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Farhia A. Abdi
Canterbury Christ Church University, guure@rogers.com

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Sociocultural & Leadership Transmission in the Somali Diaspora: Community Values, Cohesion, Family Unity & Patriarchal Leadership

Farhia Abdi

Canterbury Christ Church University

Kent, United Kingdom

guure@rogers.com

This research explores the Somali Diaspora community in Ottawa, Canada's intercultural understanding between their homeland and their host country. The task of this limited study is to assess the changes occurring in the contemporary Somali diaspora culture and changes in leadership perceptions, particularly those of male leadership, and changes in family integration, community cohesion and solidarity, and the transmission of cultural values across generations. This research confirms that changes did occur in the Somali Diaspora community in various ways, including family dynamics, community cohesion and the concept of transmitting cultural values to their younger generation. Themes are identified by the participants, including sociocultural impediments, which were further identified as: Language barriers, Lack of financial resources, Lack of quality time, and Lack of community programs. The study concludes that elders and male Somali Diaspora parents are aware of their cultural role and are connected to the culture in general; however, they do not adequately transmit their cultural values to their children. The study also identified a few insights concerning clan relations, intergenerational interaction, and community structure. In order to develop a description of the community members' own experiences, this study utilized a qualitative research methodology to collect data and further develop the main focus on cultural values, integration, and leadership as communities' transition from one culture to another. The participants were contacted through the "snowballing" technique that led to communicating with more participants through the assistance of the pre-selected participants. The results of the study should be treated as preliminary, and areas in need of further research are identified.

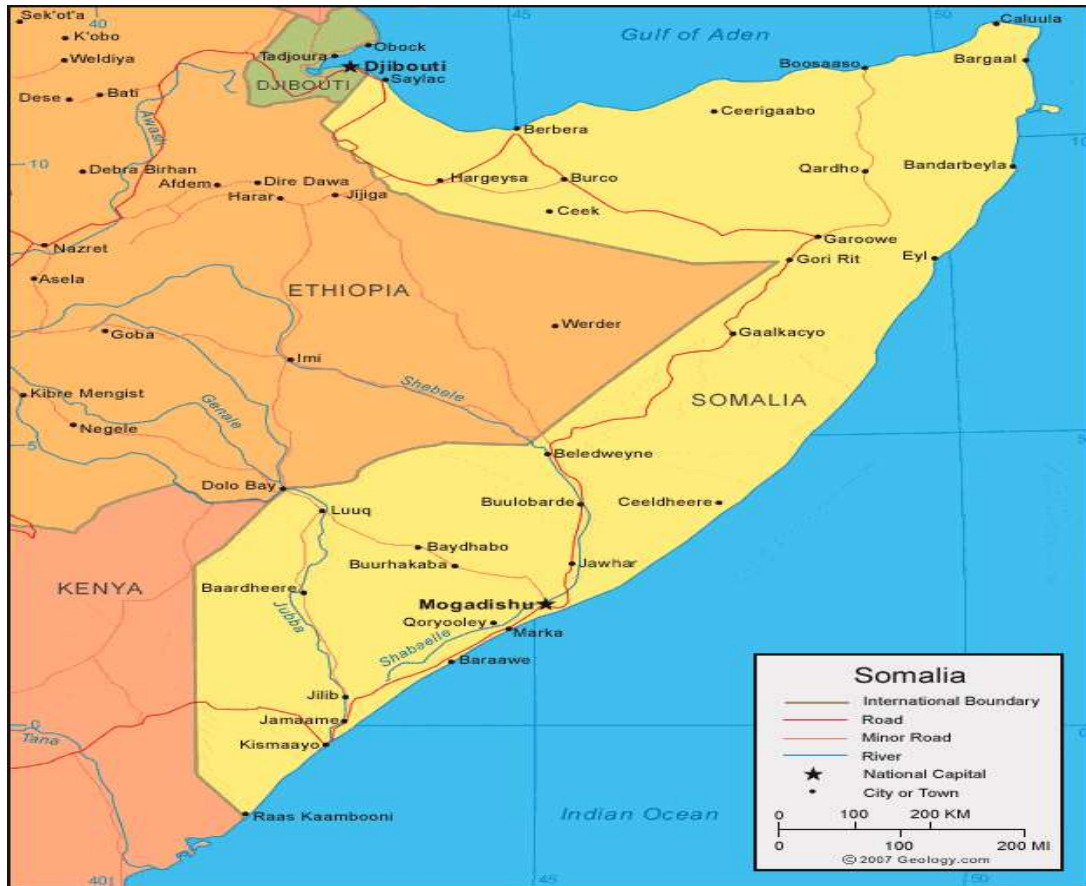
Keywords: Sociocultural transmission, Somalia, intergeneration, extended family, clan identity, cultural value, community cohesion and solidarity.

Introduction

“Sociocultural transmission is a necessary ingredient in societal stability, cohesion, and continuity” (Adjaye & Aborampah, 2008, p. 23). Somalis traditionally respect the leadership of the head of their family and the wisdom of their elderly as the keepers of traditions, passed down to younger generations. Communities have privileged access to their own reality and are able to understand their world in ways that others outside that world cannot (Hosking & Morley, 2004). My research interest is in understanding long-held traditions and cultural values that transcend different terrains and, through this, understand the ‘relational practices and social realities’ that are created. In the context of Somali social tradition, the nuclear family is central and important for solidarity and cohesion (Abdullahi, 2001). Somalis are inhabitants of the Horn of Africa, particularly in North-Eastern Africa. Most Somalis are described as a nomadic pastoral society whose “politics lie in kinship and are composed of men who trace descent through a common male ancestor from whom they take their corporate name” (Lewis, 1965, p. 4). Outside of the core family unity, there is kinship family that is linked through membership and leadership connection (Cassanelli, 1982,

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Issa-Salwe, 1994; Lewis, 1961, 1994; Luling, 2006, Mohamoud, 2006; Samatar, 1991; Touval, 1963).



Somali map. Geology.com, 2007.

For close to last three decades, however, Somalia, as a state, has been under the watch of the international communities due to its unraveling status caused by its civil strife. During the civil war in 1991, the Somali people confronted an uncontrollable level of armed conflict and became one of the most war-torn societies in the contemporary world. As Samatar and Lyons (1995) state, Somalia experienced a “deeply rooted breakdown of institutions, interlinked deterioration of social structure, cultural constraints and failed political and leadership apparatus, which forced a mass displacement of people and state fragmentation” (p. 8). As a result, 1.1 million Somalis have become refugees, fleeing primarily to neighboring countries (Kenya, Ethiopia, Yemen and Djibouti), with another 1.1 million Somalis living as internally displaced persons (IDPs) with makeshift housing within Somalia’s border (UNHCR, 2015). There is also a sizable Somali diaspora that lives all over the world, including North and sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa, the Middle East, Europe, United States of America, Canada and Australia, etc. To understand the impact the Somali state disintegration has on its society’s identity and values, one has to seek answers within the Somali diaspora to get their points-of-view on the transformation of their lives within their adopted country and the views they hold about their past lives for cultural leadership and transmission of values.

This study explores the Somali community in Ottawa to understand how they perceive the transmission of their own cultural values and traditions while dealing with dual cultural values. Ottawa is Canada's capital city and fourth largest region in Canada. According to 2022 Statistics Canada, Ottawa's population is 1,017,449 that is population percentage change of 8.9 from 2016-2021. It also states there are 11,070 Somalis living in Ottawa, Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022). That being said, the Somali community comes with a unique cultural perspective in terms of cultural transmission, clan identity and leadership. It is important to see how they perceive themselves in their adopted country and if their own beliefs and values have changed. This project is an attempt to articulate the different perspectives of this community and their concept of their traditional leadership of their homeland and that of their adopted country. In other words, the aim is to see if there is a change in the notion of Somali identity and the understanding of traditional values and of leadership.

Methods and Project Design

In order to develop a description of the community members' own experiences, the small-scale research project utilizes a qualitative research methodology to collect data and to further develop the main focus on cultural values, integration, and leadership as community transition from one culture to another. A qualitative method is used in this project to gain a holistic understanding of Somalis living in Ottawa, and the cultural leadership method deployed in the past. Qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves (Czarniawska, 2004). This methodology is guided by interviews with selected participants who are identified as Somalis and meet the criteria set-forth to participate in the study. These criteria ensure that participants are: (i) from the older generation of the Somali diaspora who had lived in Somalia and are currently living in Ottawa with their families, (ii) between the ages of 50 to 75, (iii) have immigrated to Canada either before, during or after the Somali civil war. The study reviews their perspectives on their cultural and leadership beliefs and that of their adopted country. The participants were selected from various backgrounds and identified through personal information, including education, age and gender.

I identified and established contacts with active individuals, professionals, and elders, and I used the "snowballing" technique that led to communicating with more participants through the assistance of the pre-selected participants. Most of the participants interviewed in this research came to Canada after the Somali Civil War in 1991 and live in Ottawa, raising families. All the interviews took place in Ottawa in a span of five weeks. I conducted a series of interviews during this time for both group and individual sessions (with a total of 10 Somali male participants). This important small-scale study highlighted themes identified by members of the Somali diaspora based on individual perceptions and interpretations concerning the transmission of cultural values and their experiences in their adopted country. The following themes emerged from the interviews.

Theme #1: The Cultural Values of the Somali Diaspora in Ottawa

The primary objective of this research was to gain deeper insight into the sociocultural identification process of the Somali Diaspora in Ottawa by first, qualitatively investigating the experiences of community members in Ottawa. Sociocultural transmission is pivotal to societal stability, cohesion, and continuity everywhere. According to Sinela Jurkova (2019), "Culture is a central concept in understanding cultural competence and transformative learning, where

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individuals learn who they are, how they construct meaning, and how they grow and develop through interactions with other socially and culturally situated individuals” (p. 15).

All participants interviewed believe their role as a male parent is very important to their families and to the community in general. They see this as their cultural responsibility; however, when it comes to transmitting their values to their children, they all agreed their effort is inadequate. For example, participant #1, stated that,

As fathers, our value in this country changed because we struggle to feed and make home for our families, so our traditional role as fathers have taken a back seat. Also, in Somalia we all had structured family roles; mothers had a role, the father had a role, and children had roles. Thus, when we come to this country, those roles intersected and created a blur line both mother and father’s need to negotiate their own role within the family, where before the father was the only decision maker, but now we learn to consult for our family’s stability.

Though there was a sense of solidarity with their own cultural values, they appeared conflicted on their own overall cultural messaging to their children. They believe their own cultural values are unwavering, but not sure what effect they have on their children. In this context, these participants did not see the Canadian social structure as undermining their own culture, but rather see their own inability to transmit their cultural values as the problem. However, others like participant #2, saw it this way:

Somali fathers have been raised in a different culture than the one they are raising their children. Ours was that, as a father, I will have to take care of my children and family and in return my children will take care of me. However, this is not the case here in Canada and Western culture in general; children are not obligated to do anything and for me, the relationship of raising children here in Canada is different and worrisome. I do worry about my future survival and relations with my children. I do not have the same expectation of my children here that I would have in Somalia.

Although the participants acknowledge there is much they share with Canadian cultural values, when it comes to raising children and guiding them to be good citizens, the cultural value of individuality is where they differ, as indicated by participant #2. Somalia diaspora men in Ottawa are aware of their role as fathers and community elders but found intergenerational cultural transmission difficult.

Theme #2: Cultural Survival and Stability

Somalis define themselves as a society that has a complex view of the world of politics and their own sociocultural viewpoint. Most of the diaspora here in Ottawa or elsewhere in the globe were forced to leave their homeland by civil unrest, but from their own experiences, they are struggling to assert their values in their children’s lives here in Canada. When participants were asked if they view themselves as the core principle-bearers for their cultural survival and stability, all the participants answered yes with certainty. One point of emphasis is that Somalis consider their cultural identity as the central identity on which all things are based. In this context, the family is responsible for keeping the continuity of values and tradition, which is mainly the responsibility of the male members of the family. As a father, participant #3 explained his role as a cultural educator this way: “Children’s education is not only in public education, like schools, but a cultural

education that starts at the home front. For instance, speaking the Somali language in the house, and spending time with the children are the most important ways to continue one's culture. And, that responsibility falls on the fathers."

Stability of cultural values is part of the long history of African survival, particularly in the pastoral society where they have survived conflicts for centuries through conflict mediation, and long maintained stability to keep traditions alive through their own elders or community chiefs (Mamdani, 1996). Participant #4, believes:

Fathers and mothers are the foundation of cultural survival and if fathers do not play their leadership role, then the family will be lost. For example, a good father with good leadership skills will raise healthy and well-rounded children, otherwise, he will lose them to crime and drugs. Also, the father's behavior affects his relationship with the mother, which can affect the health of the family. Therefore, the leadership of the father is crucial to the survival of the whole family.

Somali fathers emphasized their attachment to and passion for their culture; however, when it comes to passing those cultural values that they wear so proudly to their children, resignation came to their faces. Participant #5, revealed in a unique way, why that is, when he said,

Fathers struggled to come to here (Canada) from war and some of us, we intentionally avoid telling our cultural stories to our children for our own sake because we avoid reliving the trauma of the past. So, we tell feel-good stories to our children. We avoid the whole cultural issue and let the kids keep their culture here, so not to have a bad impression of ours. However, to compensate for that shortcoming and to give our children a sense of identity, good values and resilience, most of us put the emphasis on religion.

While the Somali diaspora in Ottawa considers the value of their cultural identity to be very important, and expressed respect for their adopted Canadian culture, as fathers, they struggle to reconcile their children's upbringing here in Ottawa and their own beliefs. However, there is the possibility that the unspoken trauma of the civil war that participant #5 revealed may have some impact on most of these participants' parenting, whether they are not admitting it, unaware of it or resigned to the fact that this is their reality. The participants believe the community needs to go back to their roots for their social solidarity in terms of collaboration on finding a solution and maintaining their shared values and belonging.

Theme #3: Cultural Transmission

Social identity is thought of as the culturally defined personality characteristics, which are ascribed to social roles, such as the role of being a father, mother, friend, employer or employee (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Culture also defines the way an individual identifies or positions within or outside of a different cultural context. However, when it comes to facilitating and promoting cultural values, all the participants agreed that it is important to have group cultural activity and to promote bicultural interaction. Participant #6 believes the way to facilitate transmitting cultural values is through community events at children's meeting places. Children will learn from each other when they get together and that is why it is important to have a community agency that facilitates that kind of environment. The more we believe what we profess to be true, the more we become accustomed to hearing a certain discourse, and the more it becomes generalized and the more likely

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we are to construct ourselves in that way (Gergen & Gergen, 2004). Most of the participants in this study perceived culture as not only a social pivot to cohesion, solidarity and connection, but also as the product of good social relations. Participant #7, sees it this way:

Cultural values can be transmitted by teaching children to respect each other, neighbors, and to become contributing and responsible members of their society. Also respecting their parents' culture and the one they are part of here in Canada, whether they are born or grew up here. These values promote cultural appreciation, respect for diverse views, cultures, and faiths, and bring parents and children closer together.

Individuals are forced to negotiate different cultural identities derived from their own belonging to different cultural groups. As Amiot, et al., (2013), stated, "people who belong to more than one cultural group must navigate the diverse norms and values from each of their cultural affiliations. Faced with such diversity, multicultural individuals need to manage and organize their differences and possibly clashing with cultural identities within their general sense of self" (p. 1). All participants expressed the challenge they face raising their children in an environment that is vastly different from their own culture. They appeared to feel lost in the battle of the transmission of culture and leadership, and reminisced about being part of a culture where a whole village raises a child. As participant #3, put it,

I do not personally feel I have lost my cultural values, in fact, I become closer to my culture to feel whole. However, raising my children here in Canada is different than how I was raised, and it is hard to teach them my culture. I feel I am competing with a dominant culture and as the Somali proverb goes "one finger cannot wash a whole face." It is not like how I grew up where a whole village raises children with me.

Participant #8 said:

Raising children in Somalia, we had an extended family who could not only help with the household chores, but take on the role as communicators of cultural values and traditions to our children. On the other hand, here in Canada, it is only me who needs to provide discipline and educate my children in all things which is very difficult. So, I adopted a survival method to keep the family together. I made sacrifices for my own cultural beliefs to facilitate peace in the family.

This acceptance of cultural integration with their adopted country is what most of the participants said is a way to keep harmony within their families and to avoid imposing conflicting messages on their children. As Adjaye and Aborampah, (2008) explained, "The older generation is caught between the decline in traditional values, on the one hand, and the absence of an adequate social security system, on the other" (p. 33).

The participants acknowledged the need for their children's stability, but are ambivalent about how to transmit their cultural values to them. As participant #1 stated, to keep family stability, "father's need to negotiate their own role within the family; where before the father was the only decision maker, but now we learn to consult for our family's stability." According to Amiot et al. (2013), "such complexity has implications for the subjective experiences of the individuals who belong to multiple cultural groups; these implications include their ability to integrate the threads of their diverse cultural experiences into a coherent, unified understanding of themselves and their lives" (p. 2). The majority of participants agreed that they are not transmitting adequate cultural

values to their children, and believe that it does affect the younger generation's knowledge of cultural values continuity. Participant #2, believes:

Lack of intergenerational cultural connection has an implication for youth because young people benefit from family guidance, particularly fathers. If there is no family values at home, then children will find a way to occupy their time with other things; like getting involved in gangs, drugs and other criminal activities that will put them at risk in the criminal-justice system.

A typical scenario finds immigrant parents adhering to their traditional cultural beliefs while their children endorse dominant Western values, resulting in a clash (Ying & Chao, 1996). This frustration of cultural messaging was expressed by the participants, particularly in their inability to transmit their own cultural values to their children within the dominant culture. The majority of participants in both the group and the individual settings agreed that they need changes in the way their community is set up and provides services. They stated a lack of programming is impinging on their community cohesion, and cultural transmission.

However, in the context of Somali tradition, the question then becomes to what extent does cultural change affect the Somalia diaspora community and how does it touch their ability to transmit their cultural values? This research confirms that changes did occur in the Somali diaspora community in various ways, including family dynamics, community cohesion and the concept of transmitting cultural values to their younger generation.

Theme # 4: Sociocultural Impediments to the Transmission of Cultural Values

The following (Figure 1) shows what the Somali participants specifically articulated as the sociocultural impediments for the transmission of their cultural values.

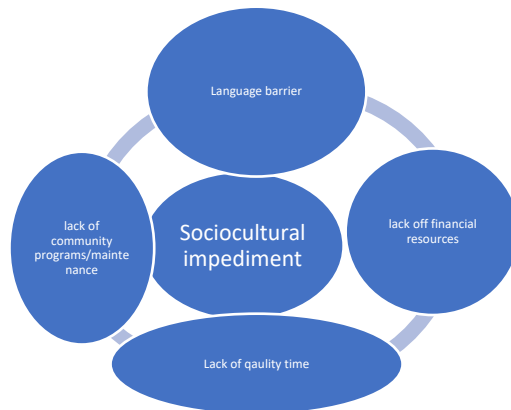


Figure 1. Impediments to the Transmission of Cultural Values

Somali society worked well with their cultural values and considers these values as a sacred duty to uphold, including clan lineage and religion. Cassanelli (1987) described the Somali cultural loyalty this way, "A person gives political loyalty first to his immediate family, then to his immediate lineage, then to the clan of his lineage, then to his tribe, and ultimately to the nation" (p. 21). As McNamee (2015) points out, "our tradition informs us that a system of moral principles, comprises what comes to be deemed as ethical. The implications of this traditional view

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are significant for they demand generalized approaches to nuanced daily interchanges” (p. 442). While Somalis said that their lineage significantly impacts their social relations and interactions, the participants of this study have shown that they can adapt to the new environment that holds different cultural values from their own.

We will now look closely at the four sociocultural impediments to the transmission of cultural values illustrated in Figure 1.

Lack of community programing: cultural programs/maintenance. The participants in this study display a strong attachment to their traditional values, including respecting the wisdom of the elders, lineage, and community connectivity, as well as family unity. Family matters to the participants, and the ways in which family members envision continuity is directly related to their particular cultural ethos, a view confirmed by Becker (1997), as well as Becker et al. (2003) (cited in Adjaye & Aborampah, 2008). The participants unanimously agreed about the importance of their tradition and their role as transmitters. They all expressed that it is crucial that they maintain their cultural relevance in their adopted country. Some have said, because of the dominant culture of their adopted country, they have grown closer to their own culture and faith than otherwise, for cultural survival. The participants feel that it is important to them that they pass on their cultural values to their children, even though they acknowledged the challenges. Sinela Jurkova (2019) wrote that “culture involves intergenerational attitude, values, beliefs, rituals/customs, and behavioral patterns in which people are born, but that is also created and maintained by people’s ongoing actions” (p. 15).

All participants expressed frustration about the lack of community structured programs and events that would facilitate cultural pride. Most of the participants raised their children in Ottawa; some came to Canada with children born in Somalia, while others were born in Canada. One of the participants stated that he treated his children differently because of the culture they were born into. Participant #9, put it this way,

I treat my older children who were born in Somalia different than their siblings who were born here. The reason is the older ones remember Somali cultural and expected values, and I wanted to strengthen that, while the young ones do not know any other culture, but the one here, which has different expectations; so, I navigate through all these competing expectations while I love my children equally.

What this participant described about his older children understanding him explains what Adjaye and Aborampah (2008) wrote, that in the Akan tradition “growing children acquired this knowledge through training, socialization and education that was provided by the elders” (p. 24). Although, it is a common practice in Somali culture that fathers and grandparents pass their knowledge to each generation and play an important role in their community, the Somali diaspora here in Ottawa found it difficult to maintain that tradition effectively.

People do learn to adapt to their environment by shifting from one set of behaviors to another, depending on the context, to manage these different cultural identities (Noels et al., 1996). Participants agreed that their cultural background guides their fatherhood approach towards their family, and to do what is best for their children. Managing dual cultural approaches is what all participants expressed as challenging, but also considered cultural value transmission as a

meaningful responsibility that shapes their children's views on traditional norms and expectations. Most of the research participants saw their role as assisting their children to maintain continuity of their culture by enrolling them into culture and religion classes. Participants stated feeling guilty about not doing enough to make their culture thrive, because of lack of community resources. They also have stated they are too busy earning a living to support their family and do not spend quality time with their children; therefore, they mostly use religious schools to give their children what they cannot – values and faith. Some, however, see that as a potential problem. Participant #8 went further and viewed the challenge of religious schools this way:

We parents try to take our children to religion settings to give us the help we cannot give to our children under the circumstance, but sometimes I found what those institutions teach or introduce our children are different cultural perspectives, particularly Arab or Pakistani cultures hiding behind religion and that can present its own problem.

What participant #8 expressed, and with which some of the other participants agreed, is the understanding that some of the religious schools to which they send their children translate the script of the Kitab (holy book) do so based on their own cultural interpretations or values. He believes some of these interpretations can even be contradictory to the Quran (script). According to the Federal Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs, more than 99 percent of the Somali population are Sunni Muslim (US State Department). While ninety nine percent of Somalis are Muslims, the diaspora community uses religion as noted by the participants to educate their children on their faith as Muslims and teach faith values.

Transmission of cultural values is normally from parents and elderly to the young generations (Adjaye and Aborampah, 2008,p.24). The majority of the participants in this study expressed the desire to be good role models for their children within their adopted community. They believe preserving and sharing what is good about their own culture, such as respecting self and others, human dignity, and value of trust, is their way of promoting their cultural values as well. Teaching their children to be good citizens and to respect others, which is part of their culture, is also another form of transmitting their culture to their children while sharing that value with the dominant culture. However, participant #10, believes that

Since, we are dealing with a different culture in our adopted country, it is incumbent upon us that we do change and adapt to our new sociocultural situation. However, to preserve our community values, we need to structure better community programs that allow us to do better transmission of values to our children.

They believe the way to promote cultural survival is to create a strong, coherent, and unified community. For example, participant #3, believes the way to strengthen community values is to have venues that facilitate cultural storytelling and community events for children as a way of keeping and maintaining cultural continuity. This participant also believes that clan division contributes to a general lack of community unity or solidarity. One of the many things that the participants all agreed on was the lack of adequate community events, where traditional values could be celebrated. They see this as the biggest impediment for intergenerational cultural transmission. They expressed the need for such facilitations.

Language barriers: Another obstacle to the transmission of cultural values is the language barrier in the households. Some of the research participants acknowledged that most of the parents do not

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speaking adequate English and yet chose to speak broken English with the children at home rather than reinforcing their own mother tongue. Participants acknowledged the community's fear of the Canadian educational system was the reason. They believe that when the Somali community arrived, they understood that if children do not speak English when they reached school age, then the school system would use that against them and perhaps their children would fall behind their peers -- for example children in first grade being put in English as a Second Language (ESL) and removed from their regular classes. This created a language gap between the parents and the children as parents forced themselves to speak English at home. Some of the research participants asserted that the parents themselves were using their children to learn English, which is one of the reasons why they spoke a limited English at home.

Lack of quality time: Another frustration was the lack of time spent at home with children due to parents working more than one job or participating in the gig-economy for survival. Participant #9, believes Somali tradition puts family responsibility on fathers:

The thing that constrains the passing of the cultural values is the time parents spend with children. For example, a father who is working more than one job may not have enough time to spend with children. Parents that lack of resources may not provide their children the means to pay for extra curriculum activities, which could support parent and child interaction and relationship. We are busy with work and there is no community support in place either.

These parents expressed guilt feelings about abdicating their own responsibility to their children for not spending enough time with them.

Lack of financial resources: Lack of resources is another impediment to the transmission of cultural values in the Somalia diaspora in Ottawa. Most of the participants believe that if they had the financial means, they would have been able to take their children back home often to learn more about their cultural background. A few of the participants stated that is what they are already doing and that their children's behavior changed in terms of respecting others and understanding their family's background.

Clan Lineage. The other surprising outcome of this research concerns the topic of the clan. All the participants inherently believe in the value of clan lineage and stated that they are closer to their clan members, whether it is here in Ottawa or back in their homeland. But, only three acknowledged clan as problematic for general cultural transmission. These three participants believed there are clan divisions, and that this hinders community social cohesion. Two out of these three added that it also affects community intermarriage because some clans do not accept marrying other clans. However, these participants acknowledged, as have most of the participants, that any clan impediments are secondary to the issues facing the community in general, which is a new finding as the clan is considered an overriding identity to Somalis. The participants did acknowledge that they have their private gatherings for clans and sub-clans, but when it comes to general community concerns, they support one another. Generally, Somalis intrinsically identify with the clan-family, and each clan-family is further divided into clans, which in turn is subdivided into lineages and sublineages, until reaching the individual family (Abdullahi, 2001, Cassanelli, 1982, Clapham, 2017, Issa-Salwe, 1994, Lewis, 1960). This research confirmed that the transmission of cultural values and leadership is important to the Somali diaspora in Ottawa, and

that they see it as a way to have an emotional attachment to their children. The study also confirmed that intergenerational transmission of cultural and traditional values is inadequate in the diaspora community in Ottawa as noted by participants. As we have seen, they attributed this to the lack of transmission, financial resources, community-wide structured cultural programs, quality time, and problems with language.

Conclusion

This research has provided an insight into the perceptions of the Somali diaspora in Ottawa, Canada on sociocultural and leadership transmission. This study has demonstrated that the transmission of traditional cultural values is strongly valued by the diaspora community, and explored their understanding of the intercultural dynamics between their original culture and their adopted country's culture. This study also showed that, in the Somali diaspora community, elders and male parents see their role as central to the transmission of cultural values, and that they are resilient in their traditional beliefs. The study also demonstrated that while the Somali diaspora community in Ottawa, Canada, has a strong attachment to their culture, traditions, and norms, the same is not true for their children.

Limitations of the study. It must be acknowledged that the sample of the study was a small, and the results should be treated as preliminary. The results of the study point out areas that need further research. Additional issues to be studied include women's perspectives on raising children in their adopted country and how women see intergenerational cultural transmission and the role they play in such transmission. The study of the younger generation's perspectives will provide another layer of understanding. Additionally, further study of clan interaction in the diaspora community would be valuable.

Preliminary Policy Implications. This study suggests a few preliminary policy implications. In the context of the community organizations and their programs, the study finds that Somali diaspora families can benefit from cultural education, such as parent and child storytelling programs to encourage intergenerational relations. This will make the transmission of cultural values easier for elders as well. This study suggests that community organizations are needed to provide friendly and safe environments for community members to tell the stories of their past, present, and future. This environment also could facilitate counselling sessions for those experiencing trauma. This study also recommends public policies that support community education program funding, particularly those programs that encourage bicultural learning or understanding.

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