Second generation Somali diaspora and remittances
In search of motives and obstacles

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Abstract

Somalia is a country that, after decades of war and conflict, continues to lack development and strongly depends on support from abroad to meet the basic needs of its population. The Somali diaspora has truly engaged in supporting its country of origin. However, the future of transnational engagement in Somalia remains a challenge, as the current diaspora actors withdraw and retire. Since the beginning of the 21st century, attention has been drawn towards the second generation and their stance as a resource within transnational activities. The aim of this thesis is to gain greater understanding of engagement by the second generation Somali diaspora living in Sweden. This thesis will focus on factors that motivate or hinder the second generation to take on a more active role in the case of transferring remittances to Somalia, with emphasis on political, social and economic remittances. In examination of this premise, previous research on the Somali-Swedish diaspora was used in the framing of a suitable operationalization, including remittances of the second generation diaspora. Qualitative interviews were conducted as the area of research is relatively unexplored, and this method is known for its ability to capture complexities. Six people of different levels of engagement in their parent’s country of origin were interviewed. The interviews focused on aspects of connection, obligation, awareness, communication, identity, economy and politics. Among additional factors, this thesis opened additional facets for exploration of the interrelation between and among these influences. It has also evoked expectations on how obligation may not only be related to reduction of poverty and suffering in Somalia, but also to obligations and expectations of parents in general. One aspect that was remarkable throughout this research was the importance of awareness. Realization of abilities and interest to engage as a member of the diaspora was partly derived from the informants level of education or professional status, but was influenced to a far greater degree from the direct communication with relatives or visiting relatives from Somalia, especially as it strengthened their connection and identity to Somalia. This further understanding of factors that motivate or hinder engagement by the second generation is valuable, especially as their experiences in transnational social fields can constitute an important resource for mobilizing required means to achieve set goals within the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Keywords: Diaspora, second generation, social remittances, political remittances, economic remittances, transnational engagement, transnationalism, Somalia
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1. Introduction

Somalia is currently one of the 47 countries on UN’s list of least developed countries in the world. It struggles greatly with two specific criteria set by the UN Committee for Development Policy: low gross national income and low rate on human assets index (UN, 2018). Decades of war and climate change has increased the vulnerability of the population. Poverty and insecurity are part of many people’s everyday life (UNDP Climate Change Adaptation, n.d.). To deal with these challenges, the Somali government and its population depend on external economic and military support (Utrikespolitiska Institutet, 2019-11-01). The situation in Somalia has significantly affected the civilian population and more than one million people have fled or emigrated abroad. This has created a globalized nation, where more than 14 percent of Somalia’s population live outside the country. Through remitting of social, political and economic means, the diaspora has made major contributions in support of their country of origin (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 4). Today over 40 percent of resident Somalis rely on money sent from relatives and friends abroad to meet their basic needs (Murphy et al., 2015, p. 13).

Somalia has adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with the overall aim of meeting the needs of the present population, without compromising the ability of the future population to meet their needs as well (UN News, 2015-09-25). The Sustainable Development Goals aim to end poverty and hunger, protect the planet from degradation, ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperity and strive for societies free from fear and violence. UN states the need for a global partnership to mobilize the required means and encourages participation of all countries, all stakeholders and all people (UN, 2015, p. 3f).

As with many other countries, many Somali migrants have settled in Sweden and continue to maintain a high level of transnational engagement. Despite this fact, the future of transnational engagement to Somalia has been raised as a significant challenge, given the current diaspora actors are withdrawing and retiring (Kleist, 2018, p. 83; UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 31). While the origins of the concept of transnationalism were significantly associated studies of the first generation of migration and diasporas, it has later been identified as an interesting relationship with the second generation of diaspora within the transnational social fields (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1017). Attention has therefore been raised towards the second generation and their stance as a resource for the Somali region in the future. As the second generation can constitute an important resource for development in
Somalia, their engagement is valuable to study. With limited previous research in this specific area, this thesis has an explorative purpose in the effort of trying to identify factors that motivate or hinder engagement in Somalia by the Somali-Swedish second generation.

1.1 Aim and research question
The aim of the thesis is to gain greater understanding of engagement of the second generation Somali diaspora living in Sweden. This thesis will primarily focus on factors that motivate or hinder the second generation’s ability to take an active role in transferring remittances to Somalia, with an emphasis on political, social and economic remittances. This thesis will also study if and how these different types of remittances are interrelated to attain further understanding of the motives and obstacles for the second generation. This thesis will pay attention to their motives, emotional and otherwise, in addition to their resources. It will also consider the circumstances in which these takes place. In order to examine this, a qualitative study will be conducted with people of varying levels of engagement in their parents’ country of origin.

1.1.1 Research question
Which factors motivate or hinder engagement in transmitting political, social and economic remittances to Somalia for the second generation diaspora in Sweden?

1.2 Delimitation
This thesis will not analyze the efficiency of second generation diaspora engagement from the Somali region. Moreover, it will not evaluate how different types of engagement are expected to be perceived by the people in the Somali region. These are interesting matters that are of tangential relation to the topic of the thesis, but requires further opportunities that are outside the scope of this research. Given the limited number of respondents available during the explorative phase of this research, the opportunities for making major generalizations will be limited. The purpose of the thesis is not to draw conclusions from these generalizations, but rather to use these generalizations to identify factors that can be valuable for further research in the area. Due to time limitations all interviews were conducted in Västerås.

The attempt towards a theory for transnational engagement by the Somali-Swedish second generation can also be valuable in other instances with comparable settings. Somalia is a case where decades of war has created dependency from abroad and where remittances plays a
central role in supporting the population and development in the country. With a diaspora that is in decline due to aging and retirement from the work force, the second generation diaspora emerges as especially important. This thesis and the results presented within can thus be especially valuable for further study. It is important to acknowledge that Somalia is an extreme case with an ongoing conflict that has been sustained for almost 30 years. Consequently, it may not be possible to identify respondent bias or motivation, whether unconscious or even deliberate. This might be especially important to consider during the identification of factors for future research in similar contexts.

1.3 Disposition
Previous research on the Somali-Swedish diaspora has acknowledged both the numerous types and the significance of remittances. Previous research on the second generation diaspora will be presented. This section will also include formulations of the expectations around factors that motivate or hinder engagement by the second generation diaspora. Moreover, the method used to explore the research question will be examined. Finally, it will also explore the chosen framework and the operational definition used in this thesis. Furthermore, the results of this study will be presented and analyzed. Lastly, a conclusion will summarize the findings.

2. Towards a theory
In the following section previous research on the Somali-Swedish diaspora, perspectives on remittances and previous research on the second generation will be presented. The ambition is that by combining relevant research within the mentioned areas, work towards a theory of transnational engagement by the second generation diaspora, in this case with focus on the Somali-Swedish diaspora. By the end of the section, expectations of factors that motivate or hinder their engagement will be shared.

2.1 The Somali-Swedish diaspora
During the last twenty years, there have been numerous research efforts that have focused on diaspora groups. Whether the diaspora actually contribute to net benefit to their country of origin remains undetermined. However, it is clear that the diaspora are widely recognized as authentic development actors since the early 2000s (Kleist, 2018, p.1). The persistent engagement of the Somali diaspora in development, reconstruction and relief activities in the
Somali region has created strong ties with the outside world. By bringing new political and economic ideas, as well as new skills and monies, the diaspora is arguably one of the key actors in the effort of transforming Somalia into a democratic and peaceful country (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 27f).

More than 68678 people born in Somalia currently reside in Sweden, and if one includes descendants, the total is more than 95000 people (Statistiska Centralbyråen, 2018-03-21). As with many other countries with significant Somali settlement, the level of transnational engagement is high. The Somali-Swedish diaspora engages in various activities including economic, political and social remittances. Furthermore, connections between Sweden and Somalia are facilitated by the Swedish government. Sweden is one of the four largest bilateral donors to Somalia with a strategy for the period 2018 – 2022 that includes international aid funding in excess of SEK 3030 million (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2018-10-04). In cooperation with the multiple governmental agencies, The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) has further coordinated international aid and continues to play an important role in development cooperation in Somalia (Sida, 2019-09-13). Sida finances two programs that cater to the large Somali diaspora: Forum Syd and International Organization for Migration (IOM). Forum Syd enables Swedish organizations to apply for assistance to implement developmental projects with local partner organizations in Somalia. IOM aims to support Somali university graduates from all over the world with the goal of their return to Somalia for service within ministries and government agencies (Sida, 2015-02-13).

In the report “Somali Diaspora Groups in Sweden”, Kleist analyses the extent to which the Sweden based Somali diaspora engage in development activities in the Somali region and what motivates and shapes their engagement. The definition of diaspora engagement that will be used in this thesis originates from Levitt and Schiller, who define the concept as “a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed” (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1009). Somali-Swedish development actors take on three, often overlapping, positions according to Kleist (2018, p. 57): as entrepreneurs who organize projects, as capacity developers who are engaged in knowledge transfer and as sources and conveyors of resources. She mentions two overall sets of motivations for the Somali-Swedish diaspora, where one is a sense of moral obligation and the other is a mixture of political and career ambitions. She
further explains that these sets of motivations may go hand in hand with each other, and that all the informants expressed some sense of moral obligation. This commitment was often expressed in cultural and religious terms aimed at relieving poverty, suffering and disaster in the Somali region (Ibid, p. 59). Kleist further states that “talking about their motivations, many informants highlighted how a realization of their ability to do something was an important factor in becoming active” (Ibid, p. 61). As an example, she highlights how specific professions provides insights and knowledge and can increase the realization of what is needed and how one might contribute. Another motivation for engagement that Kleist brings up in her report is the fulfilment of personal ambitions. This is described as an overall ambition, but is specifically mentioned as a motivation in relation to politics and the aspiration of a political career. Diaspora engagement has also been expressed as a motivation of those aspiring to a career within international organizations or NGOs, as it may provide valuable experiences and insights for development work (Ibid, p.62f).

2.2 Remittances
Remittances play an important role in some of the conflict and post-conflict countries globally. In Somalia, the determined engagement by the diaspora has brought new political and economic ideas, new skills and monies, as well as assisting in development work in the conflict-affected country (Lucas, 2019, p. 13; UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 27f). The robust support from the diaspora is partially responsible for poverty reduction, and through investment in enterprises and aid contributions, the diaspora has an important role as development drivers (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 18). There are three different types of remittances that have been prevailing in the previous research of diaspora engagement: social, political and economic. There are not only different types of remittances, but also varying intentions. With some, the intention is to contribute to economic prosperity, while others want to support democratic development. Different types of remittances can also be related to each other. As an example, Lundgren Jörum and Lundgren clarify that political remittances can occur through money, norms or knowledge (Lundgren Jörum & Lundgren, 2015, p. 4). This thesis will now examine the various characteristics spanning social, political and economic remittances to Somalia.

2.2.1 Social remittances
Social remittances refer to the flow of norms, practices, identities and social capital from the diaspora to their country of origin. The exchanges occur “when migrants return to live in or
visit their communities of origin, when non-migrants visit those in the receiving country, or through the exchange of letters, videos, cassettes, e-mails, blog posts and telephone calls” (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011, p. 4). Modern social media also constitute an important tool for communication (The Guardian, 2017-03-16). Social remittances are both cultural and social and is explained through the concept of circulation, rather than one-way travel (Lucas, 2019, p. 49). It has been urged that caution is advised when considering social remittances given the risk of neglecting important Somali values and traditions that can play a major role in the effectiveness in reconciliation and peacebuilding (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 31).

2.2.2 Political remittances
Political remittances include diffusion of norms, experiences, knowledge or money flows that contribute to political processes such as democratization or increased equality. It can therefore be considered as a subcategory within social remittances (Lundgren Jörum & Lundgren, 2015, p. 2). The Somali diaspora has constituted an important resource in the political recovery in the Somali region, given their influence through long-term engagement (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 27). Political remittances by the Somali-Swedish diaspora is not as widespread and common as economic remittances but they do transpire, especially by those who are engaged in Swedish politics and have aimed at transnational engagement (Kleist, 2018, p. 62). One example of how political remittances and engagement can take place is the global project by IOM, a project supported by Sida. Until 2017 they had a project to support Somali university graduates from all over the world in an attempt to return this intellectual capital to Somalia to work in ministries and other government agencies. Abukar Omarsson, employed by the Swedish Ministry of Employment, was one of those who took part in the project. Between 2016 and 2017 he worked in the Ministry of Finance in Somalia with the mission to help building a new system for taxes. Despite the tensions and challenges that occurred, especially because of inequalities in working conditions between Somali natives and the diaspora, he felt he could make a contribution through service as a mentor spreading knowledge that was lost during the years of war (Omvärlden, 2018-12-28).

2.2.3 Economic remittances
Economic remittances to Somalia are common and arranged through both formal and informal activities. Economic remittances include transfers from a wide range of donors incorporating family members, friends, organizations and companies from all over the world. Over 40 percent of Somalis rely on money sent from relatives and friends abroad to meet their
basic needs. The money received is normally used for food, clothing, health care, shelter, education and businesses. Economic remittances, in general, may also play an important role in reducing dependency on aid, which may allow individuals and communities to lead their own development (Murphy et al., 2015, p. 13). Because of large number of informal remittances, it is difficult to determine the specific level of remittances as a function of GDP, however, for the year 2013, it is estimated that remittances represent somewhere between 25-45 percent of Somalia’s GDP. This makes money sent from abroad very important, as it represents a significant share of the country’s annual income. When droughts or other disasters hit Somalia there is an even higher level of contribution from the diaspora to help with economic support. The contribution to specific areas becomes less important under these circumstances and even those with very limited economic means may themselves donate (Kleist, 2018, p.60). However, economic remittances do not only mean benefits. These payments most certainly cause a financial burden on the Somali diaspora, who sometimes must make considerable sacrifices which affect their own opportunities. It is also reported that a growing proportion of remittances are coming from women. Another concern is how productive the funds truly are, as they are mainly used for consumption (UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 31).

2.3 Second Generation Diaspora
From the beginning, studies of first generation migration and diasporas were especially associated the concept of transnationalism. Later, it has also become a concept associated with the second generation, as it has become clear that children of first generation diaspora are as well are growing up in transnational social fields. The second generation are brought up in households where people, values, goods and claims from somewhere else are present on a daily basis. Levitt and Schiller (2004, p. 1017) explains this further as “[...] the generational experience is not territorially bounded. It is based on actual and imagined experiences that are shared across borders regardless of where someone was born or now lives”. This thesis will adopt a broad definition of the second generation by including children who were brought to the country of resettlement before six years of age. The justification is that in longer terms, there will be no sociological differences between children who immigrated before starting school and children born in the recipient country (King & Christou, 2010, p. 106).

The youth are often highlighted as important within the roles of diaspora engagement. Despite this, there has not been a lot of attention on the future of their transnational engagement.
Concerns have been expressed by the parent generation regarding how obligated their children or grandchildren will feel to engage in their parents’ country of origin. It has especially been presumed that the younger generation growing up overseas will not remit as much money as their parents (Kleist, 2018, p. 83; Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1018; UNDP Somalia, 2009, p. 31). Even though the second generation is predicted to not be as engaged in transnational activities as their parents, believing that it will be inconsequential may be short sighted as it may overlook the effect of the many transnational activities by which individuals engage (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1018).

Tiilikainen is one of few who has conducted research of the second generation diaspora with a focus on Somalia. In her article “‘Whenever mom hands over the phone, then we talk’: Transnational ties to the country of descent among Canadian Somali youth” she focuses on transnational experiences of the second generation living in Canada. Her research emphasizes transnational family relations, practices of the second generation and means, emotions and identifications that they attach to such relations and practices (Tiilikainen, 2017, p. 63). Tiilikainen explains that most of the second generation’s connections to Somalia are maintained through their parents, who facilitate the connections between the children and relatives in Somalia. The connections are entailed through practices such as communicating with relatives, sending remittances and visiting Somalia. She describes the transnational practices and connections as complex and mixed between the informants. Visits to Somalia is described as something that strengthen their connection to Somalia, but she also mentions that the participants in general see their future in Canada or other Western countries. She explains that her informants mostly remit money out of respect for their parents and that there was skepticism about the long-term sustainment of sending remittances, as it could create a cycle of dependency. For some of the informants it made more sense to remit money after they had met their relatives in Somalia. Visits to Somalia in general reinforced their relation to Somalia as it strengthen their Somali identity (Ibid, p. 71f).

2.4 Expectations from previous research

The practices emphasized by Tiilikainen (2017, p. 71f) shape some of the expectations of the research. Practices that incorporate communication with relatives, current economic remittances and visits to Somalia are believed to also matter in the case of engagement by the Somali-Swedish second generation. Tiilikainen also deliberated on the idea of self identification by the second generation diaspora from Somalia, which she expected to be
significant. In this thesis, these practices will be analyzed in the context of the Somali-Swedish second generation. The more extended these practices are, the larger the motives for the second generation Somali-Swedish diaspora is expected to be. The less extended these practices are, the more they are expected to compose a hinderance to engagement. In the article, Tiilikainen mainly draws from interviews that were conducted with 19 informants (Ibid, p. 65). It is therefore hard to make generalizations from her research, and the results should be interpreted with caution. Different circumstances for Somalis in Canada and Somalis in Sweden make it hard to generalize the research from Canada to the situation in Sweden. For example, the flight from Canada to Somalia takes twice as long and is normally more expensive when compared to flights from Sweden to Somalia. It might therefore be the case that Somalis in Sweden visit Somalia more often. As visits are mentioned as a motive for engagement, this could be one explanation for different results between Canada and Sweden (Ibid, p. 71f).

Kleist research of the Somali-Swedish diaspora incorporates additional factors that can motivate engagement. She mentions moral obligation as something that affects the motivation for the Somali-Swedish diaspora, where the obligation is related to relieving of poverty, suffering and disaster in Somalia. She also brings up personal ambitions where she emphasizes that ambitions for a political career or a career within international organizations can motivate engagement. The interest to influence the situation and realization of ability to do something is also stated as important factors in becoming active for the Somali-Swedish diaspora (Kleist, 2018, p. 59ff). Even if these are mentioned as motivations for the first generation diaspora, it must be considered as a potential motivation for the second generation as well. This is the case, as the second generation also grow up in transnational social fields (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1017). It has also been claimed that nurturing by first generation parents is one influence that increases second generation engagement (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, p. 1017; Tiilikainen, 2017, p. 71f).

3. Methodology and research design

The following section will present the method used to answer the research question of this thesis. First, the chosen framework and the operational definition used in the thesis will be examined. Furthermore, experiences about the qualitative interviews will be shared. This
section will elaborate on the advantages and disadvantages of the chosen method. The end of the section will discuss reliability and validity of the research.

3.1 Framework and operationalization
In order to study factors that motivate or hinder engagement within social, political and economic remittances by the second generation Somali-Swedish diaspora, an operational definition is presented. The use of operationalizations is especially valuable when studying abstract and complex subjects as it can provide indicators that are measurable (Teorell and Svensson, 2016, p. 55). The operational definition is based on the same premises as the expectations presented earlier in the thesis.

3.1.1 Table, Operationalization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connection</td>
<td>Visits to Somalia, family or relatives living in Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligation</td>
<td>Moral obligations, commitment of family members, expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>Realization of ability, interest in influencing the situation, opinion on the situation in Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Somali language skills, communication tools, frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Sense of belonging, Swedish vs Somali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Current remitting of financial means, prospects of future remittances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Political commitments, general political interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the leftmost column of the table, different aspects to analyze are presented. To the right, are descriptions of major aspects of each topic. Every aspect focuses on details that aim to help in identifying factors that motivate or hinder the second generation to engage in remittances. The aspects of connection, communication and identity are mainly inspired by the previous research on the second generation Somali-Canadians conducted by Tiilikainen. The aspects of awareness and politics are mainly inspired by previous research on the Somali-Swedish diaspora by Kleist. The aspects of obligation and economy are inspired by previous research by both Tiilikainen and Kleist. The operationalization aimed to work as a framework for the
interviews conducted and as a tool for analyzing the information shared by the informants. The ambition of these interviews was to ask relevant questions, while at the same time not being too directorial to expose alternative explanations from the informants. To do so, questions like how and why were frequently asked to encourage the informants to further develop their answers. When coding the transcriptions of the interviews, the different aspects worked as headings to ease the handling of all the information. The aspect ‘connection’ was, for example, working as one of the headings and included information shared about the informants previous visits to Somalia and information about where relatives and family lived. When interpreting the interviews, the different aspects were analyzed both separately and together. All aspects were considered and analyzed against all three types of remittances. However, the aspects were more related to a certain type of remittance in some cases, such as the aspects of ‘economy’ and ‘politics’.

3.2 Qualitative interviews
The choice of qualitative interviews was motivated as this area of research is relatively unexplored and the method is the most suitable for gaining new insights (Teorell and Svensson, 2016, p. 11). Compared with quantitative methods, qualitative methods capture more of the complexity of the subject and the subjectivity of the informants. This can help to create insights into the different viewpoints of the participants (Desai and Potter, 2006, p. 115). Qualitative interviews were held with the aim to attain a greater understanding of which factors motivate or hinder engagement by the second generation.

Six persons between the ages of 17 and 33 were interviewed. To attain the maximum number of possible respondents, the research included reaching out to multiple government ministries, companies and associations with connections to Somalia. One of the main challenges was to get in direct contact with the second generation. Most of the contacts were established through the contacted ministries and associations, which made it more difficult to actively broaden the selection of people. Due to time limitations to conduct interviews, two of the interviews were only possible telephonically. For a more natural conversation, interviews in person would have been preferred. The telephonic interviews went more quickly as the informants answered with shorter responses and did not develop their answers as much. This probably depended on the difficulty in developing the same trust and connection to someone with whom one has not met in person. Another difficulty that occurred during the selection phase was to find someone engaged in politics. None of the informants were engaged in
politics, and as this is known to increase political engagement by the diaspora this can be considered a weakness of the selection of respondents. However, this obviously did not need to be the case, and will be further deliberated on in the forthcoming results and analysis sections.

The informants were either born in Sweden or had moved to Sweden before the age of five. In all cases, the informants parents’ country of origin was Somalia. To avoid dependency on one particular group, people of different ages with different occupations were interviewed. To capture different perspectives of what may motivate or hinder engagement, the level of engagement in Somalia needed to vary between the participants. This was hard to predict in advance, but some of the informants were interviewed due to their profession as it indicated higher engagement in Somalia. The informants were also briefly asked about their engagement in Somalia before the interview was held. The outline was the same for every interview, to make it easier to compare the information shared from the informants. The interviews were semi-structured. This gave opportunity for the informants to talk more freely and for the researcher to ask appropriate follow-up questions. The questions were not always asked in the same order as the order of the questions were adjusted depending on what subjects the informants raised themselves. The aim with the chosen method, was to get the informants to share their own reality and talk as much as possible, without being excessively led by the interviewer. Despite the purity of the motivation for choosing this method, it also included weaknesses. Even though the questions were aimed to be broadly asked, the set of subjects were dependent on a centralized referral, which resulted in a less diverse set of informants and likely impeded the explorative purpose a bit. Focus groups could have been a suitable complement to the semi-structured interviews, as this kind of participatory method can result in the feeling of more control of the research process by the informants (Desai and Potter, 2006, p. 155). Complementing with focus groups could therefore have given insights of important factors that are still unexplored. The ideal case would have been to test the identified factors in this thesis through quantitative methods, where the tested hypotheses could create greater opportunities to generalize the results.

Desires of several of the informants to remain anonymous will be respected. Therefore no personal names are shared in this thesis and pseudonyms are used for these informants. All of the interviews were held in Swedish. Quotations and case examples were shared with the
informants to check details, translation of quotations, and ensure a sufficient level of anonymity.

3.3 Validity and reliability

All operationalizations include challenges, as no indicator can give unambiguous results. All claims made within characteristics of social life are therefore subject to measurement errors. Systematic measurement errors, referred to as validity, relate to the question of whether what is intended is actually measured. To achieve the highest possible validity, a relevant operationalization of the theoretical definition is required. If this is not considered, the result is likely to be either over- or underrated (Teorell and Svensson, 2016, p. 55). Drawing on previous research within the area of diaspora engagement, this research used this for guidance and inspiration in the operationalization of this study. The choice of combining research from different authors was made as they complement each other. Reliability on the other hand, assesses the accuracy and trustworthiness of the material from the conducted research. All informants in the research were first-hand sources, which increased the probability for truthful descriptions. Moreover, another consideration which should be evaluated is the sources own interest in portraying themselves in a certain way. To reduce this risk, the aim of the thesis was clearly described for the informants. The researcher was especially concerned that the informants would not be comfortable talking about factors that hinder their engagement in Somalia. As several of the informants expressed concern that others may read the thesis, all of the informants data was collected anonymously. This decision was made to assuage the desire of the informants as well as to decrease the risk of informants portraying themselves in a certain way.

Sometimes information and statements from the informants is hard to estimate and interpret correctly (Teorell and Svensson, 2016, p. 56f). The difference from systematic measurement errors is that the unsystematic measurement error is random and not repeated throughout the research. Thereby reliability can be increased with a greater quantity of cases, if the validity is high. The chosen method of qualitative interviews makes it harder to increase the reliability through additional cases, mainly because interviews are extremely work intensive and time allocated to collection was limited. However, the explanation of mechanisms is a complementing strength of the qualitative method (Ibid, p. 62f). The interviewer attained an opportunity to not only identify factors, but also to gain understanding of how these different factors motivate or hinder engagement by the second generation. Other benefits of the method
used was that it allowed for knowledge of the subject of the interviews. This was especially valuable from an analysis perspective as the study was made for explorative purposes. The qualitative method also reduces risk of non-response and thereby ameliorates risk of a distorted result. Positionality, subjectivity and the interviewer’s effect on the informants also affect the reliability in these types of interviews. The reliability of the results is therefore somewhat limited. With that stated, the interviews do contribute to a genesis of greater understanding of the factors that motivate or hinder engagement by the second generation. The validity of the conducted research will be further discussed in the forthcoming results, analysis and conclusion sections.

4. Results and analysis

This section will present the results and analysis of the research. First, factors that motivate or hinder social remittances by the second generation will be presented, continuing with factors for political remittances. The last part of this section will address factors that motivate or hinder engagement of economic remittances. The three divisions were oftentimes found to overlap each other, which made divisions for presenting the results a bit problematic. However, this was how the research was outlined from the beginning as this method was consistently and successfully used in previous research in the area. This will be elaborated on both in this section and in the forthcoming conclusion of the thesis.

4.1 Social remittances

As previously mentioned, social remittances appear through physical meetings or different types of communication. All of the informants said that they can communicate in Somali. Most of the informants also stated that their relatives or friends in Somalia do not speak English. As a reasonable prerequisite to communicate with those living in Somalia, it can therefore be supposed that it is important that the second generation abroad learn Somali. However, this also depends on the future of English skills in Somalia. It may also be predictable that language skills vary significantly between families in Somalia. Those with relatives in Somalia explained that most of their contact occurs through social media. The majority said that they mainly have contact during special occasions such as holidays or birthdays, and not on a daily basis. Some informants have never been to Somalia, while others have visited Somalia to visit their relatives once or twice.
Iman is in her mid 20’s and just finished her master studies in medical science. She has a lot of relatives living in Somalia, whom she went to visit in 2013. In the future, she is interested in working in Africa, preferably in Somalia, after finishing her PhD. Iman expressed that her biggest concern about Somalia, apart from the government, is the lack of knowledge. After years of war, her perception is that the education level has diminished. Iman feels that she can make a contribution with her education in medical science. She wrote her master thesis in East Africa and really enjoyed it. Her experience of research work in East Africa, together with her parents notion of moving back to Somalia when it becomes safe enough to live there, makes her actually considering a permanently move there in the future. In this case, factors that can be seen as motivating engagement in transmitting social remittances include Iman’s awareness. Awareness in this thesis is related to the realization of ability and interest in influencing the situation, together with the general opinion of the situation in Somalia. In this case, she believes that her education can be valuable and that she can make a contribution because of the reduced education level in Somalia. Considering the challenges within development for Somalia, this kind of engagement and the motivations for it may be considered especially important when examining social remittances. Iman’s realization of ability and interest to influence the situation seems to be partly influenced by her education, but also from her previous experiences of Somalia and East Africa. It is reasonable to believe that her previous research work, especially when considering it was successful, increases her awareness of her ability to contribute. It is also realistic to believe that her cherished experiences from East Africa inspire the idea of moving to Africa in the future, as well as make it more tangible. The fact that she has visited her relatives in Somalia and that her parents are considering a return can also be believed to further increase awareness, as it strengthens her connections to Somalia. This indicates that different aspects can be interrelated and affect each other.

Bishaaro on the other hand, is not interested in traveling to or living in Somalia. Unlike the other informants, she feels no connection to Somalia. She was born in Somalia but came to Sweden very early in her life. She clarified that she has no relatives living there, and no other connections to Somalia. Instead she was raised in Sweden and all of her friends and family live here. She also mentioned the cultural differences between Sweden and Somalia as a significant factor in her absence of a desire to travel to Somalia.
I have never been back. I don’t want to go back. There are laws there that you have to follow, and I follow the Swedish law. For me it’s very hard to shift law, over there you are not allowed to be without veil, not allowed to wear jeans and that kind of stuff. For me it is difficult to go there as that’s what I do. It would be kind of against everything that I do.

Factors that can be understood as an obstacle to engagement in social remittances in this case are the lack of connections to Somalia. In this case, lack of connection seems to be related to several factors such as a lack of relatives living in Somalia, all of her friends and family members living in Sweden and cultural differences that makes the idea of travelling to Somalia very remote. One explanation from Bishaaro as to why it feels so remote for her to want to travel to Somalia is that she would be required to wear a veil and would not be allowed to wear jeans. This shows that obstacles to social remittances can be a part of a gendered question. The feeling of obligation to engage, or the lack of obligation, was not something that Bishaaro mentioned herself. However, the fact that she had no present connections to Somalia can be believed to result in less or no obligation. The circumstances in total result in that Bishaaro neither visits nor communicates with people living in Somalia. With the absent of communication and visits, social remittances and the effects of it will not be forthcoming either.

Iman described that she identifies herself more Somali than Swedish, where the everlasting questions in Sweden about her origin is described as the main reason for it. She explained that she witnesses judgements of her skin color and religion in Sweden and believes that this has further affected her in the idea of moving to Somalia, or elsewhere in Africa. Several of the informants experienced similar judgements and that these racist events in Sweden have affected their identity to become more interrelated to Somalia. Idil posited that this has especially been the case for him the last ten years, as he has experienced the Swedish political climate shifting and becoming harsher toward residents with Somali heritage. Abshir, another informant, expressed that while he has become older he has become less naive, and therefore has a better perception of how people in Sweden really see him.

It’s about how other people see you, that you start to integrate in the way that people see you. I know that the Swedes don’t see me as Swedish.
Whilst Iman feels that people’s perceptions of her has affected her consideration of potentially moving to Somalia or Africa one day, there are also examples amongst the informants which indicate the opposite. Neither Idil nor Abshir expressed a strong wish to even visit Somalia. Even if judgments in Sweden have affected them, they still identify themselves more Swedish than Somali. The correlation between racism or judgments can thus be understood to affect their Swedish and Somali identity. However, it does not appear to be the only factor. Influences beyond identity also seem to affect the motivation to engage in transmitting of social remittances. In the case of Iman, she expressed that it has magnified her already existing thoughts of moving, where her connections to Somalia and her awareness were explained as aspects that motivated engagement. As a counterexample it has not increased her current contact with relatives in Somalia.

Iman described that some of the challenges in the Somali society are also related to their culture, as it includes violations of human and bodily rights. As an example she mentioned female genital mutilation, something she strongly discards. She explained that she believes that this is not only caused by a primitive educational system, as even highly educated Somalis support it. Instead, she believes that the most influential factor was culture. Iman also mentioned cultural differences in general between Sweden and Somalia.

Depending on how freely your mind are... Somalis dress in a certain way. If you come to Somalia and think that you don’t really care and you put on a pair of shorts...that’s maybe not the right to do if you go there.

She explained this further as she believes it is very important to respect the culture of the countries that you visit, something she applies to other countries as well. This could be a factor that motivates to influential social remittances, as the UNDP in Somalia (2009, p. 31) has urged caution that social remittances should not risk neglecting important Somali values and traditions which play a major role in the effectiveness of reconciliation and peacebuilding. Despite cultural differences such as female genital mutilation, which can be considered a extreme violation of human and bodily rights, it is clear that Iman does not encourage the practice, however, she expressed no reflection on if or how to influence these kind of matters. This further demonstrates the importance of awareness, where realization of ability is an important aspect for forwarding of social remittances. In this case, where Iman considers moving one day, unattended social remittances might yet occur. As she is educated
within medical science and would work together with people within the medical profession, it might not be too naive to believe that she would contribute with skills or knowledge within these areas but in cultural ways as well. These types of social remittances might not be as obvious as pure knowledge connected to her education, but should not be totally diminished either. However, the lack of awareness in this matter can be considered an obstacle to engagement.

Another example of social remittances by the second generation diaspora is given by Idil, who remits money to his cousins so that they can afford to attend school. He decided to start to remit money after he visited Somalia in his mid 20’s and realized that his uncle could not afford for his cousins to attend school. His support is directed to this specific aim, as he believes that to invest in someone’s education is the best investment one can do for a person. When his cousins have graduated he expects them to stand on their own two feet. Idil often ponders that it could have just as easily been him who was living in Somalia, and his relatives who were living in Sweden. He explained that this makes the situation for his cousins relatable for him. He emphasized the great connection they built during his visit to Somalia, but also how their connection has become weaker now that they have not met in seven years.

I think it depends on the distance, when you don’t meet people physically I think it can result in that you drift apart from each other.

By giving support of economic means for a special cause, the second generation can also convey social remittances. As in this case, through encouraging people to attend school it can indirectly increase the flow of skills and knowledge. In the case of Idil, factors of obligation and connection seem to have strongly influenced his engagement in transmitting both economic and social remittances. Before he visited Somalia, he was neither engaged in economic remittances nor felt any obligations for his cousins. After his visit, when he had seen their reality in real life, he felt a stronger connection to his relatives living in Somalia. This resulted in his initiation of monetary remittances, with the aim of his cousins attending school. This also shows that awareness is an important aspect in motivating engagement, as realization of needs and realization of the ability to act has encouraged social remittances. Also as demonstrated in this scenario, the different aspects are shown to be strongly interrelated to each other.
4.2 Political remittances

None of the informants were engaged in politics, neither in Sweden nor Somalia. Although it did not prove feasible, it was certainly the intention to interview someone engaged in politics. If this would have been accomplished, it is possible that it would have provided further factors regarding motivations or obstacles to engagement in political remittances by the second generation diaspora. That notwithstanding, the informants can take part in remitting of political remittances through other means. Barkhado questioned some of the outcomes of the large economic remittances from the diaspora, as he feels that it creates passivity in Somalia. When asked if he believes that there is a difference in the outcome of development between economic remittances and aid his answer was clear. He explained that aid works differently from economic remittances, as it requires further investigation into how the money is used to attain the best results. Whilst his attitude towards economic remittances will be deliberated on in the next section, his thoughts on aid will be further reflected here as well. He mentioned that the need for aid is revalued at regular intervals, instead of being seen as a contribution for an indefinite time period. Further, he believed the use of aid is more regulated when compared to economic remittances as of today. Even if the majority of the second generation is not directly involved in the aid industry, this can be interpreted as a political aspect, where the purpose and meaning of remittances can motivate transmitting of political remittances by the second generation. In this case, it seems to be mainly connected to remittances through economic means. This was previously deliberated on in the example mentioned by Idil, who remits money for his cousins education. This could both be believed to affect social and political remittances, depending on the intended purpose for which the diaspora remits. This might also make it more enticing for the second generation to remit money, as the money they send has a clear, finite purpose and is not just an indefinite activity.

Iman, as discussed in the social remittances section, might unintentionally transmit social remittances that contribute to political processes. However, the circumstance where she does not show any determination to influence these kinds of matters should really be considered, as this can be understood as a hinder to engagement of transmitting political remittances. Political changes are recognized to transpire only when strong and determined movements are formed, and as mentioned above, these circumstances are not present. None of the informants showed strong political will to affect the political circumstances in Somalia themselves.
The informants expressed similar feelings about the current situation in Somalia today. They explained the situation as quite unsettled and challenging, but with several areas of improvement during recent years. None of the informants regularly follow the politics in Somalia, but most of them pay attention when news about Somalia shows up on television or social media. The lack of political interest in Somalia is also considered an obstacle to transmission of political remittances. The will to go to Somalia for a longer period is also interesting to study in relation to political remittances as this might be conducive to a larger political interest in the country. Whilst one of the informants actually considers a move to Somalia, the rest of the informants were not very motivated about going there for a longer period. Some of the informants expressed interest of going there for vacations to visit their relatives. Some expressed very little or no interest at all. Abshir expressed his feelings about going to Somalia for a longer period, to contribute with knowledge that can help to develop political processes.

"Why should I sacrifice myself? I have a good life here, I was born here, I’m Swedish. Why should I go to a country that I haven’t been in?"

Abshir expressed that going there for a longer period implicates the feeling of sacrificing as he lives a good life in Sweden. The lack of political interest and the low interest of travelling to Somalia for a longer period of time can all be seen as factors that hinder transmitting of political remittances. Lack of obligation to travel to Somalia for a longer period, explicitly to assist in Somalia’s development through sharing of knowledge within professional fields or politics, can also be considered a hinder for the second generation to transmit political remittances.

### 4.3 Economic remittances

Two of the informants remit money regularly on their own. Three of the informants remit money sporadically through their parents. One of the informants does not remit any money to Somalia. Barkhado is one of the two who remits money regularly. Most of his relatives live in Somalia, and he has been there to visit them twice. Although he hasn’t been there during the last 10 years and as of now he has no plans to travel there again. Barkhado mainly supports his grandmother through economic means. Through his grandmother he also supports several children who have lost their parents. He explained that he recognizes a great need for support in Somalia, especially for the most vulnerable. Although he remits money and understands the
need for it, he does question the results of the large contribution of economic aid from the diaspora.

*The diaspora on the other hand has a part in inhibiting, as it is an extreme passivity that has been created, both among the elderly and the younger people. Where they impose on…they live with the fact that no jobs are created and they don’t do anything enterprising, because they know that thousands of Swedish kronor will be sent from relatives abroad each and every month.*

Barkhado feels shattered as he knows that in particular, the poorest are totally dependent on economic support from the diaspora with no other system in the society to support them. On the other hand, people rely so strongly on the support from the diaspora that it creates passivity in the society. When Barkhado was asked if he believes that he will continue to send money he was not too sure.

*I have a hard time to see that I will continue with this forever. I definitely see a future where I have kids of my own and a family of my own to consider, where I won’t send money to the same extent.*

Barkhado explained that he and his family have a strong sense of obligation to remit money to his relatives in Somalia. Since he started working in Sweden, he has remitted between 10 and 15 percent of his income every month. This has affected his opportunities here in Sweden, especially by affecting his savings and future opportunities for him to buy his own apartment. One factor that motivates engagement in transmitting economic remittances in this case is the perception of the need for economic means. In this case it occurs through his relationship with his grandmother and previous visits to Somalia. Another factor that appears to motivate engagement is the feeling of obligation. Barkhado feels obligated to remit money to Somalia, something that appears through expectations from both his family in Sweden and his relatives in Somalia. Even if it can be considered as a factor that motivate economic remittances it might not always be desirable, depending on how it affects the diaspora. Barkhado mentioned that in remitting large amounts of money, he has negatively affected his opportunities in Sweden. Whilst the perception of need for economic means can motivate engagement, the opposite can work as an obstacle to engagement. Barkhado mentions that he has noticed negative outcomes with the economic support from the diaspora, as it impedes development
and independence. This decreases the perception of need for economic assistance in this manner, as it is considered to be destructive when considering the bigger picture. Another obstacle that can be identified is the need for priorities for the diaspora. Barkhado mentions that in the future when he has his own family he might not have the possibility to prioritize remittances to Somalia to the same extent. This might be the case as he then will feel more obligated to take care of his closest family members here in Sweden, over supporting relatives he has not met in many years.

Idil is the other informant who remits money regularly. The contexts for remittance for Idil and Barkhado are starkly different. Idil had no idea that his parents remitted money to Somalia when he was younger and thus felt no obligation from his family here in Sweden. He decided to initiate remittances after he visited Somalia in his mid 20’s, when he realized that his uncle could not afford for his cousins to attend school. He does not remit money for household expenses but instead prioritizes his remittances for education, as he believes that is the most beneficial kind of economic support. When his cousins have graduated university, he thinks that he will stop remitting money as his cousins by then should have the basic foundation to manage for themselves. Nowadays Idil does not only remit money himself, but supports remittances by the greater diaspora. After his visit to Somalia he realized how complicated and expensive it was to remit money. As a result, he launched Transfer Galaxy with some friends in 2014. Transfer Galaxy is a digital service for sending money abroad, with an ambition to make it both cheaper and safer. He feels that he has further contributed to his family in Somalia through his enabling of remittances by the greater diaspora. In this case as well, the aspect of awareness and perception of need for economic means played a major role in motivating engagement. In this instance, it occurred through a visit to relatives in Somalia. Moreover, it not only resulted in remitting of money, as Idil now devotes his life to simplifying the remittance process for the greater Somalia diaspora. Idil’s mother still lives in Sweden but his father moved back to Somalia after he retired, as he decided to take part in rebuilding the country. He thinks that his close relationship with his parents and the fact that his dad has moved back to Somalia has strengthened his relation to Somalia. The feeling of identity is also a factor that can motivate or hinder economic engagement. Since Idil has visited Somalia, he often ponders the possibility that it could have been him who still lived in Somalia and his relatives who instead lived in Sweden. This might therefore increase the feeling of obligation for his relatives still living there.
Iman, Abdullahi and Abshir remit money sporadically through their parents. Iman is unsure about the future and her continued remittance of economic aid, especially as she considers moving to Somalia or East Africa herself. She also mentioned that her aunts and cousins living in Somalia have other close relatives abroad who can remit money. The feeling of obligation in this case seems to decrease when there is an impression of shared responsibilities. This could work as an obstacle to engagement, but shared responsibilities might also relieve some of the burdens that the second generation experience. Abdullahi on the other hand, explained that he will continue to remit money for as long as he lives, as he thinks that if that door closes for his relatives, there is not much that they will have left. Considering the vision outlined by Abdullahi, factors that motivate engagement of economic means return to the aspect of awareness. Realization of need for economic assistance in addition to the feeling of obligation motivates Abdullahi to remit money. Abshir on the other hand, was unsure about the future.

*I’m not sure if I will continue to send money in the future, me and my parents have had that discussion. It’s a lot of people over there that they take care of. Some of their best friends, that they grew up with. My mother has half-sisters there that I don’t know anything about. [...] How will it be in the future? We haven’t come to any decision. I have a hard time to see that I will send money to people I don’t know. But of course, to my grandmother and my uncles. At least I believe that I will do it, but it is hard to know.*

Factors that can reduce engagement become obvious in this quotation by Abshir. He states that he has a hard time in believing that he will remit money to people that he does not know. This indicates that if the second generation has a weak relation to their relatives or to their parent’s friends in Somalia, it can reduce their engagement. This implies that less connection to Somalia, can also discourage the feeling of obligation. Unlike the other informants, Bishaaro feels no connection to Somalia. She believes that is the case as she was raised in Sweden and all of her family and friends reside there. She does not remit any money to Somalia, and said that she will probably not do so in the future either. She explained that she understands why people remit money, but explains that she or her family have no relatives in Somalia to receive monetary remittances. This further indicates the relevance played by ongoing contact with friends and relatives as a motivation for economic engagement by the second generation diaspora.
An example of how future economic remittances can occur was raised by Abshir. He recalled a conversation he had with his father. They discussed that it might be a good idea to encourage and support people to start their own businesses instead of simply remitting money. By giving a loan to someone, so that person can invest in a taxi or a kiosk, the diaspora can create opportunities for them to generate their own income in the future. This also indicates a awareness and interest to influence the situation. Depending on how this is communicated and executed, social remittances can also be included as part of transmitting economic means. This is not something that Abshir engages in today, but it might indicate a tendency that to be motivated to participate in future economic remittances they would have to be more oriented to a specific purpose.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to provide greater understanding of engagement in Somalia by the second generation Somali diaspora living in Sweden. To do so, a qualitative study was conducted with the explorative purpose of identifying factors that motivate or hinder engagement in transmitting political, social and economic remittances. This thesis has also considered if and how these different types of remittances are interrelated, to attain further understanding of the motives and obstacles for the second generation. The aim of this thesis was motivated by the important resource the second generation represents for development in Somalia, especially when the current diaspora actors of the first generation withdraw and retire. The design and operationalization of the research was mainly inspired from previous research by Tiilikainen, who studied engagement by the Somali-Canadian second generation diaspora, and Kleist, who studied engagement by the Somali-Swedish first generation diaspora. Combining these previous studies was both rewarding and provided valuable starting points and a suitable operationalization for the research.

The previous research helped scoping expectations and provided a basis base for the interviews conducted. The expectation was that the motivations to engage in Somalia for the second generation would increase through contact with relatives in Somalia, visits to Somalia and strong identification with Somali culture. Current remitting of economic means by the informant’s parents, and engagement by the informants in politics was also believed to motivate engagement. Obligation related to relief of poverty, suffering and disaster in Somalia
was also considered as a significant motivation for engagement. The interest to influence the situation and realization of one’s ability to do something – in the thesis denoted as awareness – were also expected to motivate engagement in transmitting of remittance. A lack of these aspects was expected to have a contrary effect, or inhibit engagement. One part of identifying factors that motivates and hinders engagement in transmitting remittances was to examine these in the setting of the second generation, more specifically to the second generation Somali-Swedish residents. The expectations were largely justified, but the research also uncovered new expectations. It evoked expectations on the interrelation among different factors as well how different types of remittances might coalesce or be reinforced by each other. For example, how visits to Somalia and communication with relatives living there can affect the feeling of obligation and awareness of how one might influence the situation. Obligation was an expectation that was raised in the research for this thesis as a central factor for motivating or inhibiting engagement in remittances. For the first generation diaspora, the feeling of obligation was mainly related to relief of poverty, suffering and disaster in the Somali region. For the second generation, there were indicators that obligation can also be related to the parents and their expectations, especially in relation to economic remittances. Another expectation that has appeared from the interviews is the aspect of gender and how this could inhibit female engagement, especially in social remittances. One of the informants expressed how cultural differences between Sweden and Somalia make it very unlikely that she would want to travel to Somalia, as she would not be allowed to wear jeans or dress without veil.

One aspect that has been remarkable throughout the research is the importance of awareness as a motivating factor for the second generation. Awareness in this thesis was defined as the realization of abilities and interest to influence the situation. Realization for the informants was partly derived from their education or profession, as described by Kleist regarding the first generation Somali-Swedish diaspora (2018, p. 61ff). The interest to have an impact and realization of how it might be accomplished, was also derived from the informants connections and experiences in Somalia. Communicating with relatives and visits to Somalia increased the informants connection with their parents country of origin, something that can motivate engagement in transmission of all types of remittances. Visits to Somalia and communicating with relatives living there could also motivate engagement as it can increase a sense of moral obligation, especially in those cases where there is a strong perception of need.
This further creates new expectations as it indicates that the different aspects for motivation or inhibition to engagement are strongly interrelated.

Informants expressed that moral obligation increased through visits and other types of contact with relatives in Somalia. Visits and contact with relatives were mostly initiated by the parents, which creates expectations of the parents role in motivating or hindering engagement by the second generation. Tiilikainen (2017, p. 71f) described this as also the case for the second generation in Canada. Visits and communication can also be expected to strengthen the Somali identity and make the situation for relatives still living in Somalia more relatable for the second generation. The informants who had actually met their relatives, expressed a stronger connection to Somalia and that their obligation to engage had increased through meeting their relatives in person. It also featured in their Somali identity.

Several of the informants mentioned concerns regarding the efficiency of everlasting economic remittances for household expenses. Some of the informants expressed thoughts and ideas indicating a preference for economic remittances targeted toward specific causes as a better method to contribute to further development in the country. Further, they believed that remitting money for school fees or lending money to their relatives or friends to start their own businesses would create less dependency and induce development. This can make it challenging to differentiate the types of remittances made by the second generation, as the different types of remittances can come together, or induce each other. One informant disclosed that sending large amounts of money as he has done, has negatively affected his opportunities in Sweden, and was a potential obstacle to future economic remittances. Expectations raised from this viewpoint are that the opportunities for the second generation in Sweden and the results of the money that is sent might either hinder or motivate engagement by the second generation, as it might affect their feeling of sacrifice. The expectation is that this might especially be the case if the second generation does not see any improvements as a result of their economic remittances. Several of the informants also expressed a lack of motivation to send money to people they do not know. This correlates well with the research by Tiilikainen (2017, p. 71f) who explained that some of the informants in her research explained that they felt that it made more sense to remit money after they had met their relatives in Somalia. The importance of a durable connection with relatives or friends in Somalia is thus also an important factor that can motivate engagement.
Whilst the informants expressed various motivations on behalf of engaging in social and economic remittances, informants expressed few motivations for political remittances. The general lack of political interest and the low interest of travelling to Somalia for extended periods of time, can both be expected to be factors that inhibit political remittances. It is important to recognize that none of the informants were engaged in politics, something that Kleist (2018, p. 61ff) mentioned as motivating for transmitting of political remittances. The intention was to find someone engaged in politics to interview, but this was not successful. However, the struggle to find someone belonging to the second generation engaged in politics could also be a finding as it may indicate low political engagement by the Somali-Swedish second generation. However, it is not possible to make any generalizations or implications in this matter as it requires further research. Political engagement was not something that was elaborated on by Tiilikainen regarding the Somali-Canadian second generation.

Identifying factors that motivate or inhibit engagement by the second generation is an important step towards understanding the future engagement by the diaspora. This is especially the case in long lasting conflicts where the first generation withdraw and retire. For the opportunity to make greater generalizations, the identified factors need to be further examined. The ideal case would be to test the identified factors in this thesis through quantitative methods, where tested hypotheses could create greater opportunities to generalize the results. Engagement by the second generation diaspora is interesting to study as their experiences in transnational social fields can provide greater understanding of conditions for mobilizing required means within development. In the case of Somalia, the second generation can constitute an important resource for achieving the set goals within the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.
6. References


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Appendix – Outline for the held interviews

- Name, age, country of birth (arrival in Sweden)
- Are you a student or do you work? What are you studying / working with?
- Are both of your parents from Somalia?
- Do your parents live in Sweden today? What do they do today?
- Do you have relatives living in Somalia?
  - If that is the case, how much contact do you have with them?
  - How do you keep in touch?
- What do you think about the situation in Somalia today?
  - Do you feel that you can affect the situation? How / in what way?
- Have you visited Somalia?
  - If yes: When / why?
  - If no: Why?
- Are you or someone in your family sending money to Somalia?
  - If yes: Reason / how involved are you / the future?
  - If no: Reason?
- Do you feel most affiliated with Somalia or Sweden?
  - In what way and why do you think you feel this way?
- Are you politically engaged?
  - In what way?

*All of the interviews were held in Swedish. The interview questions have been translated from Swedish to English for this appendix.*