation came from somewhere else, and the Somalis somehow needed to be convinced of this matter. Gerald Hanley, writes in his memoir about the tribe Mijertein and their pride.

> The pride the Mijertein tribes take in being of the Mijertein, the most barren of all the Somali desert, it is as if that territory was the garden of Eden itself. They always speak of it as a place in which you can get anything and everything, in which a man wants for nothing, in which men know the meaning of plenty. Down south, on the Juba where the trees drip bananas, lemons, pawpaw, where the thick soil pushes up every kind of vegetable, where the small, fat, black men can eat chicken, eggs, beef and have never been without a drink of water, I have heard the Mijiertein askaris (soldiers) sneering at all this, and telling the local ´slave people´ that until they see the Mijertien they do not know what living is (p.56).

Hanley laughs at the pride and boastfulness of this tribe but the reason I have included this rather long passage from his memoir is that he made these observations among the Somalis during the 1st world war and it confirms the claim that Abdi Haji makes that they were "told" they were a nation, that this was something that was forged and imposed and that the clan division and pride the Somalia exhibit is to a certain extent real. Omar Mansur (1998) contends that the concept of a nation did not in fact exist; even though all were part of the same ethnicity with a unique language, the Somalis had always been divided into numerous clans, always in conflict over wells, pastures, and stolen animals. After all, before independence in 1960, there had been no such thing as a united Somalia or a cohesive Somali state (Simons, 1991). Lewis (1989) notes that is was also a criminal offence to exhibit "tribalistic behavior" (p. 573). The clan discussion is very much contested in scholarly circles as well as among the Somalis, this comes to the surface in the interviews as well. Faduma recognizes the clan as a source of power, for instance she mentions that when she was searching for a job, after high school she knew that in order to get a job "you have to know someone. That meant someone from your clan had to be in the

government if you wanted to work there". Fortunately for Faduma this was the case for her and she acquired a job at the immigration office, due to clan affiliations. In contrast Abdi Haji underscores the significance of clan membership during his time in Somalia but recognizes the power it acquired when the war broke out: "after the war, the clan became the dominant affiliation and topic. I didn't like it". Lewis pointed out that the concept of clan in Somalia is something that can be mobilized to acquire power, or it can be channeled positively, depending on the context. Habib (1996), the Lebanese scholar who fled the civil war in Lebanon similarly observes how the civil war in Lebanon brought forward "ethnic and religious labels that suddenly had a strange and disturbing resonance" (p. 98). In times of war the moral and social order is suspended and it is this very suspension of normal moral constraints that opens a space for both aberrant and exemplary behavior (Jackson, 2013). Arguably, the clan affiliation assumed a different character when the war broke out.

Nonetheless, the point here is not deciding on the significance and relevance of clan loyalty in Somalia but to demonstrate how it is perceived and understood by the participants and that the story of the Somali nation and the role the clan plays, are not entirely agreed upon. Safran argued that a diaspora had a collective vision, memory or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements. Although Faduma and Abdi Haji share many assumptions about how great and progressive Somalia was, there are differences as to the role and significance of clan affiliation. In Safran's definition the diaspora also has narratives about periods of glory and tragedy. In the interviews all agree that the tragedy is the war that broke out and ended their stable and secure life. However, it was only Samira that experienced the war in its initial state. Faduma managed to get out just before the war and Abdi Haji was in Saudi Arabia. As a Somali woman once remarked to me- it was the wealthy who had the means, connections and asset to leave, and the poor remained. The period of glory is the period where Barre was in power, and this assumption is not only based on the accounts from the interviews but is a perception shared by the majority of Somalis, particularly those who lived during that time and later fled, and in the literature.

That period was the period of nation-building in which Safiya, Faduma and Abdi Haji participated in actively. At that time the government of Barre initiated many national campaigns and one of those was against tribalism, for instance Lewis (2008) argues that the word jalle which means friend or comrade was officially launched as the approved term of greeting and

address to replace the traditional terms, uncle and cousin "with their unacceptable clan allusions" (p.39). Even whole regions were renamed to exclude clan names, for example Mijertaeinia became Bari. Craig Calhoun (1993) argues that in the course of modernization it was necessary to identify individuals with the nation rather than tribe or other section.

Lewis (2008) described the modernization project of Barre as an assault on the traditional structure of society in an effort to secure modernization. Proponents of nationalism often attempt to make national identities trump any other sort of group identities and link individuals directly to the nation. This means that now everyone is first and foremost a Somali. This was a doctrine that Barre endorsed strongly: "Siyad repeated in lecture after lecture that there was only one true, universal" scientific socialism"; the other versions one encounters on the continent as African or Islamic socialisms were fake and dangerous" (cited in Adam, 1994, p. 204). Nationalism Calhoun (1993) points out

> Involves a distinctive new form of group identity or membership. It is a new rhetoric of belonging to large scale collectivities. This depends on new forms of collective imagination, and also on communications capacities and social organizational conditions that encourage a sense of identity with large populations of distant and largely anonymous others. (p. 230).

Thus, the time of Barre was a time where he struggled to turn the Somalis into an "imagined community", and this meant erasing the clan affiliations, increasing literacy and introducing Somali as a written language in Latin, instead of Arabic and Somali. Calhoun argues that language plays a crucial role in nationalism, and language may be an invitation to unite, as Renan (1882) noted, but it does not compel a people to do so. Similarly, Anderson (1983) points out that it is a mistake to treat languages as emblems of nation-ness, because the "most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular identities" (p.133).

Abdi Haji explained that when he began in school they used to be taught in Arabic or Italian. It was later that he began to be instructed in Somali. Lewis notes that the decision to introduce Somalia as a written script was quite controversial "previous civilian governments had never had to courage to decide on and implement a script for the national language" (p. 41). Before 1972

Somalia had no official writing system for its language (Mansur, 1998). Before that the only written language was Arabic which had been used for centuries. Hence, it was in 1972 that Somali became the official language and where nation-building became a grand strategy pursued tirelessly by the Siyad regime. The creation of a nation, to embark on nation-building is inherently a modern endeavor. State building produces a basic discontinuity with earlier forms of social organization (Calhoun, 1993). Calhoun also observes how people in France did not speak French until the late nineteenth century, "and only after the imposition of often-resented educational uniformity" (p. 227). Thus, the process of acquiring a common language was not easily attained and, in many cases, ruthlessly imposed and hotly contested

Faduma participated directly in the literacy campaign administered by the government:

> When I finished high school I immediately joined a group of people that would be sent to the countryside to teach people how to read and write the Somali language. We used to gather under a tree and the whole neighborhood would join us there and we would have our lessons like that. This was a program set up by the government to increase the literacy rate in the country, in 1974. The program was undertaken by high school graduates so every year all the graduates would be sent out on those programs to spread literacy in Somalia. I graduated in 1982/1983, we had a uniform we had to wear during the programs. It was a khaki shirt and khaki shorts.

Safiya also mentioned the literacy campaign, she did not participate in them but remembers clearly how Barre "announced" that the Somali language should be the national script.

> It was when Siyad Barre came into power that he said, "everybody has to write and read in Somali", I don't remember the year it was. But in our class, they decided that we would continue to be taught in Italian until we graduated as not to confuse us, but the use of the Italian language was slowly dying out, and English was replacing it. I remember my sister was taught in English. So Siyad Barre in 1972 announced that now the Somali language had to be written down. What he did was send all students from high school from Xamar to the countryside, when do the nomads have time for this, they are busy taking the animals

from place to place? But the students had to do this, and the people on the countryside were not fond of this idea. They would summon everybody in the town out in the evenings and sit down under a tree and then the adults would be taught how to write Somali. The campaign took place in the cities as well, I remember how in every neighborhood people were called out to sit under a tree and have lessons.

In the narration of Safiya it was a time of great change which was amazing and surprising. A program on BBC called witness investigates the literacy campaign set in motion by the government of Barre. They note that is was unusual to send high school students out on these campaigns. The problem was that 90% of the population was illiterate and most of them was nomads. More than 25.000 was sent out to the countryside. "It is 1974 and the radio stations are full of songs, poems and news informing the Somalis about the military government plans". The campaign was modelled on a similar campaign carried out in the Soviet Union in the 1930, and the one in Cuba initiated by social governments. The aim of these campaigns was to consolidate support among the poor, disadvantaged and non-urban group (Hoben, 1988). This is the reason why the students from the cities were sent out to the countryside but also "to increase appreciation of the economic and social problems of the poor among those who were better off (Hoben, 1988, p. 112). The other reason was to promote national unity and pave way for economic development (Hoben, 1988).

The BBC program interviewed one of those students who were sent to the countryside Abdirahman who said, "everybody was thinking and talking about the campaign, nothing else". He was a schoolboy in the town of Beledweyn in Mogadishu and says that the whole schools across the country was closed for the 7-month period the campaign was held. It was not easy going to the countryside as Abdirahman says "the danger was crocodile, malaria, lions, everything was dangerous". Behind the campaign was what BBC calls a "huge propaganda effort" to cheer on the 25.000 teachers and civil servants sent out on this task, and there was a "surge of patriotic feeling". Abdirahman notes how when they came home after the campaign was greeted as "heroes. "You're feeling, you're doing the right thing, the correct thing and you feel like a national hero" (BBC Witness). Hoben (1988) observers that "there is no doubt that the campaign then fostered a strong sense of purpose and commitment among the students, teachers, and officials involved, and it contributed to a spirit of national unity" (p.118). This is the

metaphysical side of nationalism, the "emotionalized us" (Gingrich, 2006), where the one feels a great sense of purpose and meaning in participating in national activities.

At one point, Abdirahman, the student on the literacy campaign, missed his home and family and tried to go back home when he was arrested and sent back to the village. The journalists remarked "it was very strict", and this aspect of the government of Barre was brought up several times.

A "strict" government

The interviews describe in detail the government and governance of Barre, as the great period in the history of Somalia. Particularly the participants emphasize that the government was feared and quite repressive, as Faduma narrates

> People were surveyed and controlled very much. You couldn't say or do whatever you wanted. The people responsible for this work were like some sort of secret police. You didn't know who they were, they could be everywhere. And they used to have different cars and follow people around. Often you wouldn't notice them as they walked around ordinary people. But in the middle of the night or all of the sudden they will arrest a person after having monitored that person for some time. This is how the country was run, it was tightly controlled. It's not like the mess we are in today, it wasn't. From land to coast, everything was controlled and surveyed, from land to coast. We even had check-points for entering every region and city. If you were going from Hamar (Mogadishu) to Puntland there were checkpoints. You'll be stopped over and checked and then you could enter the city. You just couldn't travel around and enter cities randomly, no everything and everyone was checked, the care you drove, the goods you were carrying, you yourself. The checking and controlling was immense. Nothing went unnoticed. The government was strong and strict.

Most people dislike dictatorships and would resent to live in a country where freedom of movement and expression is curtailed. Lewis has referred to Barre as a despotic ruler. However, Faduma stresses the "strictness" of Siyad Barre as admirable. Whatever fault Barre's government had committed it fades in comparison to the "mess", as Faduma puts it, that Somalia are in today. Samira also talked about Barre and how he had warned the Somalis from removing him from power and quoted him directly "I am leaving a country behind, but I am not leaving a people behind". He is known as the person who held the country together. Safiya remarked how he had been able to hold the Somalis together, and when Barre came into power created a local hall in every neighborhood in order to unite and mobilize the people

> Siyad Barre was very firm, he mobilized people, before he came to power there were no local halls were people could gather around certain activities, he built all that. We used to have festivals near the parliament, there was a stadium there, and lights would be lit all over the city, like they do here when it is Christmas time, we would do that during Eid and on Independence Day

There is a clear national rhetoric in the stories that Faduma, Abdi Haji and Safiya narrates, one can sense the pride and reverence for the Somali state during the time of Siyad Barre. In the literature the government of Barre is described as a dictatorship, but in the accounts of Faduama and Abdi Haji the government is not referred to as a dictatorship but as an entity who held the country together and provided opportunities, and access to great wealth and power. They consistently use the word 'we´, for instance as Abdi Haji narrates

> *We* had large plantations and *we* cultivated most of the land. *We* had these two rivers...Shabelle and Juba, in the south. So, the soil was very fertile. Do you know that Somalia has the longest coastline? There are places in Somalia that is, still to this day, undiscovered and inhabited

Erel (cited in Chan, 2017), claims that the use of 'I' and 'we' interchangeably in life stories narratives highlights the intentions of immigrant participants in proclaiming their individual and

collective identities. Immigrant interviewees often use an individualistic identity when they are only partially integrated and accepted by the dominant ethnic group but use 'we' when they want to create an (imagined) community, claiming their individual opinions as representative of collective perspectives of the community. Thus, the use of we in this context represent the imagined homeland as something dear and belonging to the Somalis. One can almost sense the awe and fascination with which Abdi Haji talks about Somalia as he used word as "undiscovered" and "inhabited" which conjures up images of a land filled with "honey and milk". Jackson (2013) observes for how many Palestinian refugees the lost homeland was a place where the" well-water was sweet, the sky always blue and the streets filled with laughter". But there is an ambivalence about the homeland as Geshekter (1985) points out

> Sometimes they allege that when "the Prophet, angry and without shoes, passed through our land, he cursed it; hence the scourges of drought, stones, and thistles." Other times, Somalis wistfully refer to it as a "blessed land teeming with mystic herds of camel attended by benevolent genies who lavish gifts of stock on the impoverished. Such extravagant prose aside, Somali self-confidence - even haughtiness - springs from a belief that no matter how desolate and forlorn it may appear to outsiders, this is their land (p. 14).

Here again, we see the nationalist language occurring "their land" which shows the power of place as it evokes a strong sense of attachment. Casey pointed out that one of the symptoms of displacement "nostalgia is one of the most revealing" (p.37). This point to the fact that the lost homeland, recent history exists in a space of thought and ideas that is largely created by stories. Stories are an essential part of the exile ideology and remind immigrants of their cultural heritage and the value of state independence (Bela and Zirtnite, 2007). The value of government, the ´strictness´ of Siyad Barre become cherished and valuable. Faduma and Abdi Haji consistently use the word "nidhaam" which I translate as a system. Of course, this is done in contrast to the present which is described as a "mess" or "dirt". The present is the absence of a system, of a nidhaam. It is just chaos and disorder as Abdi Hajji said in the interview. This word nidhaam, is an Arabic word which means system, order or method (Arabic-English dictionary) for example Nidhaam ul Islam, the system of Islam. The way in which the past is narrated is in the light of the present circumstances of Somalia, the war, the famine(s) the emergence of Al-Shabaab,

piracy. Thus, the past becomes magnified and, to a certain extent, greatly idealized in light of current misfortunes. Because now, there is no nidhaam, there is no state to enforce order. Anna Simons (1994) points out how we would like to believe that nation-states evoke order, that they are fixed with clear boundaries, but it may rather be that

> We are slowly coming to realize that our fixed forms do hold the potential for becoming unfixed, and that many may never have been fixed enough for legions of individuals to begin with-or, alternatively, were far too literally fixed (p. 822).

Human beings expect society to have order and stability, as if society had been made especially for them (Edgar; Sedwick, 2002). But the order underpinning societies are fragile as Safiya says; Barre were the only that had been able to "keep the Somalis together". The order and stability embodied by Barre was short-lived and fragile. Mohamed Ingiriis (2016) shows how present and past attempts at state-building in Somalia is based on imitating, or what he calls mimicking, the governance of Barre.

> People and power brokers in Somalia and in diaspora have strong nostalgia for the Somali state after many years of protracted conflict because the past looks wonderful in contrast with the present. Its longevity, to say nothing of the lack of any state structures for decades, makes the military regime the only reference to, and model for, attempts at state-reformation processes" (p. 61).

Barre was equal to nidhaam, to order, he was the "father of the nation", he was the state.
 A very common phrase that one hears Somalis utter regularly is markaannu dowladda ahayn (when we were the government) (Ingiriis, 2016). Note how Ingiriis also translates it as "we", he also cites, interesting examples from a live Somali talk-show television debate where viewers express their nostalgia for the government of Barre. For example, a Somali caller advised the government "Maxamed Siyad Barre inay tusaale ka dhigato o isagoo kale[na] in la helo" (to make Mohamed Siad Barre an example and embodiment of governance. Or as a woman called in and prayed for "tiiyoo kale Allow noogu beddel" (O Allah, grant us a government like the previous one). (Ingiriis, 2016, p. 65). On Facebook there is a page dedicated to the remembrance

of Barre, on this page there is picture of him, in his uniform and underneath it says Aabihii Umada Somaliyeed (The father of the Somali nation). On that page Barre is continually addressed as the father of the Somali nation. In the essentialist understanding of nationalism, one of the element is a national hero. The Somalis in the diaspora, who experienced a peaceful Somalia and participated in acts of nation-building such as the literacy campaign, Barre is the national hero. Annika Lems (2014) in her research on Somalis in Melbourne said that a Somali woman, Halima, often told her how, only 16 years old, she had been deeply impressed by Barre's promise to establish a country that was built on the national unity of all Somalis, regardless of their clan-affiliation (p. 330).

The stories of the past narrated by the Somalis consist in large of positive stories. Somalis before the civil war, in the period of Barre is perceived to be modern and progressive, and something that ought to be brought back. Memories ignite our imaginations and enable us to vividly recreate our recollections of home as a haven filled with nostalgia, longing, and desire (Agnew, 2005). These memories are as much about the present and future as they are about the past. This brings us to the next section where we look at the notion of return which was one of the defining criteria of a diaspora.

Return

In Safran's model of how to define diasporas, the fourth criteria were that diaspora people should regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate. Some, though not all, versions of diasporas accentuate the possibility and desirability of return. They may or may not recognize the difficulty of this gesture (Gilroy, 1994). When we speak of returning, we are referring to the future, to hopes and aspirations which is set against the present, the here and now. Thus, the hopes and dreams for the future must be seen in relation to current conditions and circumstances which may or not enable a return. The notion of return reveals more about current circumstances than it does about future aspirations, which serves to keep one motivated and committed. In a study of Ellen Silveria and Peter Allebeck (2001), they examine the health conditions of older

Somali men, and they have a brief chapter titled "dream of home return" where a participant said, "the aim was to work, make money and go back home, we never settled in this country" (p. 313). In the conclusion of their study, Allebeck and Silveria argue that "perhaps measures that enable older Somalis to accomplish their wishes of returning home might, where feasible, be valuable in the light of the findings" (p. 319). Thus, going home was an important goal, going home is something that migrant and refugees often imagine and plan towards. Home is at once a memory and a hope (Mallet, 2004).

In the interview with Faduma, she says that she misses Somalia immensely and plans to return

> I think about it all the time. Particularly now that my children have grown up and are pursuing their studies. I think about returning, if my eldest daughter gets married and my son gets into university, I would love to return to Somalia. This is what I would love to do. Even if I have to start all over again, maybe I will open a small shop, or maybe I have to start selling tomatoes at the marketplace, whatever it is. I don't even want my children to support me financially, I still think I could accomplish something and get far in Somalia. If I'm healthy and have the will I can do anything. I can rebuild a new life. I have high aspirations. I want to build a house for my grandchildren in Somalia. I want to renovate my childhood house so we all can live there together. I will build it in two floors and the first floor we will put it up for rent and the second we will live there ourselves. This is my dream, this is my plan.

Somalia is envisaged as an opportunity now that the children have grown up and are pursuing studies at universities. It is an opportunity to "accomplish something" an attempt to "rebuild a new life". The desire to return becomes urgent and possible now that her children are grown and independent, but as we also saw with the story of Rashid's parents the dream is to return with the children. It is a collective dream. For example, Faduma explained that she had planned this with her oldest daughter, that they would start saving money to renovate her childhood home. In this case it is a concrete plan that she is working towards, whether it will be realized or not. The hopes and dreams of the parents always include the children- whether they like it or not. For immigrant parents their retirement is their children, in Denmark most people save for their retirement but for most immigrant parents, their insurance against the pains of old age is their

children. It is a duty and obligation, as Faduma expressed it. She took care of her parents until they passed away and only then did she begin to build a life for herself. This notion went without any questioning. Sharmani Al-Mulki (2006) notes that in the diaspora children become an important form of social capital. She argues that "socializing children into devoted family members who can be depended on long term, becomes very significant in the diaspora" (p. 62). What is significant here is children who can be relied upon. In my conversations with Faduma she explained how several families in her area had relocated to Egypt with their children because the children had become "unruly". The expression in Somali for this practice is "dhaqan celis" which literally means "back to culture". It is an attempt to align children with Somali values and roots. Mulki (2006) argues in her study on transnational Somali families in Egypt that the mothers diligently teach the Quran to their children, not as a matter of religious devotion but rather "as an issue of raising their children to be thoughtful and sensitive to their families' needs and concerns" (p. 63). By teaching them the Quran they hope that the children will become obedient to their parents. Thus, the aim is obedient children- who, perhaps, will be obedient enough to follow the dreams of their parents.

Faduma also spoke about her ex-husband who had returned because "this life did not suit him", and now he lives comfortably in Somalia. The dream of returning, the plan to return can be conceived as some sort of utopia and what is utopia if not this universal search for what is missing from our lives and the hope that we may finally get our due (Jackson, 2013). By returning, order is restored and what is lost is gained. This is what the Jews in Europe dreamt of, next year in Jerusalem (Jackson, 2013). The goal of a refugee, or someone living in exile is not a new country, rather they wish to return to their original homeland, even if this goal turned out to be symbolic (Bela, Zirtne, Garda-Rosenberga, 2016).

When I asked Faduma, if she had always thought about returning or whether the thought or plan arrived later she answered, "our suitcases were packed from the beginning, we were ready to leave at any time". Hence, the dream of returning never faded and was kept in the mind as a motivation. Wessendorf (2007) operates with the notion of roots-migrants/migration in relation to second-generation Italians who live in Switzerland. The desire to return to the country of origin is an important characteristic of the individuals' identities. The dream was passed on to the children who became very national in their Italian identity and some of them returned permanently to settle in Italy. A crucial part of this plan, is owning property. This was crucial in

the story of Rashid's parent, the dream of returning involves the building of property. This is the case with all the interviewees as well. Luul who came here recently had already made plans for buying a piece of land to build a house.

However, it is not all Somalis who entertain the thought of return. In order to return, one must believe that something better is waiting. Safran (1991) argues that the return of most diasporas can be seen as a largely eschatological concept: "it is used to make life more tolerable by holding out a utopia—that stands in contrast to the perceived dystopia in which actual life is lived" (p. 94). Arguably, one thinks of returning as the current condition deteriorates or falls shorts of the expectations and hopes one might have had. In addition, we need to remind ourselves that utopia means no place from the Greek words ou and topos (place) (Jackson, 2013).

Abdi Haji mocks the idea of returning, as he recognizes this yearning but finds it unrealistic

> I don't think about going back. No. In the beginning when we first came, everybody said we're going home. The people who said it then, are still here today. I ask them, "when are you going back". And they reply that they are still intending to go back. They're just lying to themselves. All these people who are buying property and everything, they're fooling themselves. What is there to go back to you? All these properties that are being built and sold, who is going to live in them. My sister and my mother went back to Somalia. They live there now, but what sort of life do they have when it is so insecure, with the explosions.

Clearly, Abdi Haji harbors no illusions about returning, to him is a matter of security. However, later he told me that he is ill and demonstrated how he was unable to stretch his arms fully, and lift things. He also added that when a place has no access to healthcare, decent education, and employment then it is silly to think about returning. He had plans of buying a house in Denmark and was very much invested in his family. His imagined future did not lie with his lost homeland it rather lies with his children

> I decided a long time ago to focus and invest in my family. I remember my father told me, long time ago, that I should be careful about what I invest my time, money and energy into.

If I invest in a building (points at the wall), the wall can be teared down. I decided to invest in my children, and it seems to be paying off. I have eight children. All of them went to private school, it was expensive, but I choose to invest in them. If you invest in your children, you don't need to worry, you will live like a king.

A similar statement is echoed by a Palestinian "If I put my money into a building, the building can be razed in a war or it can be confiscated. But, if I put it into educating my son, no one can take that education away from [him] (cited in Pitner, 1991, p. 72). For the Palestinians, as well as for the Somalis education becomes paramount. Julia Pitner argues that this is a typical trait for any diaspora (1992). If one is unable to return they may put their imagined future into the hands of their children and as Abdi Haji said, "live like a king", and in a "castle" which is how Abdi Haji described his house in Somalia. He imagines recreating the same life in Denmark through his children who he has "invested" so much in. He spoke about his plan to buy a home in Denmark, which shatters any dream or hope of returning to Somalia, but it transforms that dream into a dream that can be realized in Denmark. Returning to one's place of origin or the place one left involuntarily may in many cases be impossible, or require another adaptation process, as the literature on return migration illustrates. Casey (1993) discusses the concept of home-coming and gives the example of Odysseus who when he comes back to his home kingdom of Ithaca is struck by the changes he observes and "Odysseus evinces unwillingness to live with such disturbing differences and an insistent desire to return to the status quo" (cited in Casey, 1993, p.274). The place is recognizable but still very different, because it has changed while one was away, journeying, migrating or fleeing.

By coming home I effect a series of special alliances: with those who still remain there; with those who were once there but are now dead or departed; with my own memories, with my own current self, disparate as it doubtless is from the self who once lived in this same place; and above all with the home-place I once left (Casey, 1993, p. 291).

The point of no return for many refugees and migrants passes without being noticed. Casey asks whether we can return at all or is Kierkegaard right when he said, "you can't go home again" (cited in Casey, p. 298). Casey argues that part of the meaning of home "is that it is able to give

rise to quite divergent perceptions and significations" (p. 294). The meaning of home is to a certain extent ambivalent "a home can be experienced at one time as perfectly amicable, at another time as hostile; yet it remains one and the same place through these vicissitudes" (p.294). The place has not changed but the meaning and value we attribute to the home is subject to change. Perhaps Abdi Haji when he returned to Somalia a few years ago realized that there was nothing to return to. "We return to a house in order to find a home" (p.300), Casey says, and this is exactly what Abdi Haji's family did.

> In 1994 rumor had it that Somalia had become peaceful, the worst fighting had stopped. In that context my father and my little sister went back to Somalia, because we had property and business there, we wanted to see if there was anything we could save or sell...they wanted to assess the situation. Unfortunately, a thief broke into our house and wounded my father and killed my sister. We were able to transport my father to Djibouti, for treatment and then to Yemen. Nonetheless, the wound was so bad that the doctors said they couldn't do anything and then shortly after my father passed away. He was 118 years old when he died…he had a long life. He should never have gone back...it was a bad decision.

Casey observes the paradox in home-coming "we come home to what may no longer be a home for us (..) we re-enter the very structure that once housed a home only to discover that the identical structure no longer encloses the same domesticity" (p.302). The house is still there, but the home is gone. Farah says in an interview about his return to Somalia that he was "shocked by the destruction. It was a country I didn't recognize, and many of the people in it were newcomers" (The Guardian, 2012). This feeling of not recognizing one's home anymore, was expressed by Samira as well. Her husband had returned to Somalia a few years ago. She herself has never been back, and her husband had recorded a video of her hometown Merca for Samira to revisit her home. She was surprised by what she saw on the video: "I could not recognize it anymore, I could not see my house, it all looked so different", and later she added: "besides, I have no family there anymore, all of my children are here, in Norway and in America, I have no family left". Home is also where the family is, but Samira was one of the people who had experienced the horrors of war. Much of her account was a description of the war, seeing relatives being killed and fleeing from one place to the other. However, she emphasized that she

had stayed in her home-town, for one year in the hope that the war would come to an end, and only fled when she saw no other option. For her there was no return. But in response to whether Denmark is now her home she answered: "In Denmark I have peace but in Somalia I had raha (psychological well-being). Samira emphasized that nothing could replace the losses she had incurred in Somalia, whether it was family members, the house she lived in and the way of life she had in Somalia. She emphasized that there was nothing to return to. Being at home is for most Somalis closely connected to being with one's family, it would not make sense to be in a place where the immediate family or relatives were absent. For example, Faduma came to Denmark because her brother was here, and, in the neighborhood, she lives in, much of her family lives there as well. Belonging to a place is fostered by the recognition and acceptance given to one by the family and community. Whether one returns or is not able to return is a matter of individual circumstances, choices and opportunities. The notion of return or the myth of return serves the purpose of providing a sense of meaning and re-orientation "when the cohesiveness of the local community is loosened, and when the family is threatened with disintegration" (Safran, 1991, p. 90). The notion of return is complicated, particularly amongst the Somalis who deal with an insecure and war-torn country. The notion also presupposes that there is something to return to, to a previous innocent stage where everything can be good and alright again. As Habib (1996) said the meaning of home becomes complicated with the passage of time and war. The idea of return helps most Somalis cope with various disappointments and stresses. The desire to return is a desire to restore order- an order associated with the time of nation-building, that was lost when the civil war broke out, an order which is difficult to establish in the new settlement where a fragmented community is the order of the day, and where a hostile environment strips away the sense of ontological security. In many ways the dream of return is a way to bring that order back into the new life. Or use aspects of that dream- children, the house to re-create a semblance of the order and stability of the past into the present. The Somalis have a specific term that describes the movement away from one's home- Ghurba. The next section will examine that notion in detail.

Ghurba- being away from home

Brah (2012) observes in interviews she does in the UK with migrant mothers

> 'I feel alone'. I had heard that note on the lips of several Asian mothers I had interviewed that summer so long ago as they traced memories of rural Punjab or East Africa, places where they grew up. They spoke of the pain of separation from family, friends and the land they had known as 'home'; recounted the hardship of manual labour in London factories combined with the demands of 'woman's work' in the household; and, they described the pleasures as well as the trials and tribulations of having teenage children (p. 22).

This description illustrates how the life of particularly immigrant women in the diaspora can be alienating and lonely as they carry the burden of domestic work and child-rearing, and in such circumstance, home becomes a sweet memory and a place to which one hopes to return. As Eric Hobsbawm, a famous historian, has observed "home moves us most powerfully as absence or negation" (p.63)

Faduma used the word ghurba, which Somalis often use to refer to living in Western countries. Luul also used the word. It is an Arabic word Al-Ghurba which means being away from home, travelling abroad. Ghurba is also used by exiled Lebanese, "All of us are looking, all of us have this ghurba, this otherness inside" (Marroum, 2008, p.504). Sudanese people use the notion of ghurba as well, it frequently appears in Sudanese traditional songs and poetry, conveying feelings of loneliness and a migrant's yearning for home (Shinger, 2016). The notion is not solely used to describe life in a foreign environment but can be applied to describe feeling of estrangement in one's society as well. As Osman Shinger argues

> Al-Ghurba has another face, conveying the alienation that some Sudanese, especially older generations, feel in their own country due to rapid social change. Men in their sixties or seventies frequently complain about people's behaviour. "We have become strangers in this country," is a common saying in these circles.

Thus, one does need to migrate to experience ghurba. It conveys a general feeling of estrangement and lack of belonging, which can emerge when one returns to the country of origin and witnesses social, cultural and political transformations- that is also ghurba.

The root g-r-b means west (where the sun sets) and foreign (Peteet, 2007). It refers more specifically to the experience of being a stranger separated from one's familiar home. The word also means remoteness, distant, far. It implies to be in the domain of foreigners. Al-Ghurba is also the term used by Palestinians to describe the inception of Israel and thus the displacement of Palestinian along with Al-Nakba "The Catastrophe" which refers to the war in 1948. The Arabic-English dictionary translates Al-ghurba as the absence from the homeland, separation from one's native country, banishment, exile, away from home. Arabic is a language closely linked to the Quran and thus Islam. Therefore, one should go beyond the modern meaning of the word and look for a deeper religious and philosophical explanation. The root of ghurba, the verb gharaba is in a lexical and philosophical sense linked to its opposite sharaqa. Al-sharaqa is related to the rising sun, it is the East. The sun as a source of light is in Islamic philosophy a symbol for God. The west as its opposite implies being away from the sun, in darkness (Hammer, 2005). Hence, the term ghurba means religiously and philosophically to be barred from the light. It is important to emphasize that language cannot be divorced from culture- neither in its learning or in its proper scientific investigation (Kaye, 2005).

Said translated ghurba as estrangement, thus to be in ghurba, is to be estranged or alienated. The word alienation denotes a state of being which implies being alienated or estranged from something or somebody (Kaufman, 1980). In Marxism it was applied to the labor that the worker performed and the capitalist system, but also to Man's alienation from nature, from his essence. The type of alienation described by the interviewees is being estranged from the society in which they live. When one feels increasingly alienated from society it can translate into being alienated from oneself as well.

Luul explained how she felt alienated

> My life here in Denmark is okay, it is good. But when I look at how happy I am, I will say there is a lack of happiness. I don't know if it's the environment, if it's just how life is here. There is this rush all the time, you go to school, you send your kids to school. It just seems so difficult. We just didn't have this sort of difficulty in Somalia.

Luul repeatedly mentions lack of happiness (Farhad) not in terms of economic deprivation, but she seems to miss the social life in Somalia and finds life in Denmark difficult and hard. Jackson has a conversation with a migrant from Burkina Faso who lives in the Netherlands and he asks him what he finds positive in Burkina Faso and the Netherlands, his answer is like Leila's

> It's the social life I miss: I miss the social life. People here are always in a rush, never resting. We're not so individualistic in Burkina Faso..(..) In Burkina Faso we like to be close together. Always moving together (..) it's this closeness that makes a family strong, that keeps it together. If you have a problem, then everybody in the family will help you resolve the situation. Here when you have a problem, you're on your own. No one will come to your assistance, or they will send you to a psychiatrist who won't be able to help you (2013, p. 190).

Anthony Giddens (1991) observed that modernity breaks down the protective framework of the small community and of tradition and these are in turn replaced with larger and more impersonal organizations. "The individual feels bereft and alone in a world in which she or he lacks the psychological support and the sense of security provided by more traditional settings" (p.34). And in such situations people turn to the "secular version of the confessional" (Giddens, p.34). This version, as we can see, is not perceived to be of any help as the migrant from Burkina Faso noted. In the words of Giddens, he does not have much faith in the system of therapy, Giddens states that the doctor, the counsellor and therapist are central to the expert systems of modernity. And these expert systems depend "in an essential way on trust" (p.18). Trust, faith and hope are essential components in maintaining a sense of ontological security, they "provide modes of orientations (p. 37). These "modes of orientations" are loudly absent in the lives of the Somali women I interviewed, often there is no community to turn to with the ethical and existential questions life inevitably throws at you. Samira said something interesting when I asked her where she felt most at home? "Here (Denmark) we have nabad (peace) but in Somalia we had raaha (psychological well-being)". In Denmark she has found peace as in security and safety from the war in Somalia, but she lacks raaha, meaning complete well-being, if that is ever attainable. I asked her to specify what she meant, and she said "here it is like your head is overflowing with thoughts and worry, this rush all the time. You become stressful. In Somalia

you did not worry about bills, and those sort of things, you owned the house you were living in". Abdi Haji explained the same experiences of being how being in Denmark was marked by uncertainty and a feeling of insecurity.

> In some ways life is a bit more difficult here. Here you're responsible for everything. You don't know what tomorrow brings. For example, the prices go up and down here. You never sure what the exact amount of your expenses are. In Somalia all the prices were fixed, the government set them. Here you're not quite sure of your electricity bill, the rent etc..here things change all the time.

"Here things change all the time" is what Abdi Haji experiences. Giddens argues that behind the everyday habits and routines lies angst or dread which threatens to break the fragility of order and stability. We find life predictable and orderly due to our sense of reliability in people and the system around us. This sense of ontological security is fragile and a "miraculous occurrence" (p. 52) Thus repetition is an essential element in the transformation of a place into a home and where stability and security is lacking it increases the feelings of estrangement. The issue of alienation springs from the fact that one experiences an incongruous relationship with his/her situation. Luul speaks about this incongruence, the difference between being in Somalia and being in ghurba as she referred to it

> Life in Somalia I would say was happy, people loved each other, and visited each other. It's not like here. Here you need to make an appointment with people before you can visit, you don't need to plan or make arrangements to visit in Somalia. When you give birth people will visit you, visits were frequent especially on Thursdays and Fridays. You would go to you uncle's house, our aunties. On weekdays when we are done with the work, we will meet outside in the afternoon, we will talk, eat popcorn. I really miss Somalia. There was so much freedom. And people loved each other. Here in Qurba (strange land) everybody stays inside the house. When you want to see someone, you have to call them in advance and make an appointment. You haven't seen Somalia, you haven't seen it. I will leave this place, wallahi (I swear to God), yes, I will. Even though travelling to Qurba was difficult and painful I realized that life in Somalia was joyful (Farhad). Here, here I just

entered to a different environment. I was born and raised in a different environment, and now I've entered a different environment, and this life is very much different to the one we are used to. I was born, raised and lived my life in Somalia. And when I came here, I just realized the difference. I still have difficulty adjusting to this life, still after 5 years, I left my happiness in Somalia.

Camus observes that man finds a discrepancy between the existing reality and an imagined desired reality, and therefore feels alienated and estranged from the world. The world seems irrational and incomprehensible, and therefore unfamiliar. Alienation characterizes not only the relationship between man and the world, but also the relationship between individuals, between the individual and society, and even between the individual and himself. The state of alienation has several manifestations, including a sense of dislocation, homelessness and loneliness, as well as withdrawal and a preoccupation with the meaning of life and death (Elimelekh, 2014). Alienation is especially acute for people living in exile as Edward wrote extensively about. He argued that exile is "the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted" (cited in Elimelekh, 2014, p. 11). Said does not solely attribute the sense of alienation to exiles, refugees and immigrant but it is a condition suffered by "modern man" at large. This is also the perspective adopted by Camus where alienation refers to a general state of being disenchanted with oneself and the world. Existentialists thinkers such as Camus essentially believe that the desire for a reasonable and coherent world is a futile attempt and alienating. Camus referred to it as "absurd" which refers to the gap between what human beings hope for in life and what they actually find (Reynolds, 2014). As Camus observes

Man stands face to face with the irritational, he feels within him his longing for reason and happiness. The absurd is born of his confrontation between the human need and the unreasonable silence of the world (..) The irrational, the human nostalgia and the absurd that is born of their encounter (Cited in Reynolds, 2014, p. 16).

Samira, Faduma, and Luul employ ghurba- alienation to explain the gap they experience. They use words farhad (happiness), raaha (psychological well-being) to illustrate that Somalia

contained an element which is absent in Denmark. Samira said, "the life we had in Somalia is not something you will find in Europe". Attributing to Somalia a unique quality and essence that cannot be found in their current environment was recurrent in all the interviews. This gap must be transcended somehow, it requires the individual to come to terms with it. Ghurba implies a temporary state, and how this is dealt with, is the topic of the next section.

Sabr- Patience

In the face of incoherence, disruption and upheaval human beings search for answers that will help them come to terms with the turmoil of life. While religion did not play a major role in Somalia, as it were just part of daily life it becomes a source of strength and identity in the experiences of displacement.

Faduma arrives in Denmark when she is 30 years old, and she wants to start a family. However, starting a family becomes difficult and is a source of grief for Faduma. She also starts our interview by narrating how her husband left, the circumstances and she is trying to make sense of it. His behavior is strange to her. The normal way of being is no longer flowing. There is also a stark contrast between how she narrated life in Somalia and life in Denmark. In Somalia there was tradition and rituals (Fridays, Ramadhan, putting on henna, going to school, working). Life was predictable and followed a stable pattern, one knew what to expect, how to react and acted accordingly. Whereas life in Denmark is marked by much confusion and discontinuity. Particularly around hallmarks such as marriage and birth, where she finds herself increasingly on her own. In addition, the language of religion becomes more salient and powerful as she mentions that it is important to endure, to have patience (sabr) a concept from the Quran which means to persevere and endure in the face of hardship. She talks about this several times. The need for meaning becomes salient when taken-for- granted daily activities or the interpersonal status quo are disrupted (Zittoun, 2006). One of the reasons for ruptures to occur can be due to the relations and interactions a person has with others. One of the relations that Faduma mentions several times is her strained and failed marriages. She was married three times and each time the marriage dissolved. She begins the interview by the following statement "Life is difficult so it's important to be patient". She uses the word sabr which I have here translated as patience, the concept of sabr is not easy to translate. Its semantic field is clustered around the following English terms: patience, perseverance, resolve, steadfastness, endurance of hardship, an internal

contentment, and keeping one's chin up (Khan, 2008). It is a state that can only be assumed in hardship, the word is mentioned over hundred times in the Quran, for example

> And most certainly shall We try you through peril, hunger, and through loss of your worldly goods, life, and fruits [from labor], and give glad tidings to those who maintain a state of sabr; Those who when calamity befalls them say, "Indeed we belong to God, and to Him is our return." It is they upon whom their Sustainer's Blessings and Grace are bestowed, and it is they, they who are on the right course [Qur'an 2:155-56].

> And those who maintain sabr and are forgiving of others, indeed - this is the heart of things/focus for the heart [Qur'an 28:80].

> You who have attained consciousness/faith of God - Exhibit sabr when meeting adversity, and vie with one another in sabr [Qur'an 3:100; see also Qur'an 2:153, 31:17, 2:249, and 3:1

It is a concept which is used when death strikes, illness, the loss of wealth and a person is called to display sabr. Sabr is part of an ontological scheme that situates affliction in a broader context (Khan, 2008). The Quran emphasizes repeatedly that this life is full of suffering and hardship, like in the Buddhist tradition- life is suffering, and sabr can be considered a strategy to alleviate that suffering. The merits and benefits of maintaining sabr in the Islamic tradition are numerous. Personally, to Faduma having patience, sabr means not complaining, being "vigilant", "accepting" life as it unfolds. She does not confront her ex-husbands for their inexplicable behavior as she explains "I said "there's no problem, you can leave whenever you want, you can leave tomorrow morning, after you've had your breakfast". Faduma did not expect to raise the children on her own and, be left to herself in a place where she feels estranged and disoriented. She is trying to make sense of it and give meaning to the changes she confronts. The way she does this is by looking at her previous experiences, she grew up without her father. He was working in Saudi Arabia and came once a year, during the month of Ramadan. She describes how her life, and her mother as well was difficult.

I started working for my mom when I was 6 years old. We grew up in a different world. My mom had one children after the other, so the workload was immense, and she needed help desperately, so there was no choice, I had to help. I helped my mom raise the children. I was the eldest. I used to wash clothes and if I couldn't reach the clothes line I would use a stool. I used to go to the market to do groceries for my mother, my mother needed someone to help.

Faduma was a" helper" she had always been working for her family, this is how she defines herself, living a difficult life is not new to her. She is able to connect her difficult experiences in Denmark to her difficult childhood in Somalia, or the time she spent as a maid in Italy and work through her rupture. In order to make sense and find meaning in her current situation she turns to religion. She uses religious terminology extensively and religion becomes a source of strength and comfort. Meaning is essential for psychic wellbeing and Faduma certainly uses religion as a resource to make meaningful the ruptures she confronts. For example, she told me how she prayed when she noticed a disturbing pattern in her ex-husband. Clifford Geertz argued that

Importance of religion consists in its capacity to serve as a source of general, yet distinctive conceptions of the world, the self, and the relations between them. Religious concepts spread beyond their specifically metaphysical contexts to provide a framework of general ideas in terms of which a wide range of experience- intellectual, moral, emotional can be given meaningful form (cited in McMichael, 2002, p. 172).

Here we learn that religion can give meaningful form to experiences. As human beings we are constantly engaged in making sense and attaching meaning to the experiences we face in life. As the philosopher Martin Heidegger points out human beings are essentially involved in the historically situated and finite task of understanding the world. We are attempting, at times successful and at times we fail, to grasp being "thrown into the world". In moments of sadness, uncertainty and despair we begin to question our thrownness into the world. Heidegger calls angst, uncertainty and despair "moods". It is in relation to these moods that we should not simply lament the situation and ask, "why me?" instead we should ask "how should I think about this?" (Reynolds, 2014). Or, I would add, "how should I respond". This is how sabr works it avoids

blame and self-pity and emphasizes the response, as Faduma puts it herself, "if you start lamenting and wailing then you're going to be ill and distressed". Since she cannot change the situation she has to find a way to accept and live with it. Camus in his observations on the absurdity of life argues that suffering, guilt and uncertainty occur when there is conflict between the contingent situation and the need to choose absolutely (Reynolds, 2014). In other words, there is a discrepancy between the situation which has no inherent meaning and human aspirations which seek to impose meaning. In this context sabr is the strategy to impose meaning in which otherwise is regarded as meaningless circumstances. Faduma finds herself being forced to make sense of things that she previously did not have to. In existentialism giving meaning to life is an individual responsibility, and there is no meaning in life, other than what we give to it. "Man has to face the absurdity of his existence" (Coates, 1953). In facing this absurdity religion may be a way of transcending it. Religion for some is the answer to confront distress, anxiety and meaningless.

Religion became significant after the civil war in Somalia as Stig Jarle Hansen (2014) in his explanation of the rise of Al-Shabaab argues. "In Somalia insecurity had been on the increase since the outbreak of the civil war, and religion became a beacon of hope, a thing to turn to. (p. 3). The civil war had brought immense insecurity and suffering to people, refuge and consolation was found in religion to provide some sort of security and hope.

In McMichael's (2002) ethnographic work amongst Somali women in Melbourne, Australia she demonstrates how these women use Islam to overcome the threat of discontinuity that arises with displacement. McMichael notes how Islam comes to the forefront in these women lives during times of emotional distress. When Faduma narrated about Somalia, the religious language was absent. She did not mention that she prayed, she did not mention the word sabr, even though her life growing up was difficult, it seems she turned to religion when she came to Denmark. Arriving in Denmark entailed that the old ways of being no longer made sense, it meant that common sense was challenged and the dissolution of the taken-for-granted. For instance, she mentions how the customary way of getting married no longer applied

> You know things had changed we were no longer in Somalia, where the families knew
> each other, and a man would come and ask for your hand, and the families will get together
> and negotiate. Or where the father will choose someone from the family or from the clan

that he finds suitable and they will arrange a big wedding. This was gone, we couldn't get this anymore. The man you're marrying doesn't know who you are, which family you are from, your lineage, and he doesn't even care. There is not the same respect anymore. The man I married at that time had no idea about my lineage and was not interested either. If you're lucky you might find someone who is interested in who you are, but it seems rare nowadays. In Somalia we knew who was who, and if not, it was easy to find out. The families will contact each other, they often knew each other and will make time to get to know one another. People loved each other. There was love. Here no one knows anyone.

In Somalia there was a recognizable pattern. Marriage, giving birth and household work. Life in Somalia before the war had a clear social and moral order. This is no longer the case. This is something that the women, I interviewed, found profoundly disturbing and alienating. McMichael interviews a Somali woman who says that "In Somalia if I couldn't find my way, my mother, my neighbors would have helped me, but here there is no help" (p. 184). The women in this quotation uses an interesting expression "find my way" which alludes to something existential rather than just asking for help. The help she is searching for is anchored in the community, the mother, the neighbor who is no longer the same neighbor as in Somalia. These statements echo the migrant from Burkina Faso, interviewed by Jackson (2013) who also lamented the fact that there was no help to get, except from a psychiatrist.

Faduma volunteers at a local masjid in the weekends. There she organizes events and recruits volunteers to bring food and beverages to the mosque when there is Sunday school and the money earned from these activities she donates for charity. Hence, she is committed to her religion and through practicing Islam she has found continuity, coherence and a new community in her life. Numerous research has shown how faith and spirituality have beneficial effect on the wellbeing of people. Ellison for example argues that religious practices promote social networks, and support and provide a coherent framework (cited in McMichael, 2002). Connecting with people from Somalia in the mosque or engaging in religious activity is important in retaining a sense of continuity and everyday life and can be a way to create and experiential home in the new environment (Mahmoud and Märtsin, 2014). It also a strategy to deal with the hostile and unreceptive environment that the Somalis suddenly has found themselves in after the civil war. As a Somali mother points out "We have made many changes already, but our religion and

culture help us to feel normal amongst all this difference" (cited in Ramsden and Ridge, 2013, p. 238). Most Somali women were not veiled prior to the civil war and religion played a minor role in their everyday life. A Somali woman told me that she never used to pray in Somalia nor wear the veil, and she never thought much about Islam and religion until she came to Denmark.

Internally the Somalis are dealing with a fragmented community in which old customs and traditions slowly are being eroded, and externally their presence and practices are scrutinized and deemed unfit. Hence religion is one way of making sense of these changes and maintaining a sense of meaning through the vicissitudes of life.

The dark side of "home"

In this section I want to draw attention to the interview I had with Luul who did not grew up during the presidency of Siyad Barre with its national ambitions and authoritarian rule. Her description of Somalia in its current conditions calls into question any idealized, nostalgic and romantic vision of "selling tomatoes in the marketplace" as appealing the idea may seem. During the presidency of Barre, the presumed evils were tribalism and Islam as these were viewed to be hindering the formation of a modern Somali nation. Once Barre was removed from power these two forces were awakened with incredible force. There has been a resurgence of Islam in Somalia, a version of Islam which Abdi Haji called alien, Faduma referred to it as a "mess". The imagery of dirt, filth and mess are common representations of all kinds of "Others" (Brah, 2012). These are the ways in which Al-Shabaab and the current state of Somalia are described. Al-Shabaab, which literally means the "Young Ones" are mostly by the Somalis seen as strangers and "unwelcome guests" (Lewis, 2011). Lewis argues that Somalis have been "outraged" by Al-Shabaab's reaction to traditional Somali Sufism.

Luul was born during the toppling of Barre and most of her life she has lived in war

> I don't remember a peaceful Somalia. The only peace I've experienced was during the period of the union of Islamic Courts (UIC). We lived our lives on one side and on the other side, the war was going on

Al-Shabaab was part of the UIC and later left when it was dissolved because it was perceived to be a security threat. Ingiriis (2018) points out that "the governance structures, taxation system, judiciary and justice, command and cooperation among its fighters are much more efficient than those of the federal government" (p. 516). Aisha Ahmad (2009) argues that political Islam in Somalia emerged as a direct response to state collapse and lawlessness. "Over time, these Islamic courts gained legitimacy because of their ability to create semblances of order in the midst of political chaos" (p. 59). This order they created was appreciated to begin with, but as Luul narrated during the interview Al-Shabaab are very much feared by the local population. She explained that Al-Shabaab is very effective in enforcing law and order among the population. She said: "When I heard about how they settled disputes, I became so afraid and scared and I knew I had to get away". The Somalis relationship with Al-Shabaab is ambivalent, on the hand they provide security and safety, on the other hand, the measures they use to bring about such security goes against the values and norms of Somali society.

Luul told narrated how she was apprehended by Al-Shabaab:

> There was one evening where they caught me with my baati (traditional dress). I had left my little child in the house. I had to go out and get something, I don't remember what it was. Suddenly two men, with their faces covered, appeared in front of me and told me to come with them. I couldn't say anything or resist because they were armed so I just went with them. One of my neighbors saw me and yelled "she left her child, she is a mother. What do you want from her, leave her alone!" My neighbor started following me and kept yelling. Other people noticed and intervened, they tried to help me. People recited verses from the Quran, telling them what they were doing was wrong. But you know, they don't care because they don't follow the religion, or our traditions. One person said, "people make mistakes, and we just correct them and advise, we don't punish them". Thanks to God they let me go after people protested so much. They told me that if they saw me again with the baati then they would punish me by whipping me. They were strange people, they would walk around in the neighborhood and, that was just their job, monitoring people

Luul explained that Al-Shabaab vehemently opposed the traditional dress of Somali women the baati, a loose colorful dress that they wear due to the hot climate. Al-Shabaab demands that women wear the full veil and it should be black.

> They said we had to wear a long, heavy black hijaab and a long black heavy skirt underneath, and everything had to be black. You know we Somalis wear the baati outside because it is so hot. We can't wear what they are demanding us to wear (Luul)

Traditional clothes represent traditional culture and therefore becomes a target.
I discussed previously how the Somalis traditionally do not wear a veil, and in large consider the veil alien to their nomadic culture and life. The Somalis despite their traditional dress consider themselves as adhering to the Islamic faith. As Bronwyn Bruton pointed out" the Somali identity is deeply Muslim, but that Muslim identity is also uniquely Somali" (cited in Solomon, 2014, p. 356). The version of Islam, Sufism that Somali practices "has given Somalis space to incorporate several aspects of their pre-Islamic customs and practices" (Adam, 1995, p. 190). Al-Shabaab, however contends that they are the "real" Muslims and charge their fellow Muslims as "nominal" Muslims or deviant. Their aim is the establishment of the Islamic Ummah, they consider the Somali clan system and version of Islam as "jahliyyah" which roughly translates as ignorance as obstacles to attaining the Ummah. Somalis may view religion as a resource to transcend current challenges but the religion of Al-Shabaab they find alienating and disturbing. Despite Luul's dark memories of Somalia she wants to return as she finds life in Denmark lonely, isolating and difficult. She emphasized the importance of family, kinship and religion which she perceives are difficult to sustain in Denmark where the discourse of integration denies cultural variety. At the same time life in Denmark has provided her with more freedom and independence than her life in Somalia allowed for, nevertheless these advancements seem to be overshadowed by her "lack of happiness".

This chapter on the current state of Somalia and how it is perceived and met by the interviewees may seem to debunk the nostalgic and romantic image represented in the previous chapters, but it illustrates how memories, the way in which certain events and periods are remembered is much more about the individual identity than about a factual description of how one remembered. Anh-

Hua (2005) points out that "memory is distorted by needs, desires, interests, and fantasies (p. 198). As the interview with Luul shows memories are interpreted in light of current circumstances.

Discussion

As the previous section has shown, the home that the Somalis cherish and idealize belongs to the past, and in many ways the home that they depict is their childhood home. A home located in the past which is drawn on to make sense of current circumstances and grievances. The new settlement is increasingly hostile and dominated by a discourse that emphasizes cultural differences as insurmountable. This discourse is alienating, and marginalizing and in this context the memory of home becomes something deeply meaningful and existential. By keeping this memory alive the door to return, to achieve such a life again is kept open. Somalia, in the past, in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, is a time which is regarded as secular modern, and progressive- the height of nation-building. This way of looking back to the past could be seen as hindering the attachment and realities of a new context. It can also be regarded as a way to cope with current distress and grievances. As Ramsden and Ridge (2013) argue "recalling memory is broader than returning to the past, it is drawing on the past to help respond to the present" (p. 242). Remembering Somalia in its peaceful times is reaffirming the past and seeking a meaning for their present lives. Looking back should be regarded as an essential part of the consultants' settlement strategies. In addition, religion becomes valuable as a source of solace and comfort in a world that is increasingly perceived to be insecure and threatening. Therefore, religion takes on a different role than in Somalia. While the Somalis may have moved geographically they have not moved cognitively. For Bachelard the human imagination always builds walls of impalpable shadows, comforting itself with the illusion of protection and so carries the notion of home into the new space whether cognitive or physical. The concept of home is linked to that of identity which comes to be regarded as insecure in the new environment which challenges the consultants familiar and taken-for granted world-view and social relations. The lack of acceptance the consultants experience is attributed to the fact that immigrants and refugees are regarded as naturally belonging to their place of birth or origin. Thus, the solution is either integration or repatriation. Malkki (1992) in her attempt to demonstrate the deeply territorializing notions

underpinning everyday discourse and academic literature on refugees, culture and nationalism illustrate how the nation is perceived in terms of, metaphors of kinship- motherland, fatherland and homeland. "In the national order of things, the rooting of peoples is not only normal; it is also perceived as a moral and spiritual need" (p. 30). The literature on refugees and displacement has been eager to move away from essentialized conceptions of people and place, and instead emphasize movement, migration, transnational links and hybrid cultures. There has been a preoccupation with exiles, diaspora and much talk about "routes" instead of "roots" (Clifford, 1994). The argument is that a focus on the national state and applying and "ethnic lens" obscures the multiple sources and dynamics of migrant agencies and belongings (Caglar, 2016). Ayse Caglar (2016) takes issue with emphasizing the past of migrants, what she calls "cross-border mobility" to define the ways in which migrants are positioned within migration studies "this past, which is tied to a particular cross-border mobility or its memory might not be the most important factor shaping this group of people's current agencies, practices and sociabilities "(p. 959). Whether it is the most important factor is up for discussion, nevertheless this approach to a certain extent neglects and undermines the importance of place. Particularly when this place was left abruptly, involuntary and unexpectedly, and one is confronted with a hostile and unreceptive environment that either emphasizes integration/assimilation or "returning". Caglar in the end of her article notices that methodological nationalism slips through the backdoor. In other words, despite the commitment and attempt to overcome "methodological nationalism" it is resilient and enduring. The question is why? An answer is out of the scope of this study, but a tentative assumption would be that it involves meaning-making and is an integral part of people's lives. As Renan proclaimed nationalism "is a spiritual principle".

Said wrote extensively about the sorrows of exiled life, and about its liberating power. He spent much of his childhood in Egypt, Cairo and came to the US when he was 15. Despite spending most of his life in the US, he returned to his childhood house in Palestine when he was diagnosed with cancer and became very emotional. He even refused to go inside his childhood home (Al Jazeera documentary, 2018). His last wish was to be buried in Lebanon beside his parents. The documentary ended with the following line "he lived and died out of place". On the hand, migration and globalization undermine the understanding of home as rooted and immobile. And the insights from social sciences that emphasize the spatial turn is valuable. As Malkki (1992) said to go back from where one fled from is not the same thing as going home. At the same time

a de-territorialized understanding of people and places would make little sense and little justice to migrants' search for home as a meaningful entity in their lives. The "host community" is also absent from the literature in its fear of essentializing people and relations. Refugees and migrants' understandings of their places are not only determined by the past, but also by their present life at the location where they need to survive and make a living (Brun, 2001). In fact, the memories of the past are a vital way of maintaining some sense of meaning in what is otherwise meaningless circumstances. The individuals in this study experience the contradictory feeling of being physically present in one place but at the same time living with the feeling of belonging somewhere else. They represent being displaced in an essentialist way, hence essentialist conceptions of place may still be of importance in finding meaning and purpose, to conceive of oneself as belonging to a place where "people loved each other" as Luul said, where there was order, prosperity and ontological security. An order that disappeared with the civil war and an order that refuses to appear in the new environment where "They come up with new rules and regulations all the time", as Faduma said in a frustrating voice. The majority of Somalis still dream about returning as difficult it may seem, it can be read literally but it can also be the "existential need of returning oneself to oneself (Aidani cited in Lems, 2014, p. 332). The meaning and memory of home is used as a point of reference. Memories are an active process by which meaning is created; they are not mere depositories of fact (Gilles cited in Agnew, 2016, p. 8). The current aversion to roots that abound in social sciences and particularly in anthropology does not seem to be shared by people like Faduma and Luul. In contrast I believe their horror is to remain in ghurba, in that gap of never being able to be in alignment with themselves.

Diaspora as a concept highlights the shared history of displacement and the orientation to the future located in the homeland. The concept can and have been used to denote a transnational sense of self and community and create an understanding of ethnicity and ethnic bonds that transcends the borders and boundaries of nation states (Agnew, 2005). Yet, the individual living in the diaspora experiences a dynamic tension every day between living 'here' and remembering 'there,' between memories of places of origin and entanglements with places of residence. In this study and in the conversations with the interviewees the importance of home as something deeply existential and meaningful is brought to the forefront.

Concluding remarks

The stories narrated in this study of the homes left behind bring to fore people's enduring relationships to their homes. Despite the fact, that war and violence have rendered Somalia unrecognizable for most of its inhabitants, particularly the ones who have left it behind, it still, remains home to many. It remains a home in the sense that it provides a sense of meaning and purpose. Descriptions of home, then, are a part of composing a past that the consultants can live with, and a point of reference to the difficulties of the present.

References

Abdi, M. Cawo. (2007). Convergence of civil war and the religious right: reimagining Somali women. *Signs, 33(1),* 183-207

Adam, Hussein. (1995). Islam and politics in Somalia. *Journal of Islamic Studies, 6(2),* 189-221

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Agnew, V. (Ed.). (2005). *Diaspora, memory and identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Ahmed, Sara. (19999. Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 2(3),* 329-347

Anthias, Floya. (1998). Evaluating diaspora: Beyond Ethnicity. *Sociology, 32(3),* 557-580

Al-Shaibi, Sama. (2006). Memory work in the Palestinian diaspora (personal essay and art). *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, 27(2)*, 30-53

Al-Sharmani, M. (2006) Living Transnationally: Somali Diasporic Women in Cairo'. *International Migration 44(1),* 55–77.

Arjun, Appadurai. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of cultural globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Axel, K., B. (2004). The context of diaspora. *Cultural Anthropology, 19(1),* 26-60

Bachelard, Gaston. (1994). *The poetics of space*. Boston: Beacon Press:

Bauman, Zygmunt. (2011). Migration and identities in the globalized world. *Philosophy and Social Criticism, 37(4)*, 425-435

Baumann, Martin. (2000). Diaspora: genealogies of semantics and transcultural comparison, 47(3), 313-337

Barker, Joshua. (2012). *The Ethnographic Interview in an Age of Globalization*. (Eds.). Fardon, R., Harris, O., Marchand, T., Nuttall, M., Shore, C., Strang, V., & Wilson, R. The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology. Retrieved from aub.aau.dk

Bertaux, D., Kohli, M. (1984). *Annual Review of Sociology, 10*, 215-237

Berns- Mcgown, Rima. (2007/2008). Redefining "Diaspora": The Challenge of Connection and Inclusion. International Journal, 63(1), 3-20

Bech-Danielsen, Claus., Gram-Hansen, Kirsten. (2012). Creating a new home. Somali, Iraqi and Turkish immigrants and their homes in Danish social housing. J*ournal of Housing and the Built Environment, 27(1)*, 89-103

Bela, B., Garda-Rozenberga, L., Zirnite, M. (2016). Migratory memories between Latvia and Sweden. *Oral History, 44(2), 69-80*

Besteman, C. 1996. 'Representing Violence and "Othering" Somalia'. *Cultural Anthropology 11(1)*, 120- 133

Boccagni, Paolo. (2017). *Migration and the search for home.* Retrieved from aub.aau.dk

Boesch, Ernst. (2001). Symbolic action theory and cultural psychology. *Culture and Psychology, 7(4)*, 479-483

BBC Witness. *Somalia's rural literacy campaign*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p02g1ysx

Bourini, H., Jameel, M. (14th November, 2018). Edward Said: 'Out of place'. Aljazeera. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2018/11/edward-place-181114122149652.html

Brah, Avtar. (1996). *Cartographies of diaspora*. London: Routledge

Brah, Avtar. (2008). Dissolving diasporic identities? *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 18(4)*, 387-389

Brah, Avtar. (2012). The scent of memory: strangers, our own and others. *Feminist Review, 100(1), 6-26*

Brah, Avtar. (2014). Europe, diaspora and multi-ethnic futures: looking through intersectional lens. Synergy, 10(2), 164-171

Brennet, Julia. (2013). Life story talk: Some reflections of narrative in qualitative interviews. *Sociological Research Online, 18(2),* 1-11

Brettell, B. Caroline. (2002). The individual/agent and culture/structure in the history of the social sciences. *Social Science History 26(3),* 429-445

Buyer, M. (2009). Negotiating Identity and Displacement among the Somali Refugees of Cape Town. *South African Historical Journal 60(2),*226–241

Brubaker, R. (2005) 'The Diaspora Diaspora'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies 28(1),* 1–19.

Brun, Cathrine. (2001). Territorializing the relationship between people and place in refugee studies. *Human Geography, 83(1),* 15-25

Casey, Edward. (1987) The world of nostalgia. *Man and World 20(4*), 361–384

Casey, E. (1993). *Getting back into place: Toward a renewed understanding of the world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Caglar, Ayse. (2016). Stil ´migrants´ after all those years: foundational mobilities, temporal frames, and emplacement of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42(6)*, 952-969

Calhoun, Craig. (1993). Nationalism and Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology, 19,* 211-239

Camus, Albert. (2015). *Sisyfos-myten*. Viborg: Gyldendal

Coates, J. B. (1953). Existentialism. *Philosophy, 28(106)*, 229-238

Constable, N. (1999). At home but not at home: Filipina narratives of ambivalent returns. *Cultural Anthropology, 14(2)*, 203-228

Chan, Angel. (2017). *Reconceptualizing Educational Research Methodology, 8(1),* 27-39

Danmarks Statistik. (2017). Indvandrer i Danmark. Retrieved from https://www.dst.dk/Site/Dst/Udgivelser/GetPubFile.aspx?id=20705&sid=indv2017

Davidson, Basil. (1975). Somalia in 1975: Some notes and impression. *A Journal of Opinion, 5(1)*, 18-26

Dayal, Samir. (1996). Diaspora and double consciousness. *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association, 29(1)*, 46-62

Dupuis, A,. Thorns D. (1998). Home, home ownership and the search for ontological security. *Sociological Review 46(1)*, 24–47.

Douglas, Mary. (1991). The idea of a home: A kind of space. *Social Research, 58(1),* 287-307

Donohoe, J. (2011). The place of home. *Environmental Philosophy, 8(1)*, 25-40

Donohoe, J. (2014). Remembering places: a phenomenological study of the relationship between memory and place. Retrieved from aub.aau.dk

Edgar, A., Sedgwick, P. (2002). *Cultural theory: The key thinkers*. New York, NY: Routledge

Ernest Renan (1990). What is a nation. In Bhabha, H., K. (Ed.). *Nation and Narration,* (pp.8-22). London: Routledge

Erikson, J.Q. (1993). On being at home. C*rosscurrents, 43(2),* 235-246

Eriksen, H., Thomas. (2010). *Ethnicity and nationalism*. London: Pluto Press

Elimelekh, G. (2014). Existentialism in the works of Abd al-Rahman Munif. *Oriente Moderno, 94(1),* 1-31

Eyal, Gil. (2004). Identity and trauma: two forms of the will to memory. *History and memory, 16(1),* 5-36

Farred, Grant. (1996). You can go home again, you just can't stay: Stuart Hall and the Caribbean diaspora. *Research in African Literatures, 27(4)*, 28-48

Gellner, Ernest. (1981). Nationalism. *Theory and Society, 10(6),* 753-776

Geshekter, B. Harold. Anti-colonialism and class formation: The Eastern Horn of Africa before 1950. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 19(1),* 1-32

Geshekter, B. Harold & Warsama Said. (1996). An introduction to humor and jokes in Somali culture. *African Languages and Cultures, 3*, 141-153

Geshekter, B. Harold. (1999). Interview with professor Ioan Lewis in his home in London. *Bilhaan*

Gilroy, Paul. (1994). Diaspora. *Paragraph, 17(3),* 207-2012

Gingrich, Andre. (2006). Neo-nationalism and the re-configuration of Europe. *Social Anthropology, 14(2), 195-217*
Giddens, Anthony. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity.*

Gullestad, Marianne. Invisible fences: Egalitarianism, nationalism and racism. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 8(1),* 45-63

Grünenberg, Kristina. (2006). E*r hjemme hvor hjertet er, eller hvor jeg hænger min hat*? Holm, Marianne., Rytter, Mikkel. (Eds). København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag

Gow, Greg. (2004). Watching Saddam fall: Assyrian refugees in Sydney and the imagining of a new Iraq. Social analysis. *The International Journal of Social and Cultural practice, 48(3),* 8-23

Gray, Glenn, J. (1952). Heidegger's being. *The Journal of Philosophy, 49(12),* 415-422

Gur-Ze'ev, Ilan. (2003). Holocaust/Nakhba as an Israeli/Palestinian homeland. *Counterpoints, 141,* 25-50

Habib, Leila. (1996). The search for home. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 9(1)*, 96-102

Hammer, Juliane. (2005). *Palestinians born in exile: Diaspora and the search for a homeland.* Retrieved from aub.aau.dk

Hastrup, Kirsten. (2005). Social anthropology. Towards a pragmatic enlightenment? *Social Anthropology, 13(2)*, 133-149

Hage, G. (2010). Migration, food, memory and home-building. In: Radstone S and Schwarz B (Eds.) *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (pp.416-427). New York: Fordham University Press

Hanley, Gerald. (1993). *Warriors: Life and death among the Somali*s. London: Eland

Hansen, J., Stig. (2014). *Al-Shabaab in Somalia: the history and ideology of a militant Islamist group, 2005-2012*. Retrieved from Aub.aau.dk

Haakonsen, M., Jan. (2014). In memory of I.M. Lewis. *Nomadic Peoples, 18(2)*, 1-9

Hearn, Jonathan. (2018). Power, culture, identity, and the work of Anthony D. Smith. *Nations and Nationalism, 24(2),* pp. 286-291

Hervik, P., Vestergaard, G., Fadel, H, U. (1999). De "besværlige" Somaliere. In Hervik, P. (Ed.). *Den generende forskellighed* (pp.171-214). København: Hans Reitzels Forlag

Hoben, Susan. (1988). Literacy campaigns in Ethiopia and Somalia: A comparison. *North East African Studies, 10(2/3)*, 111-125

Holm, Marianne., Rytter, Mikkel. (2012). Fra integration til sikkerhed. *Internasjonal Politikk, 1*.

Hobsbawm, E. (1991). Introduction, in A. Mack (ed.), *Home: A place in the world, social research 58(1)*, 63-8

Huyssen, Andreas. (2003). Diaspora and nation: Migration into other pasts. *New German Critique, 88*, 147-164

Ingiriis, M. (2018). Building peace from the margins in Somalia: The case for political settlement with Al-Shabaab. *Contemporary Security Policy, 39(4),* 512-536

Ingiriis, M. (2016). How Somalia works: Mimicry and the making of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime in Mogadishu. *Africa Today, 53(1)*, 56-82

Jackson, M. (2008). The shock of the new: Migrant imaginaries and critical transitions. *Ethnos, 73(1)*, 57-72

Jackson, M. (2008). Between biography and ethnography. *Harvard Theological Review, 101(3-4),* 377-397

Jackson, M. (2013). The wherewithal of life ethics, migration and the question of well-being. Retrieved from aaub.aau.dk

Jackson, M. (1995). *At Home in the world*. London: Duke University Press

Jackson, M. (2013). *Life- worlds: Essays in existential anthropology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Kaplan, P., Louis. (1981). Nationalism. *Harvard International Review 3(7),* 16-18

Kleist, Nauja. (2006). Danmarks to ansigter: stille integration og diskrimination af somali-danskere. Holm, Marianna., Rytter, Mikkel. (Eds). København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag

Kaye, Alan. (2005). Semantic transparency and number marking in Arabic and other languages. Journal of Semitic Studies,50(1), 153-196

Klodawsky, F. (2012). Home and homelessness. I*nternational Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, 384-387

Kramer, Lloyd. (1997). Historical narratives and the meaning of nationalism. *Journal of the history of ideas*, 58(3), 525-545

Kittermaster, B. Harold. The development of the Somalis. *Journal of the Royal African Society, 31(124),* 234-244

Kusow, Abdi. (2004). Contesting stigma: On Goffman's assumptions of normative order. *Symbolic interaction*, 28(2), 179-197

Khan, Faiz (2008). An Islamic Appraisal of Minding the Gap: Psycho-Spiritual Dynamics in the Doctor-Patient Relationship. *The Journal of Religious Ethic, 36(1),* 77-96

Jaggi, Maya. (September 21, 2012). Nuruddin Farah: a life in writing. *The Guardian*

Jaggi, Maya. (December 6, 2012). Keeping Somalia alive. *Gulf News*

Joshi, Rita. (2004). Nations and alienations. *India International Centre Quarterly, 31(1),* 83-93

Fangen, K. (2006). Humiliation experienced by Somali refugees in Norway. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 19(1)*, 69-93

Farah, Nuruddin. (2000). Citizens of sorrow. *Transition, 81,* 10-20

Farer, Tom. (1965). Somali democracy. *Africa Today,12(5)*, 5.7

Farahani, F. (2015). Home and homelessness and everything in between: A route from one uncomfortable zone to another. *European Journal of Women Studies, 22(2)*, 241-257

Fereshteh, Ahmadi, L. (2001). The meaning of home among elderly immigrants: Directions for future research and theoretical development. *Housing Studies, 16(3)*, 353-370

Laitin, David. (1977). Revolutionary change in Somalia. *Merip Reports, 62*, 6-18

Laughland, Oliver. (11 April 2014). Angus Campbell warns asylum-seekers not to travel to Australia by boat. *The Guardian*

Lewis, I., M.(August 17, 2011). Understanding Somali society. Retrieved from https://insidestory.org.au/understanding-somali-society/

Lewis, I.M. (1989). The Ogaden and the fragility of Somali segmentary nationalism. *African Affairs 88(353)*, 573-579

Lewis, I.M. (1960). The new East African republic of Somalia. The World Today, 16(7), 287-296

Lewis, I.M. (2008). *Understanding Somalia and Somaliland*. London: Hurst & Company

Lems, Annika. (2014). Placing dis-placement: Place-making in a world of movement. *Ethnos,.1-23*

Lems, Annika. (2016). Ambiguous longings: Nostalgia as the interplay among self, time world. C*ritique of Anthropology, 36(4),* pp. 419-438

Lukose, A., Ritty. (2007). The difference that diaspora makes: Thinking through t the anthropology of immigrant education in the United States. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 38(4)*, 405-418

Mahler, Sarah, & Pessar, Patricia. Transnational migration: Bringing gender in. T*he International Migration Review, 37(3)*, 812-846

Mcmichael, Celia. (2002). Everywhere is Allah's place: Islam and the everyday life of Somali women in Melbourne, Australia. Journal of Refugee Studies, 15, 171-188

McMichael, Celia,. Manderson, L. (2004). Somali women and well-being: social networks and social capital among immigrant women in Melbourne. *Human Organization, 63(1)*, 88-99

Mahmoud, H., Märtsin, M. (2014). Never at home? Migrants between societies. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology*, p. 730-749. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Moore, Jeanne. (2007). Polarity or integration: Towards a fuller understanding of home and homelessness. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 24(2)*, 143-159

Mouazan, Silvana (September 12, 2018). Min far havde aldrig følt sig så ensom, som han gjorde på plejehjemmet. *Information*

Mallett, Shelley. (2004). Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. *Journal of Sociological Review, 52(1)*, 62-89

Mansour, Omar (1998). Somali. *Diogenes, 46(184),* 91-100

Marroum, Marianne. (2008). What's so great about home? Roots, nostalgia, and return in Andree Chedid's la maison sans racines and Hanan Al-shaykh's hikayat Zahra. *Comparative Literature Studies, 45, (4)*, 491-513

Manson, Katrina. (October 6, 2015). Nuruddin Farah: I write about Somalia to keep it alive. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from https://www.ft.com/content/f50dc890-1115-11e5-9bf8-00144feabdc0

Manzo, L. C. (2005). For better or worse: exploring multiple dimensions of place meaning. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 25(1), 67-86

Malkki, Liisa. (1992). National Geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholar and refugees. C*ultural Anthropology, 7(1),* 24-44

O'Leary, Brendan. (1997). On the nature of nationalism: An appraisal of Ernest Gellner's writings on nationalism. *British Journal of Political Science, 27 (2),* 191-222

Olwig, Karen. (1997). *Cultural sites: Sustaining a home in a deterritorialized world*. Hastrup, K., Olwig, K. (eds). Siting culture: The shifting anthropological object. London: Routledge

Olwig, Karen. (2008). Integration mellem forestilled og glemte fælleskaber; tilfældet Danmark. *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift, 19(4)*, 233-266

Özkirmli, Umut. (2000). *Theories of nationalism*. London: Macmillan

Palmberger M (2008) Nostalgia matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as potential vision for a better future. Sociologija. *Cˇ asopis za sociologiju, socijalnu psihologiju i socijalnu antropologiju 50(4)*, 355–370.

Pattie, P. Susan. (1999). Longing and belonging: Issues of homeland in Armenian diaspora. P*olitical and Legal Anthropology Review, 22(2)*, 80-92

Peteet, Julia. (2007). Problematizing a Palestinian Diaspora. Int*ernational Journal of Middle East Studies, 39(4),* 627-646

Piette, Albert. (2014). Existential anthropology: what could it be? An interpretation of Heidegger. *Biannual Philosophical Journal, 4(2),* 229-246

Pitner, Julia. (1992). The Palestinian in diaspora (research notes). *Mid-American Review of Sociology, 16(1)*61-88

Plougsgaard, H., Vinther, H. (August 24, 2003). Somaliere invaderer Leicester. *Jyllandsposten*

Poole, R. (2008). Memory, responsibility and identity. *Social Research, 75(1)*, 263-286

Ramsden, R., Ridge, D. (2013). It was the most beautiful country I have ever seen: The role of Somali narratives in adapting to a new country. *Journal of Refugee studies, 26(2)*, 226-246

Rapport, N., Dawson, A. (1993). *Migrants of identity: Perception of home in a world of movement*. Berg:Oxford

Rashid, Rushy. (2006). Du lovede vi skulle hjem. København: People's Press

Reynolds, J. (2014). *Understanding existentialism*. Routledge. Retrieved from aaub.aau.dk

Rieffer, A.J. Barbara. (2003). Religion and nationalism: Understanding the consequences of a complex phenomenon. *Ethnicities 3(2),* 215-242

Somerville, P. (1992). Homelessness and the meaning of home: Rooflessness or rootlessness. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 16(4)*, 529-539

Samatar, S. Said. (1996). Somalia's horse that feeds his master. *African Languages and Cultures. Supplement, 3*, 155-170

Smith, A. D. (1991). The nation: invented, imagined, reconstructed. *Journal of International Studies, 20(3),* 353-68

Sixsmith, J. (1986). The meaning of home: An exploratory study of environmental experience. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 6*, 281-298

Soroka ,Mykola. (2007). Displacement and utopia: Volodymyr Vynnychenko's "Soniachna mashyna". *The Slavonic and East European Review, 85(3)*, 441-461

Soltan, Gamal. (1997). State-building, modernization and political Islam: The search for political community in the Middle East. *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals, 37*, 29-38

Solomon, H. (2014). Somalia's Al Shabaab: Clans vs Islamist nationalism. *South African Journal of International Affairs, 21*, 351–366

Somerville, Peter. (1992). Homelessness and the meaning of home: Rooflessness or rootlessness? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 16(4)*, 529-539

Somalia: Nomad nation. (July 11, 1960). *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from aub.aau.dk

Shiin, David. (2011). Al-Shabaab's foreign threat to Somalia. *Orbis, 55(2)*, 203-215

Simons, Anna. (1991). Somalia and the dissolution of the nation-state. *American Anthropologist, 96(4)*, 818-824

Striffler, Steve. (2007). Neither here nor there: Mexican immigrant workers and the search for home. *American Ethnologist, 34(4),* 674-688

Sjørslev, Inger. (2011). *The paradox of integration: Excluding while claiming to integrate into Danish society*. Olwig, K., Pærregaard, K. (Eds). The question of integration: immigration, exclusion and the Danish welfare state. Retrieved from aaub.aau.dk

Safran, William. (2005). The Jewish diaspora in a comparative and theoretical perspective. *Israel Studies, 10(1),* 36-60

 Safran, William. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora 1 (1),* 83-9

Satchidanandan, K. (2001). Reflections: That third space: Interrogating the diasporic paradigm. *Indian Literature, 45(3)*, 5-9

Shinger, Osman. (2016). Feeling far from home: Al-Ghurba. *The Niles*. Retrieved from http://www.theniles.org/en/articles/archive/20540/

Silveria, E., Allebeck, P. (2001). Migration, Aging and Mental Health: An Ethnographic Study on Perceptions of Life Satisfaction, Anxiety and Depression in Older Somali Men in East London. *International Journal of Social Welfare 10(4)*, 309-319.

Strehle, Susan. (2011). Producing exile: Diasporic vision in Adichie's "Half of a yellow sun". M*odern Fiction Studies, 57(4),*650-672

Steele, M. (2017). Social imaginaries and the theory of the normative utterance. *Philosophy and social criticism, 43(10)*, 1045-1071

Terkenli, S. Theano. (1995). Home as a region. *Geographical Review, 85(3), 324-334*

Tucker, A. (1994). In search of home. *Journal of Applied Philosophy, 11(2),* 181-187

Wahlbeck, Östen. (2002). The concept of diaspora as an analytical tool in the study of refugee communities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 28(2),* 221-238

Wall Street Journal, (0ct 19, 1993). A short history of Somalia. *Wall Street Journal*

Ware, Gilbert. (1965). Somalia: From trust territory to Nation, 1950-1960. *Phylon, 26(2),* 173-185

World Politics. (1957-1958). The Middle East and Africa. *Background on World Politics 1(4)*, 21-22

Wessendorf, S. (2007). Roots migrants: Transnationalism and return among second-generation Italians in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 33(7), 1083-1102*

Zittoun, Tania. (2006). *Transitions: Development through symbolic resources*. Greenwich, CT: Information.