

**“IT GAVE ME EVERYTHING, BUT IT GAVE ME NOTHING”:
A STUDY OF SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANTS,
TRANSNATIONALISM AND IDENTITY**

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Abstract

Since the 1990’s Finland has experienced a steady growth in migration. This has led to an increase in interest in the fields of integration and transnationalism. This thesis focuses on the relationship between processes of integration and migrant transnationalism and how they construct the identities of specifically the young adult second-generation migrants. Furthermore, it juxtaposes their experiences with the current objectives of Finnish integration policies to find out how they correlate. Using the Grounded Theory methodology, two semi-structured interviews were conducted with three participants in each with various ethnic backgrounds. Traditionally it has been assumed that integration and transnationalism do not go hand in hand, but recent studies have indicated that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, earlier models of the concepts assumed that integration had an end-goal of total assimilation to the host society, while transnationalism was considered an obstacle. However, this study concludes that second-generation migrants often exist in lived realities of ‘balancing acts’ between the expectations of their parents’ countries and Finland. Through cultural hybridity, it shows how transnationalism manifests in not specifically identifying with ‘here nor there’, and showing a more cosmopolitan attitude, while simultaneously being active agents in society. A quintessential aspect of this is the formation of a ‘third identity’ or a ‘third culture’. As such, this study also offers a view into the evolving meaning of ‘Finnishness’ and Finnish society.

Key Words: Second-generation migrants, transnationalism, integration, cultural hybridity, identity

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

“I am not that” ...and you are left to question “well who are you then?”

1.1 Previous Research and Aim of Study

This thesis aims to identify how transnationalism as a concept has both itself evolved and has been an integral part in the constructions of identity of the so called ‘second-generation’ migrants in Finland. Through the processes of transnationalism and integration it examines how cultural hybridity, has emerged through a constant narrative of ‘being in between two cultures’. In this context cultural hybridity is defined neutrally¹ as “the effort to maintain a sense of balance among practices, values, and customs of two or more different cultures” (Banks, 2012, p.522). Moreover, this thesis sheds light on the relationship between processes of integration and migrant transnationalism. It focuses on the experiences of second-generation migrants, who were either born in Finland or moved to the country at an early age. As a result, there is a ‘whole generation’ of migrants who are not entirely from ‘here’ nor ‘there’.

The value of this research to the conflict research discipline lies in its expository power of the individual narrative. Traditional wars between nation-states have given way to intra-state conflicts. As such, contemporary peace research focuses on localizing incompatibilities and disputes to determine possible conflict escalation and its prevention (Wallensteen, 2011). While obviously second-generation migrants do not per se, embody the criteria to be counted as data on intra-state conflicts, their experiences of structural violence unveil the societal framework from which feelings of anger, injustice, belonging and exclusion, for both migrants and natives, may form breeding grounds for physical manifestations of violence and outright conflict. Roche (2016) explains in her research about anger and Iraqi refugees that, from a psychological point of view, humans learn ‘feeling rules’, which reinforce normative agendas in society and are fundamental to the processes of meaning-making (Hochschild, 1979 in Roche, 2016, p.18). She points out that “social agendas serve to privilege or constrain agency, promote or discourage violence, and ‘condone’ or ‘condemn’ individuality...feminists scholars, critical theorists, and psychologists argue that emotion is the fuel that moves these agendas forward.” (Roche, 2016, p.18). As such, everyone’s identity is made up of an intersectional web of normative agendas. For second-generation migrants these are partly

¹ The term ‘cultural hybridity’ has become popular in the field of transnationalism and studies of migrants and integration. However, it has also been debated for decades because of its colonial roots. See for instance Homi Bhabha’s Concept of Hybridity: <https://literariness.org/2016/04/08/homi-bhabhas-concept-of-hybridity/>

constructed from their feelings of difference. Thus, we can conclude that if the ‘fuel’ of society is emotion, then any research on conflict, especially at the individual, grass-root level can benefit from analyses of those who are able to reveal the societal hierarchies, from which potential disputes and conflict can rise.

Because of its longer history with migration, Western Europe has had more experience with the second-generation. Hence, there have also been longitudinal studies/surveys on second-generation migrants. These include, the TIES-Survey (The Integration of the European Second Generation) conducted in 2007-2008 which was the first large study with almost 10,000 participants in 15 cities in various European countries and the TeO-Survey (Trajectoires et Origines) conducted in France (Schneider, 2016). Research has also been done comparing results to studies done in the USA (Crul & Mollenkopf, 2012, cited in Schneider, 2016). While there has been a considerable amount of research into first-generation migrants with a focus on home/host bilateral relations, because of the relative novelty of migration in Finland, the second-generation migrants’ identity formation, integration and their implications have not been studied as profoundly as it has been in other countries. This research gap is being filled by for instance, Hautaniemi’s (1998, 2011) studies on Somali youths and Haikkola (2011, 2012) who has focused on transnationalism, the second-generation and youth studies in general. Much of her research has focused on children and adolescents. As such, the aim of this study is to add to the existing literature by examining the experiences of young adult second-generation migrants, who already live independently of their parents and families, have experience of working life and may be at the point in their lives of deciding where to settle down. Their experiences are valuable in offering us a view into generational differences of migrants, how traditional concepts of the nation-state are evolving and how international immigration flows have impacted Finnish society, demographics and the concept of Finnishness itself. The study makes use of qualitative interviews with participants from various ethnic backgrounds, so as to compare and contrast cross-cultural similarities and differences. Research into migrants’ both past and present experiences of transnationalism and their impact on identity construction and hence integration, in Finland is crucial, especially with the current increase in human mobility. This can provide useful insight into how identity can be altered through perceptions of diversity and how these identities are being formed through an ever-more interconnected world.

1.2 Key Sources of Study

The key sources for the study are interviews of participants from various migrant backgrounds (with their heritage from a foreign country). The focus is on second generation migrants who are around 25-35 years of age. For the purposes of this study I will use the definition by Krause, Rinne and Schüller (2015), which refers to “not only native-born children with two foreign-born parents (a strict definition of the term “second generation”) but also children of the so-called “1.5 generation” – who immigrated at very young age – as well as native born children with one foreign- and one native-born parent, sometimes referred to as “2.5 generation”” (p.762). As Schneider (2016) points out the concepts ‘Second-generation migrants’ along with ‘migration background’ are contested yet widely popular terms in Europe. These concepts imply that the ‘second-generation’ themselves do not have experience *of* migration but are still descendants of migrants. This “reflects a general view and attitude that continues to see migration processes as an anomaly of a supposedly ‘natural’ and static state of a ‘wellcontained’ national population” (Schneider, 2016, p.2). Furthermore, Schneider identifies three issues with the term. “Firstly, the term associates native-born citizens, who identify fully with the societies in which they grew up, primarily with either the undifferentiated group of ‘immigrants’ or with the ethno-cultural background of the parents. Secondly, it lacks any differentiation within the category (e.g. according to social background, level of education). And finally, it associates them predominantly with ‘problems of integration’, while they see themselves neither as immigrants nor as problematic in any aspect” (p.2). These are crucial issues that portray the difficulties in ‘not being entirely from here nor there’. The first and second, showcase the problem of generalization and grouping (Delanty, Wodak & Jones, 2017). For the participants, this does not only happen in Finland but also when visiting their countries of origin (see chapter 4). The third one, connects the participants, who were born or have lived in Finland for most of their lives, with the issues of integration, as if they are not already fully active agents in society. The participants are very vocal about their frustrations about how such branding keeps haunting their everyday lives (see chapter 4).

This being said, the use of the term ‘second-generation migrants’ and its broad definition used in this study is for the purposes of clarity and does not necessarily reflect how the participants identify themselves as. However, it is good to keep in mind the above criticism because the term itself is charged with implications of difference, reflects the views on the degree of ‘Finnishness’, and begs the question; how many generations will it take to become Finnish? With these in mind, I identify the following research questions: How do second-generation migrants in Finland balance their hybrid identities? What is the influence of

increased migration on the Finnish society and Finnish identity? And finally, how do Finnish integration policies compare to the reality of migrants’ everyday experiences?

1.3 Statistics on Migration in Finland

Migration and human mobility are very much on the global agenda and the changing demographics are a visible part of many communities. This naturally leads to the tendency of generalization- the attribution of certain categories to whole groups (see chapter 2.4) and voicing out personal opinions without necessarily considering facts or statistics. Often claims which proclaim that migrants ‘come here to live off of our social benefits’ do not consider the various reasons behind the decisions to migrate. Thus, I consider it important to take a look at the statistics on migration in Finland to have a more concrete and pragmatic idea of the increase in migration and the different reasons for migrating.

Like any other country, Finland has experienced migration, (human movement across borders) to various degrees. However, compared to other countries, Finland is a relatively late newcomer to immigration. Since the Second World War, there has been a significant increase in human mobility leading to a shift from net emigration to net immigration. By 2016, there were nearly 365,000 people with a migrant background living in Finland. First generation migrants made up 84% (307,000) of the total, while second generation migrants totaled 16% (58,000) (Statistics Finland, 2018). The delay in migration to Finland is also reflected in the fact that data on the statistics on second-generation migrants was only first collected in 2012 (Nieminen & Ruotsalainen, 2012). Figure 1 shows that there has been a steady increase of people from a foreign background since the 1990’s. They made up 6.6% of the population in 2016 (Statistics Finland). As we can see there is also a steady increase in the second-generation. Figure 2 shows the population of foreign origin by country. Those of Russian heritage are by far the largest group of migrants. It also consists of the largest estimates of second-generation migrants, followed by those of Somalian descent. However, since Statistics Finland defines the second-generation as strictly those who were born in Finland, it does not take into account the children of migrants who moved to Finland at a young age and technically may have the same ‘amount’ of cultural influence as those who were born in Finland. Hence, the number of migrants’ children who may identify themselves as the second-generation (different from their parents) is larger than Figure 1 and 2 estimate. Overall, with the growth of migration in foresight, it is estimated that by 2040 there will be over 705,000 foreign nationals in Finland

(Ministry of the interior, 2013). From this we can deduce that this will have a significant impact on the demographics and ethnic landscape of Finland.

Figure 1: Population growth of people of foreign origin in Finland

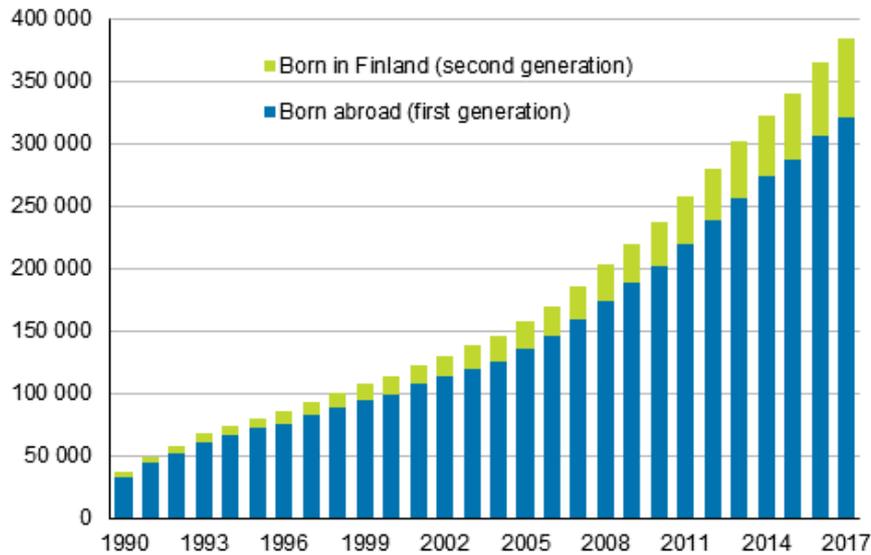
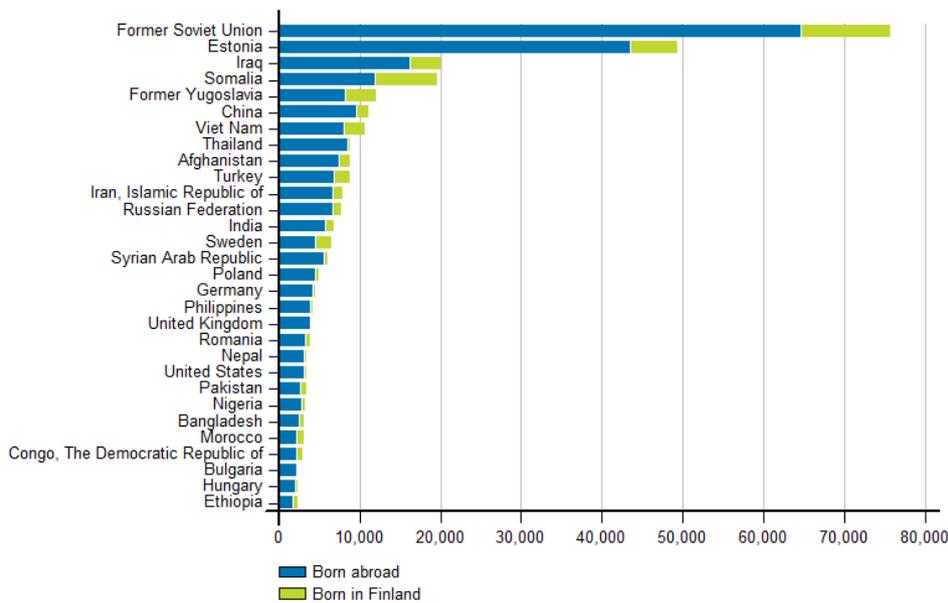


Figure 2: Population of foreign origin by country

Biggest background country groups of persons with foreign background 2017



Statistics Finland / Population structure

Some of the reasons for the relatively small number of foreigners in Finland are its geographical location, the rarity of the language and the small need for foreign workers (Ministry of the Interior, 2013). People migrate to Finland for many reasons but mainly work, study and family. A large-scale UTH-survey on the ‘work and well-being among persons of foreign origin’ was conducted in 2014 by Statistics Finland and the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) in order to find statistics to better meet the needs of the growing migrant population and advance integration. According to their findings, 54% of migrants moved for family reasons, 10% for studying, 11% as refugees, and 18% for work. However, compared to 2016, labor migration has increased by 17% points as Finland’s economic situation has improved” (Ministry of the Interior, 2018, p.14). According to the Ministry of the Interior (2013) “by following migration developments elsewhere, Finland is in a position to learn from the successes and mistakes of others” (p.6).

There are many types of migrants in Finland, more than half being third-country nationals (outside of EU). Furthermore, “under international agreements and national legislation Finland is obliged to provide international protection to those who require it. Since 2000, Finland has received 1,500–6,000 asylum seekers annually” (Ministry of the Interior, 2013, p.7). These numbers are affected by various global events, such as the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and Syria. For instance, in 2015, there were 32,476 asylum applicants. A year later the number had decreased to 5,657 (Hiekkavuo, 2017). Even though these conflicts have increased migration both globally and in Finland, the number of people seeking asylum is still relatively small in comparison to many other countries in Europe. Furthermore, Finland has an annual refugee quota of 750 people. “International protection may also be granted to family members of those already receiving protection in Finland” (Hiekkavuo, 2017, p.7). According to the data from MIPX (Migration Integration Policy Index, 2015), when compared to other European countries, it is easier to attain both long-term residential status and Finnish citizenship.

As a result of migration, the diversity in the demographics of Finland has increased. Traditional Finnish culture and society has been influenced by new cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities. Most of the migrants are young adults, and as such have a positive impact on the population’s age structure because many of them create families (Ministry of the Interior, 2013). The Ministry of the Interior estimates that in some regions, population growth will be dependent on migration. Most migrants however, live in the largest urban areas and in the capital metropolitan area, every one in ten has a migrant background (p.8). As such, integration- an outcome that is beneficial for both the migrants themselves and

the host society is crucial. The perceived differences between migrants and Finnish nationals has led to a rather cautious and negative view of migration. This can partly be explained by the little amount of experience of migrants as Finns may feel that national culture is undermined by migration and internationalization. The Finnish Business and Policy Forum's (EVA) survey conducted in 2012, revealed that even though migrants who come for work tend to generally be seen more positively, over half of the Finns who answered felt that internationalization was a threat to Finnish culture. On the other hand, according to data gathered by Helsingin Sanomat in 2017, attitudes towards migration have gotten better since 2010, despite of the current decade being marked by the refugee crisis and the rise of the political far right. For instance, in 2017, 47% of Finns wanted more migrants while in 2010 the amount was 36% (Kempas, 2017). After the refugee crisis of 2015, attitudes in relation to migration have hardened slightly, despite 60 percent of the population condemning racism. The youth in general feel more positively about multiculturalism than the older generation. (Ministry of the Interior, 2018, p.31).

According to the Ministry of the Interior (2013), “an increase in diversity will also bring the risk of a growth in inequality in society, and there are already examples of this elsewhere in Europe. Possible conflicts between different cultures, religions and values could weaken the internal cohesiveness of society and exacerbate inequality in society.” (p.12). The Ministry of the Interior (2013) estimates that, only one in three felt that Finland should make migration to the country easier, despite the justification of the aging of the Finnish population and the problem of the dependency ratio. Migrants experience discrimination on a daily basis, as shown by studies such as annual hate crime surveys (p.9). “Experiences of racism and discrimination have a negative impact not only on migrants’ daily lives but also more extensively on Finnish society as a whole” (Ministry of the Interior, 2013, p.9). Despite this data, according to the MIPX (2015), migrant integration policy in Finland ranks fourth best. As the estimates for the future suggest, a diverse society is the reality of the future. The ‘hybrid generation’ will be participating in political decision-making and public debate and as such, growing diversity, if integrated successfully, can be a valuable resource. Furthermore, the Ministry of the Interior (2013) points out that, if first and second-generation migrants feel that they are significant and active members of society, we can considerably reduce the risk of growing inequality. “Migrants’ skills, competence and innovative ideas will make an important contribution to Finland’s development and international competitiveness.” (p.12).

1.4 Finnish Integration Policies

As this thesis concentrates on second-generation migrants who are already citizens of Finland, this overview of Finnish integration policies focuses on the population who is already entitled to rights and basic public services. As such, asylum seekers, those without a residence permit, are located outside of the integration measures considered here.

Integration policies in Finland reflect the lateness of migration movements. The influx of refugees in the 1990's, necessitated a political consensus on migration and in 1999 the 'Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers' was drafted. However, it was not until 2011 that the Constitution saw the addition of the 'Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration' (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2017, p.2). This second act sees integration as a multidimensional process that emphasizes extensive cooperation with and support from educational institutions, workplaces, NGOs and public authorities (p.3). In the beginning an 'initial assessment' is made of the migrant's situation which determines her or his needs in terms of integration and employment. The migrant is then referred to the appropriate services that support these needs. The 'initial assessment' forms the basis for the personalized 'integration plan' drawn up for each migrant individually. "It aims to support the immigrant in becoming an equal member of society at the initial stage of immigration" (p.5). Contemporary policies reflect the growing migration. "It is the duty of the authorities to constantly assess and develop our service system so that it optimally enables those with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to have equal opportunities in Finnish society" (Oivo, 2016, p.10). The government sees access to basic public services of vital importance to integration and belonging to society. Furthermore, from an economic perspective, integration policies are an investment which, if successful, will "pay for themselves in increased tax revenue and consumer demand [as] diversity in working life contributes to innovation and expands the market" (p.5).

Moreover, immigration policies are mandated by binding international treaties which Finland is party to. These include the United Nations Convention against Torture, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the European Convention on Human Rights. The Constitutional acts work in unison to support integration. In addition to the 'Immigrant Integration Act' two separate acts concerning non-discrimination and equality of gender were added. The first, prohibits direct and indirect discrimination and

incitement to discriminate. “No one may be discriminated against on the basis of age, ethnic or national origin, nationality, language, religion, belief, opinion, state of health, disability, sexual orientation or other personal characteristics” (p.6). The second, is to reduce discrimination and promote equality between genders, particularly in the field of employment. The government’s policy includes promoting a culture of discussion where both positive and negative aspects of immigration can be talked about openly without racism and discrimination (Oivo, 2016). “Indicators of positive attitudes, trust and respect between different population groups include feelings of togetherness and safety, non-discriminating treatment and equal opportunities to participate and exert influence. So far, there has been little research on these aspects in Finland.” (Oivo, 2016, p.63). Recognizing the importance and benefits of integration for both the migrant and Finnish society, the current government of Prime Minister Sipilä has prepared a ‘Government Integration Programme’ for 2016-2019 in unison with the different ministries, specifying the resources, targets and measures taken to promote integration and the inclusion of diversity into the different sectors. “Simultaneously with the drafting of the Government Integration Programme, an Integration Partnership Programme was prepared in cooperation with a number of other actors” (Oivo, 2016, p.11).

The ‘Government Integration Programme’ also points out caveats in the current integration situation. For instance, migrants’ development needs necessitate more focus as do the recognition of previous competences acquired before moving to Finland. More efficient and flexible pathways towards employment should be promoted, so as to avoid the ‘unemployment trap’ “where immigrants are trapped in a life on social security with no work and no education” (Oiva, 2016, p.15). Furthermore, the government specifies that more attention needs to be paid to avoiding processes that exclude immigrants in the recruitment system and support (in)discreet discriminatory practices. These are ongoing problems that hinders the potential of integration (see chapter 4). Moreover, there is a whole array of tools that aid in the promoting of integration and the assessment of the degree and success of integration that can be found in for example, the integration website (kotouttaminen.fi).

How all these acts and tools aimed at promoting integration work in practice, however, is harder to assess. Because integration is a multidimensional process involving anything from practical everyday matters to personal feelings of belonging, taking into account the experiences of migrants themselves is vital for integration to succeed and so that policies are better suited to the needs of migrants. This thesis aims to add to the knowledge of integration indicators. This is done by investigating migrants’ everyday experiences, the impact on their identity, whether

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and how integration and migrant transnationalism work to promote migrants’ individual agency, how Finnish integration policies correlate with migrants’ own experiences and what implications the ‘hybrid generation’ will have for the framework of society.

1.5 Structure of Study

The first chapter introduces Finland’s history with migration, provides some recent statistics, outlines the current Finnish integration policies and explains the aim of the study. The second chapter provides the theoretical background and reviews some of the literature from a cross-disciplinary perspective. The third chapter explains the methodology and the reasoning for using Grounded Theory. The fourth chapter showcases the results and the subsequent analysis. The fifth chapter discusses these results in consideration of the theoretical literature used in this study and finalizes with a conclusion, limitations and further considerations.

CHAPTER TWO: Theory and Literature Review: Plural Societies and Understanding Intercultural Relations

The following chapter outlines some of the general theoretical background to migration studies and provides the backdrop for the theoretical support for locating the research question. It does so by borrowing from different disciplines to show the multifaceted nature of contemporary migration.

2.1 Integration and Transnationalism

With an increase in human mobility and global migration, there is an ever-growing need to understand human relations that go beyond traditional geographical nation-state borders. According to Bagnoli (2007), the degree of cultural contact has been intensified due to globalization and the cultural other is now "extensively present in our daily experience even when we stay local" (p.24). This contact, as Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) point out, brings numerous challenges such as "maintaining social cohesion, ensuring good relations between immigrants and their hosts, and finding effective ways in which newcomers can balance the pressures of cultural maintenance with participation in the wider society in which they have chosen to live" (p.82). There are various theoretical terms that conceptualize this phenomenon. I have chosen to add theories from the field of psychology because I believe that they are useful in explaining human behavior which has a direct influence on the relationships of migrants and the host societies and the resulting feelings of belonging and exclusion. Traditionally, psychological theories have upheld the importance of integration to the dominant host society culture (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). In general integration as defined by Erdal and Oeppen (2013) refers to "migrant adaptation processes" (p.869). In defining integration, the focus on adaption has been strong. For instance, Ley (2004), defines migrant integration as "adaption in a new locality, set within its particular territorial and political context" (as cited in Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.875). It was recognized already by social scientists in the early 1920's that these adaptation processes are complex and difficult to categorize (Kivistö, 2005, as cited in Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.869). For instance, 'assimilation' is preferred in North America, while 'integration' has become a general term in Europe.

Erdal and Oeppen (2013) clarify that:

integration has been used as a normative description of a middle ground between multiculturalism and assimilation. It has then focused on migrants’ full participation in the labor market and their formal citizenship, but left matters of social membership and cultural preferences open to personal choice (p.869).

However, contemporary migration is characterized by the changing nature of the relationship between the migrant and the host society (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). This has resulted in an increasing interest in research on the field of transnationalism. While integration is bound to a certain territory, transnationalism refers to the networks and flows in between. While integration focuses on the nation-state macro-level of analysis, transnationalism examines the meso-level networks of individuals and families (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). As such, transnationalism is about the “adaptation to changed circumstances resulting from migration across spatial distances” (Ley, 2004 as cited in Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.875). As Vertovec (2001) points out, transnationalism also includes the ways that migrants maintain contact with their places of origin (p.574).

In the past decades, transnationalism has more frequently referred to the bilateral relations between the migrants’ host country and place of origin (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994). However, the phenomenon is now used to refer to multiple ties to more than two places. As Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) explain “the major issue arising from transnationalism is the need to extend theorizing beyond the national boundaries of the settlement society to elucidate the immigrant experience” (p.89).

Thus, “the past decade has witnessed the ascendance of an approach to migration that accents the attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved” (Vertovec, 2001, p.574). As such, modern transnational linkages are more complex than before. This is due to many reasons, such as cheaper and faster communication and travel, impact of remittances, and changes in economic and political circumstances allowing for migrants’ political organizing (Vertovec, 2001). Others include the setting up of religious organizations in the host country, having homes (houses) in both countries, and regular mutual visits (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). An additional factor influencing intercultural relations is the changing demographics of an increasing number of first and second-generation migrants and the emergence and influence of global culture (p.82). As such, Caglar argued that “transnationalism represents a new analytic

optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labor migration" (as cited in Vertovec, 2001, p.574). One big factor to 'how transnational' a person is, is the degree to which they identify with global culture and various places simultaneously.

2.2 Identity and Citizenship

As mentioned by McDowell (2008) our identities are relational. The way we engage in social practices and how we are seen as friends, foreigners, citizens, or for instance employees by ourselves and others define our identities (p.504). Hence regulatory practices, normative expectations and behavior to a large degree determine our actions in social situations "identities are not rooted or static but fluid and changing" (p.504). McDowell makes a useful observation that even though categorization in itself divides and ideally their significance should strive to be dissolved, they remain a valuable analytical tool. "Both intra- and inter-categorical approaches seem to me to add to our understanding of inequality and to have part to play in our analyses, despite their basis in different sets of assumptions about the basis of identities" (McDowell, 2008, p.504). Categorization is also useful when analyzing how transnationalism shapes identity. Identity refers to how people conceive of and characterize themselves and each other. Vertovec (2001) explains that a shared common identity that may include language, culture and/or place of origin, is often the basis of a transnational network. These are "marked by patterns of communication or exchange of resources and information along with participation in socio-cultural and political activities" (p.573). As such, migrants' conception of identity may partly define their transnational networks.

Identity is a very broad term and hard to define, especially because it has a subjectively different meaning for everyone. As Vertovec (2001) notes, the concept of identity has been addressed by social psychological theory, which in general terms theorize that "identities are seen to be generated in, and constructed through, a kind of internal (self-attributed) and external (other-ascribed) dialectic conditioned within specific social worlds" (p.577). He adds that, personal and collective identities are always intertwined (Vertovec, 2001).

Because of the multifaceted nature of contemporary transnationalism, migrants may associate themselves with two or more identities. Portes (1997) describes the modern transnational migrants as being part of creating dense networks that move beyond political borders which allow them to live dual lives. Migrants "are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain home in two countries, and pursue economic, political and

cultural interests that require their presence in both” (p.812). As such, these connections are imperative to how collective identities are constructed, maintained and negotiated, and are significant for the identity formation of the children of migrants also known as the second-generation (Vertovec, 2001). Multiple identities are comprised of cultural repertoires which are gathered in what Ulz Hannerz (1996) calls ‘diverse habitats of meaning’ which may include anything from stereotypes, inclusion and exclusion, socioeconomic hierarchies to perceptions, which in turn condition identity. These transnational identities “play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday lives within and across each of their places of attachment or perceived belonging” (Vertovec, 2001, p.578).

A major political impact of global human mobility and migration flows has consequences for national policies and questions of citizenship. Historically the nation-state has functioned as a kind of container for political, economic and social values, and contemporary transnationalism critically tests traditional concepts of the nation-state (Vertovec, 2001). While the nation-state has historically been equated with certain identity traits, Robins and Aksoy propose that through *unfixing* identities, transnationalism can promote more cosmopolitan understandings of belonging (as cited in Vertovec, 2001, p.580). Next, we will take a look at some existing theories that shed some light on the complexity of contemporary migration patterns and the relationship between integration and transnationalism.

2.3 Acculturation as a Basis for Transnationalism

The past decades of migration studies have been marked by various theories that have explained the relationships between migrants and host societies. One long standing theory is the acculturation theory, which was first brought on the agenda by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in 1936. This refers to intercultural contact, as the “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p.149). As Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) add, in the modern globalized world this can also result from contact such as social media. At an individual level, acculturation can be seen in the construction of identities which encompass changes in for instance, values and attitudes (p.83-84).

As with transnationalism, earlier theories of acculturation also focused on linear models. There was a clear transition from detaching from the original culture into adaptation into the host society (Ramirez, 1984 as cited in Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.84). As Oudenhoven and

Ward (2012) explain, these models were suitable when migration patterns were different due to for instance, geographical proximity, low levels of migration, economic needs and similar ideologies, and thus the changes in contemporary migration make earlier acculturation models too simplistic because they do not take into account the independent processes of change in host and original societies (p.84).

In response to these pitfalls, a later model of acculturation was presented by Berry (1997).² In relation to migrant’s identities, Berry’s model presents two fundamental questions that migrants encounter. Firstly, “Is it of value to maintain my cultural heritage? [and secondly] is it of value to maintain relations with the host society?” (as cited in Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.84).

Table 1: Berry’s (1997) model of acculturation strategies.

		Cultural maintenance	
		Yes	No
Contact with host society	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization

Four acculturation strategies can be identified on the basis of the answers:

“(i) *integration* (it is important to maintain both heritage culture and to have positive relations with the host society); (ii) *assimilation* (only positive relations with the host society are important); (iii) *separation* (only maintaining heritage culture is of importance); and (iv) *marginalization* (neither outcome is important)” (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.85).

Migrants may change from one outcome to another, as the above strategies are not fixed. As we can see from the model, integration will lead to the most positive outcome, where the individual is both connected to their own traditional culture and is an active agent in the host

² For a more detailed account of Berry’s acculturation strategy and migrant adaption processes see Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5–34.

society. As such, a migrant can be seen as having two cultural identities (bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos (2005)) or biculturalism (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993)). Berry's model provides a useful tool to categorize and conceptualize relationships between migrants and host societies. However, as Oudenhoven and Ward point out, marginalization has been criticized (Rudmin, 2009) as not being a strategy but rather an outcome, since no one chooses to be left out of society. Another critical point is that migrants may choose a distinctive acculturation strategy which involves identifying with multiple cultures, and "in essence, they show a cosmopolitan attitude" (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.85). The latter may be especially relevant to younger migrants who were either born or moved to the country at an early age, whose construction of cultural identities is facilitated by contemporary communication culture such as the internet and social media. In conclusion, "at its core, acculturation involves cultural maintenance, relating to norms, values, behaviors and identity, and participation in the wider society, which minimally ensures contact, but may also evoke competition and threat" (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.86). As such, it is not only about migrants' experiences or the views of the host society about 'how to fit in' but rather about "mutual changes that occur when two or more cultural groups come into contact with one another" (p.86).

Berry's model of acculturation is somewhat crude considering the increasing complexity of migrants' international linkages. Overall, the emergence of global culture as a result of mixing and creolization of cultures poses new challenges for the acculturation models (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). Rudmin (2003) for instance, explains that considering contemporary dual identities, language and attitudes (especially related to second-generation migrants) a more reasonable model would have 16 categories. Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) suggest the addition of a third question: "desire to be engaged in transnational contact" (p.89). They clarify that:

The question would add an international level to the existing within-society mechanism. Transnationalism can also impact cultural maintenance and influence the four core acculturation strategies and as such determine a migrant's social adaptation. For instance, migrants can integrate into both the host society and their country of origin simultaneously, a form of 'transnational integration'. As such, they can be bicultural because their experiences do not oppose each other (p.91).

2.4 Dialogical self

While Rudmin (2003, 2009) and Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) disagree to some extent with Berry by suggesting the addition of more categories and a third question, they do not completely reject his theory of acculturation. It is in fact, rooted in the idea of the ‘dialogical-self’ theory where Berry finds his stern critics. Bagnoli (2007) for instance, completely rejects Berry’s model on the basis that it presupposes “a linear model of cultural change, view[s] cultures as mutually distinct and internally homogenous” (p.26) and says that such a theory cannot hold its validity in an age of globalization where a person can simultaneously be both part of the in-group and the out-group.

To understand Bagnoli’s criticism, we shall take a closer look at Herman’s dialogical self-theory. Herman (2001) proposes that the self has multiple I-positions that are autonomous and dynamic in that they can change depending on the time and situation. The I is composed of different and sometimes even opposing positions that create a dialogue within the self; “the voices function like interacting characters in a story, involved in a process of question and answer, agreement and disagreement... as different voices, these characters exchange information about their respective Me’s, resulting in a complex, narratively structured self” (p.248). This juxta positioning allows for various self-representations that construct the totality of our identity and guide our actions. It is also worth mentioning that Herman intended these different I positions to be both on the inside and the outside of the self, as in one can be influenced by the ‘other’. Furthermore, he specifies the continuous and discontinuous nature of the self. For example, the category of ‘my family and friends’ is continuous and forms a part of the self, but when apart (my family and my friends) they are discontinuous. As such, they can be an extension of the self in that they can form a singular voice in a person but can also form multiple I-positions (family vs. friends have different views that affect how you view the world) (Herman, 2001, p.248).

Bagnoli (2007) analyses migrants’ identities by looking at the dialogical self. The usefulness of this theory is that both the self and culture are decentralized, and it is “able to account for the co-presence of different cultures in one’s self-construction, as well as to integrate the dimensions of uncertainty and of the imaginary...possible selves may act as incentives and role-models, representing our goals and what we would like to be, our wished-for selves, or else they may stand as threats and feared selves, and remind us of what we are afraid of

becoming” (p.26). Bagnoli calls her theory the ‘self/other model of identities’. She elaborates that studying identity from a narrative point of view allows us to see the role of discourse on the individual’s identity formation and how this demonstrates the power asymmetries between social groups.

To better understand acculturation and hence the factors that shape the dialogical self, we can take a look at some psychological theories that explain the relationships between migrants and the host society. As stated by the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and studies done by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) the more direct contact between migrants and the host society, the more positive outcomes there are for intergroup relations, for instance reduction of prejudice. This can also take place indirectly, for instance seeing other in- and out- group members socialize (Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone, 2011 cited in Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). However, the presence of an outgroup and limited resources can also create stress and competition (The Unified Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005)) as the host group may identify tangible threats to their welfare (Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000)). As such, natives of the receiving country may feel that opportunities and social benefits given to migrants are reducing their opportunities which may lead to discriminatory behavior. “Realistic threats, particularly the threat of job loss and increased social assistance to newcomers, are strong predictors of negative out-group attitudes” (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.87). Furthermore, the in-group may be challenged by the symbolic threat of differing values and belief systems leading to anxiety as a result of “fears of diminished self-concept and negative evaluations by others” (p.87).

Roche (2016) in her Master’s thesis, researched anger among Iraqi refugees in Finland. The conceptions of anger, prejudice, racism bear resemblance to the themes discussed in this thesis. In relation to forced migration, Roche (2016) explains that the emotion of anger is central (p.10). Kynsilehto & Puumala (2013) elaborate that “experiences of structural violence are ‘felt and sensed’ (in Roche, 2016, p. 10). Roche (2016) further explains that negotiations of identities and adaptation to surroundings are guided by emotions (p.10). She mentions that asylum seekers, experience trauma before, during and after migration. While categorically different to the participants in this study, they nevertheless share similarities of experiences of structural violence. Moreover, visible difference and preconceptions of ‘otherness’ by the native population places migrants in the same homogenous group and as such an experience of a student might not differ to an experience of a refugee. As such, post-forced migration

difficulties of the asylum seekers can also be experienced by second-generation migrants, even though they do not necessarily have any actual experience with asylum procedures.

Delanty, Wodak and Jones (2017) conducted a study which investigated the everyday narratives of migrants in Europe. They found out that racism and discrimination have 'evolved' from the traditional biological racial superiority to a more subtle but pervasive contemporary form of racism that can be used to justify for example, cultural incompatibility and concern about welfare benefits (p.2). This 'new' racism or xeno-racism as they named it is a confluence of xenophobia and racism (p1.). Essed (1991) explains that this takes place as symbolic violence which is often expressed indirectly and "reveal[s] the absence of recognition as opposed to overt discrimination" (as cited in Delanty, Wodak & Jones, 2017, p.3). She adds "in everyday discourse people tend to be more susceptible to xeno-racism" (p.2). Discrimination is not a result of differences specifically but rather how such differences are generalized into negative categories and then attributed into whole groups (Delanty, Wodak & Jones, 2017). As such "each individual experience with a 'foreigner', 'Jew' etc. is viewed as typical of the whole group (while, interestingly, positive experiences with migrants, Jews, others, are classified as exceptions)" (p.4). This construction of 'us' and 'them' was systematic in all the countries that were included in their study. Prejudice, stereotyping and cultural identity can also have different impacts on migrants (Social Identity Theory, (Tajfel & Turner, 1986)), where a progressive turnout can be when difference is used for positive distinctiveness and social creativity.

As Oudenhoven and Ward (2012) suggest positive distinctiveness could "promote integration, but only when minority groups are successful in achieving social change" (p.88). In this way, positive in-group/ out-group relations can be a result if migrants opt for an integration strategy where they are dynamic actors in society and whose actions the in-group considers as beneficial. Moreover, migrant well-being and integration requires a balance of ethnic identity that allows for incorporation into the host society. As such, the interaction between the responses of the host society and the attitudes of migrants may determine the relationship between well-being and ethnic identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001, cited in Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.88). Furthermore, identity is pertinent to social inclusion, where a member of the in-group will be treated similarly to other in-group members ((Common In-group Identity Model), Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Therefore, more positive in-group attitudes can be achieved by for instance, extending memberships and focusing on shared goals that are the same for all groups, without necessarily giving up the original identity. This means

that there can be dual identities belonging to both the minority and the host group, such as Chinese-American or Turkish-Dutch (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). In Finland similar groups include the Ethiopian-Finns and the Somalian-Finns. These groups have very different relationships to the society than the natives have (see chapter 4).

Therefore, transnationalism can affect migrants' lives in various ways. According to Oudenhoven and Ward (2012), migrants feel more at home because transnationalism brings more options to contact the country of origin. For instance, more frequent communication with the original country can boost confidence through social support leading to better psychological adaptation (p.91). On the other hand, a study done by Snel, Engbersen and Leerkens (2006), found that migrants in the Netherlands identify less with the Dutch when they are more in social contact with their country of origin. A migrant may also prefer separation and identify more strongly with similar ethnic groups or live in their country of origin's 'cultural outpost' often referred to as diasporas. Diaspora, as defined by Ang (2003), is a strategy of "claiming difference and turning it into symbolic capital" (p.141). Some examples include for instance, the Chinatowns of London and San Francisco and the 'Barrio Mexicano' in Los Angeles. Hence, as an option, transnational links may also provide an alternative if there is too much pressure to assimilate or if the migrant experiences discrimination and the host society is a threat to their identity (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012). However, according to Vertovec (2006), the host country may view transnational networks and diasporas with suspicion because of unwelcomed activities and ideologies that do not align with their culture. "This fear has been reinforced by a feeling that becomes more dominant with the public discourse that integration (or multiculturalism) has failed" (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012, p.92). Moreover, the fear has also been propagated by the refugee crisis in 2015 leading to migration flows which put a new weight on national immigration policies.

Whilst I will not extensively elaborate on the pros and cons of diaspora, Ang's criticism of the concept is useful because it elucidates the generational shift away from the boundaries of diaspora to hybridity in support of this thesis' research focus. Even though the support from a familiar culture can be positive in the integration process of an individual, Ang points out that diaspora and internal ethnic sameness can also hinder transnationalism and integration by being exclusionary in the same way that nation states are. Rather than territory, it is based on ancestry and has a finite membership (Ang, 2003). 'Diasporization' is not without its problems, as exemplified by for instance Sweden's concentration of migrants in diasporas and its subsequent increase in violence (Jaskari, 2017). In Finland, this diasporization (*lähiöityminen*) has also

been a recent concern of the police and the state recognizes integration as essential in successful migration politics (Kallio, 2016). As an alternative, Ang (2003) focuses on the concept of hybridization which “consists of exchanges, crossings and mutual entanglements [and] necessarily implies a softening of the boundaries between ‘peoples’: the encounters *between* them are as constitutive of who they are as the proceedings *within*” (p.147). This is not to say that these encounters are without conflict as history has shown us, but it forces to negotiate differences. “The result...is a profoundly hybridized world where boundaries have become utterly porous, even though they are artificially maintained” (p147). Furthermore, nation states, diasporas and the resulting identities have been ‘safe’ because there have been strict identifications of us and them. Hybridity, on the other hand, as McLennan (1995) points out, “does not easily produce a *people*” (as cited in Ang, 2003, p.152). The in-betweenness of second-generation migrants is an example of this hybridity. The being ‘together-in-difference’ rather than focusing on specific norms and ethnicities. As we can see, the factors that shape identity and the dialogical self and hence also the acculturation process of an individual are largely determined by their experiences of inclusion and exclusion.

2.5 Intersectionality

The theory of intersectionality provides a useful tool to the analysis of experiences of inclusion and exclusion and what role these have in shaping identity. The concept was first introduced by black feminists in the 1960’s to portray the differing experiences of injustice of black and white women. The term was later coined in 1989, by Kimberlé Crenshaw, and today it refers to how “race, class, sex, sexual orientation, citizenship status, religion and gender all intersect to form a person’s identity” (DeFrancisco, Palczewski & McGeough, 2014, p.9). McDowell (2008) calls these categories “a set of relationships among the multiple dimensions of being” (p.491). These categories, as Marecek (2016) points out, do not have a single fixed meaning but are synergistic and co-constitutive. She points out two important tenets of intersectionality: First, intersectionality is not a person’s characteristic. For example, the phrase ‘women and other intersectional groups’ implies that there are some groups who are intersectional and some who are not. “How could that be? How could there be a person who does not inhabit multiple social categories, such as age, gender, and ethnicity?” (p.177). Second, because people are not intersectional but social categorizations are, intersectionality is a *method* for the characterization of the social stratification system (p.177).

Since intersectionality is not a characteristic of a person, intersectionality theory tends to view individuals from the ‘outside’ where categories are seen as the building blocks of social

hierarchies. While the ‘inside’ of a person i.e. feelings and experiences make up identity, Crenshaw’s ‘crossroads of multiple oppressions’ is on the social structure ‘outside’ “along with the cultural meanings that support and sustain that system...people inhabit such social categories, which together constitute the matrix of privilege and oppression that structures social life” (Marecek, 2016, p.179).

The beauty of intersectional analysis in relation to identity formation of the participants is the focus on cultural meaning within the categories (Marecek, 2016). This allows for an analysis of distinct categories and how they are in relation to each other. These categories are contingent in that their meanings are affected by changes in local, political and historical contexts. Migration flows, revolutionary movements, globalization, depression, war, the rise of nationalistic ideologies, any changes in the fabric of society affect the meanings of social categories. The “fluidity in meanings can have enormous political and social consequences” (p.179). Moreover, As McCall points out, these categories are also dependent on space and time (as cited in McDowell, 2008, p. 491). Consider, for example, the category ‘men in Finland’. This has some overlap with but is still distinct from ‘men in Finland of Nigerian heritage’. The category ‘men in Finland in 1920’ is distinct from ‘men in Finland in 2017’. To go further ‘men of Nigerian heritage in Finland in 1920’ is distinct from any of the categories above, although they all share some similarities. “The play of inferences and meanings connected to categories such as sex categories and racial/ethnic categories is virtually endless, limited only by human inventiveness” (Marecek, 2016, p.179). For migrants, experiences of the intersecting categories can be varied in different countries. As pointed out by McDowell (2008), behavioral patterns both ‘here’ and ‘there’ are connected to for example, social class and stereotypical cultural national attributes (p.496). She adds “as a consequence, immigrants are differently received and socialized depending on their position within racial hierarchies, gender, class background and income/consumption patterns both in their own country and in the country of immigration (p.496).” As Marecek (2016) points out, a qualitative analysis is suitable for analyzing the experiences that arise from belonging to such categories.

For the purpose of this thesis it is important to point out that while intersectionalist theorists focus specifically on the ‘outside’ fluidity, meanings of social categories and their constructions I use intersectional theory in conjunction with identity and transnational theories which enables me to get a more holistic account of the participants experiences in Finland. Understanding that multiple social categories can intersect to form differing types of experiences can be extremely useful in the analysis of transnational identities. For instance, the

formation of the I positions in the dialogical self-theory is directly related to how an individual experiences intersecting categories in different environments.

2.6 Transnationalism: Focus on Actor’s Agency and Integration as a Process

The pragmatic approach to analyzing the interaction between integration and transnationalism, shows that they both have various similarities and can occur at the same time. Hence, “both are essentially forms of a social process whereby people adapt to changing circumstances due to spatial movement by themselves or others” (McDowell, 2008, p.496). As such, transnationalism enables the migrant to both continue their pre-migration relations and to create new links. “Migrant integration and transnationalism are both about interactions and negotiations between migrants and non-migrants, individuals, groups and societies, and both are multifaceted. Individuals’ integration processes and transnational ties develop in multiple and varying ways, according to particular life histories” (McDowell, 2008, p.496). A more recent model that takes into account the multifaceted nature of the relationship between these two phenomena and which adds to earlier models of acculturation is the typology created by Erdal and Oeppen (2013).

2.6.1 Erdal’s and Oeppen’s typology

When researching the various scopes of migrants’ lives, Erdal and Oeppen (2013) found out that integration and transnationalism have similar patterns in the way that they function and provide opportunities especially at the individual level, where the actor is the unit of analysis. This study aims to find out whether Finland shows similar patterns in interactions of integration and transnationalism for second generation migrants and how these are potentially changing. An individual level of analysis lets us focus on the migrants’ agency as an important part of the integration process. As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) point out, this approach takes into account the agency of both migrants and natives and focuses on integration and transnationalism as social processes rather than focusing on cultural difference (p.875). Joppke (2007) mentions that understandably the current discourse has evolved as a reaction to the increased global mobility from the South to the North, which has made governments emphasize the politically grounded importance of citizenship and legal status as indicators of integration and as a way to manage community cohesion (as cited in Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.869). Yet, Strang and Ager (2010) criticize the current normative interpretation as being a rigid ‘one-way view’ that leaves no space for individual actors’ agency (as cited in Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.869). The importance of this study lies in the possibility of providing an alternative to the dominant

discourse of integration being a ‘program of adaption’ where integration is seen as an end goal within a certain timeframe.

Snel, Engbersen and Leerkens (2006) point out that it has traditionally been assumed that integration can be hampered by migrants’ transnational ties. However, more recent research has shown that the two can co-exist. By studying migrants’ ‘balancing acts’ between the opportunities and challenges of integration processes and transnational activities, Erdal and Oeppen (2013) provide an interesting typology that is helpful in understanding that the concepts do not only co-exist but also interact at various levels. “We argue that whether migrants’ transnational ties are seen as a significant marker of difference is central to how the impact of transnationalism on processes of integration is understood” (Erdal & Oppen, 2013, p.868).

Table 2: Erdal’s & Oeppen’s (2013) Typology of Interactions between Integration and Transnationalism

	Type of interaction		
	Additive	Synergistic	Antagonistic
Socio-cultural integration and transnationalism	Feeling of belonging and socio-cultural connections in country of origin and of settlement	Feeling of belonging and connections in one place give confidence to further develop connections in other	Feeling of belonging and socio-cultural connections in one place displace feelings of belonging in other
Structural integration and transnationalism	Economically active in country of origin and of settlement (Dual) citizenship + regularised mobility	Resources gained in one place are invested to develop further resources in the other	Demand for resources in one place limits ability to meet demands in other

This typology differentiates between socio-cultural integration and transnationalism and structural integration and transnationalism. Snel, Engbersen and Leerkens (2006) elaborate that “the former encompasses the more ‘functional’ (and more easily measurable) aspects of integration, including how migrants are incorporated into societal structures (e.g. labour market, education); the latter, the more complex (and more difficult to measure) aspects of integration, such as social networks that incorporate migrant and majority populations, and emotions of belonging/being at home” (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.871). The value of this typology for the use of this study is that it provides an actor-centered approach to analyzing the

various factors influencing the relationship and type of interaction between integration and transnationalism. It is therefore useful for the theoretical conceptualization of individual interviews of the participants of the study.

Snel, Engbersen and Leerkens (2006) also researched the transnational ties of 300 migrants in Europe. Their research question focused on what “transnational activities and identification of modern transmigrants imply for their incorporation or integration into the host society” (p.285). They used the ‘typology of interactions’ for differentiation, instead of dividing groups by ethnicity/nationality. As such, they mixed various types of migrants, which allows for a more in-depth analysis of structural and socio-cultural factors affecting integration and transnationalism, rather than ethnicity. This is of importance for this study since contemporary European societies are diverse and constantly transforming. As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) mention, “youth of migrant or mixed backgrounds, for instance, are not defined by their parents’ national origins, but more by the new types of hybrid identity they represent” (p.870). What Snel, Engbersen and Leerkens (2006) concluded was that the association between transnationalism and integration differs by sending country, and that the latter is not necessarily restricted by the former.

2.7 Conclusion

As we have seen, integration and transnationalism are subject to many factors that ultimately determine the extent of the migrant’s experiences in the host country. Theories of acculturation and transnationalism have evolved over time from linear to more intricate models incorporating the complexity of intercultural relations. Migrants’ identities are also largely constructed through psychological in-group/ out-group relations that determine the degree of both adaptation and the involvement in transnational networks. The dialogical self-theory adds to our understanding of acculturation and how an individual can have various I positions that are in constant narrative with each other depending on the environment. Furthermore, by looking at the theory of intersectionality, we can see that ethnic origin, gender and religious views are also some of the many factors affecting migrants’ experiences. Also, previous research indicates that migration and therefore integration and transnationalism vary largely by country and as such, they can be manifested very differently in Finland. This being said, Berry’s model of acculturation and the more in-depth typology of interaction by Erdal and Oeppen do provide useful analytical tools for the conceptualization of these phenomena and the analysis of the migrants’ interviews.

*“It Gave Me Everything, But It Gave Me Nothing”:
a Study of Second-Generation Migrants, Transnationalism and Identity*

The following chapter will elaborate on the methodology and the data analysis techniques.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

The following chapter introduces the participants of the study, the methodological process and its validity and limitations.

3.1 Participants

I will henceforth use the term ‘migrant’ to refer to migrants (people with foreign backgrounds) in general and the term ‘participants’ when referring to the participants in the study. The interviews consist of two separate group sessions; females and males. All the participants have parents originally from countries other than Finland and all participants have lived in the capital area. Both groups include three participants that are familiar with each other. The names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. To minimize the danger of being ‘lost in translation’ the interviews were conducted in English and Finnish, both being languages which all the participants were fluent in. I chose to keep the sample size small so that there would be enough ‘space’ and time for everyone to share their experiences in detail. I also conducted the female and male interviews separately so as to allow for a more relaxed atmosphere. The female interview was conducted in July 2016 and the male interview was conducted in July 2017. The interviews were recorded and filmed and subsequently transcribed. Both interview sessions were conducted in the participants’ homes.

In the beginning of this thesis, I considered gathering participants randomly so as to keep the researcher-participant distance and minimum bias which is traditionally valued in academia. However, in the end I chose to interview my friends, whom I have known for several years and who were pleased to volunteer for this study. Over the years we have had multiple conversations (and situations) about their everyday experiences of living in Finland as a non-native. Given their backgrounds, their vast repository of first-hand experiences and my interest in the themes of migration, human mobility and integration I decided it would be an excellent opportunity to go into detail about their lives, while relating them to an academic context. Moreover, given our already established friendship I knew the participants would be prepared to speak candidly about their lives. Others such as Yuan (2014) who chose friends as participants for her doctoral thesis comments “a great advantage of working with friends is that rapport can be easily built as mutual trust pre-dates the research project” (p.97). However, as she also mentions, it was sometimes difficult to identify the general chit-chat from the valuable

research material. Bearing this in mind I tried to keep the research distance as much as possible during the interviews.

The female group consists of:

- Nadja- Russian heritage, born in St. Pietersburg, Russia. Only child. Came to Finland at the age of ten with her mother. Her father stayed in Russia.
- Sofia- Somalian heritage, born in Mogadishu, Somalia. Moved to Egypt as a young child, after which her and her family moved to Finland at the age of nine.
- Abebech- Ethiopian heritage, born in Helsinki, Finland. Has a younger sister. Originally her father came to Finland to study. Her mother arrived later, through family reunification.

The male group consists of:

- Anton- Russian heritage, born in Moscow, Russia. Has a younger brother. Moved to Finland with his mother. His father stayed in Russia. Lived briefly in America during his childhood and moved back permanently to Finland at the age of six.
- Zoran- former Yugoslavian heritage (Serbian and Croatian), born in former Yugoslavia. Moved to Serbia with his parents as refugees after the war. Came to Finland with his parents at the age of twelve through the UNHCR resettlement program. Has a younger sister.
- Onyeka- Nigerian heritage, born in Helsinki, Finland. Parents came here in the 1980's to study.

I found it imperative to have participants who come from various backgrounds because it encourages different perspectives. This brings forth the multidimensional aspects of social hierarchies in everyday experience. Assumptions, stereotypes and prejudice, for instance, exist despite the reason for arriving in Finland. While the in-group tends to view motives such as studying as more socially acceptable than for example asylum seeking, the experience of prejudice may be the same for the migrant because they are still generalized as being a part of the out-group (Delanty, Wodak & Jones, 2017). This also refers to the problem of the loaded term ‘second-generation’ identified by Schneider (2016), where a lack of differentiation between social categories and backgrounds results in generalization. As such, the value of this

thesis lies in comparing migrants’ experiences despite their vastly different backgrounds to showcase domineering attitudes in society.

3.2 Grounded Theory as a Methodological approach

The data collection and analysis will be guided by the Grounded Theory method. Developed by Glaser & Strauss in the 1960’s, Grounded Theory has evolved to be one of the most widely used approaches in qualitative design. Since its inception, the theory has evolved to have various versions (see Constructivist Grounded theory, Charmaz, 2006, 2014, Critical Grounded Theory, Kempter & Parry, 2011, 2014; Lee, 2016; Oliver, 2012) depending on the researcher’s epistemological and ontological perspective (Timonen, Foley & Conlon, 2018, p.1,3).

To clarify, it is not a theory per say, but a tool which generates a theory that is grounded in the collected data, giving it the name ‘Grounded Theory’ (Olshansky, 2015, p.1). Hence, the theory is “‘grounded’ in the perceptions and concerns of participants, that is, hypotheses are developed from the data, rather than data collection being a process of testing a pre-existing hypothesis” (Chapman et al. 2015, p.201). The collected data consists of the daily experiences of the participants which will be gathered through semi-structured group interviews. It is important to have some degree of structure because it helps in focusing the questions as the interviews move forward (Timonen, Foley & Conlon, 2018, p.6). “The researcher becomes increasingly oriented to understanding “what is going on here” and “what are the major patterns” and “what explains them”” (p.6). It is important to note that in Grounded Theory, rather than being in two separate phases, the analysis happens simultaneously with the collection of data. “As data are collected, they are analyzed; analysis influences further data collection; this process is ongoing until saturation of data is achieved” (Olshansky, 2015, p.19). The questions are used as guidelines, which are comprised of open-ended questions in relation to for instance, themes of family, ethnic identity, feelings of belonging and expectations/perceptions of migrants. As such, rather than being a strict questionnaire, the participants’ thoughts are allowed to ‘flow freely’. The researcher must remain “flexible throughout the data collection, in order to be able to capture data in a maximally open way” (Timonen, Foley & Conlon, 2018, p.6). Probes may be used in case the questions need more focus and clarification. In the Grounded Theory method, the researcher is actively involved in the interview as in responding to the participants’ questions when needed (Olshansky, 2015, p.20). Depending on the participants’ answers, the interview questions may also change. “Through the data analysis, provisional hypotheses are generated, and data continue to be collected in a more focused way, guided by these provisional hypotheses” (Olshansky, 2015,

p.20). The data will then be categorized and divided into themes that will be interpreted and discussed using multidisciplinary theoretical analysis. “Ultimately, the goal of a grounded theory study is to generate a beginning theoretical explanation that reflects human experiences of everyday life conditions” (Olshansky, 2015, p.21).

3.2.1 Techniques Used in Analysis

The transcriptions of the interviews are analyzed by identifying patterns throughout the data. This first, inductive phase is more open-ended. In line with the Grounded Theory method, this will allow for the generation of codes from the data which will then move on to the deductive phase of the process; the development of the theory and more focused questions (Glaser, 1978, p.37). “With further data collection through the iterative process that is central to Grounded Theory methodology, many of these questions will be answered and the codes will be narrowed to those that continue to receive “support” from the ongoing data collection” (Olshansky, 2015, p.22). The perspectives of the participants should be reflected as closely as possible in the emergent theories that have been derived from the concepts and codes (Olshansky, 2015, p.23). Furthermore, a tenet of Grounded Theory is the process of constant comparison which enables the “conceptualiz[ation] of latent social patterns and structures” (Glaser, 1978, p.37). This is done by comparing different data within the transcripts between themselves (Olshansky, 2015, p.23). Finally, the codes and concepts are grouped in categories. Hence, this approach is useful because of its pragmatic focus on the participants’ problems and the compartmentalizing of the data into relevant categories allows for the identification of certain themes, which can be directed towards theories from which it is possible to draw final conclusions (Chapman et al., 2015, p.201).

3.3 Validity and Limitations- Problems of Objectivity

One of the main advantages of the Grounded Theory method over other research analysis tools is that the analysis starts already at the data collection phase. This also “maximizes” validity from the start of the study and helps in keeping potential bias to a minimum. This being said, there is some criticism of the method. Qualitative analysis, by nature is “more subjective than quantitative studies, and this can lead to opportunities for error and bias” (Chapman, 2015, p.204). Because the researcher is not only a vital part of the data collection/analysis process, but also knowledge production, they can hardly be entirely objective. “Truly inductive analysis is not possible and is always limited by the unconscious application of prior knowledge to the thematic analysis process -either from the researcher’s own experience or from their reading

of the literature” (Chapman, 2015, p.204). Originally, the method’s founders insisted that the data collection would start from a *tabula rasa* state; without any pre-conceived ideas or hypothesis (Allan, G. 2003, p.8) and even to completely ignore any literature of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2010, p. 37). However, more modern developments in the field of Grounded Theory, recognize that finding the focus of the study and justifying research questions, necessitates knowledge of the literature beforehand and it is now a standard academic requirement. As such, without advancing all the way to hypothesis testing, the key is awareness of existing theories and to remain open to the data (Timonen, Foley & Conlon, 2018, p.4).

Semi-structured qualitative group interviews are a useful way to find out about individual experiences in a ‘deeper’ more detailed level. The small sample size and the fact that the participants knew each other from before lets them speak more freely about their experiences. As such, rather than being a formal interview, they were more of a ‘get-together’ where each participant was comfortable voicing out their opinions. However, while the small sample size is an asset in the Grounded Theory procedure in getting more thorough data in a limited amount of time, it is also limited in its ability to generalize the results to a larger population. For instance, Chapman (2015) explains that with small sample sizes the bias effect may be greater as the results may be incomplete (p.203). Most research is geared towards producing results and findings that are applicable to a wider population and have practical relevance (Timonen, Foley & Conlon 2018, p.2). As Olshansky (2015) points out an issue of the Grounded Theory then, is that while “it is a systematic process of data collection and analysis, it is not as prescriptive as many quantitative studies. In other words, not all grounded theory studies lead to a “trajectory” or a “basic social process.” (Olshansky, 2015, p.21). Therefore, the differences in the participants’ backgrounds showcase the similarities and differences in their experiences, but do not necessarily portray the whole array of experiences of the ‘second- generation’ population, considering different factors such as size of family, income levels, opportunity to travel back home etc. Moreover, since the aim is to identify potential cross-cultural similarities and differences, I am also aware of my own potential bias in having a European/Western background. Having said that and given that Finland is relatively new to migration in comparison to other European countries, the value in using the Grounded Theory for the analysis is specifically its inductive element in identifying theories based on the real everyday experiences of the participants, instead of presuming their experiences through existing theories. To conclude, the analyzed data gives valuable insight into the experiences of a second-

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generation of migrants which mirrors the evolution of Finnish identity, the influence of transnationalism and gives foresight into future Finnish demographics.

In the next chapter I will present the results of the data analyses of the transcripts.

CHAPTER FOUR: Results and Data Analysis

The following chapter displays the results and analysis of the interviews. With both groups, most of the discussion revolved around the themes of identity and belonging while being part of two or more cultures and creating a space for themselves to define their own identity. Five dominant themes emerged from categorizing the various codes. The themes and their respective codes are displayed in the following table. During the coding process, I identified certain words and/or concepts that popped out more than others. For example, the words ‘parents’ and ‘moving back’ (4.1) were mentioned often from which the conversation naturally moved on to the concepts of belonging and roots and how the participants viewed these differently than their parents. After going through the whole transcript and identifying all the participants’ experiences that related to ‘parents’ and ‘moving back’ I arranged the codes into the following table. From the codes in part 4.1 of the table I recognized the overall concept of ‘generational differences’ and chose to analyze this through the emergent themes of transnationalism, belonging and roots. I subsequently followed the same method of analysis for all the codes.

As predicted, the benefit of having a pre-established friendship enabled the conversation to flow freely. All the participants were very vocal about the topics as can be seen by the length of the transcript. Hence, the coding process was lengthy and at times it was difficult to choose the relevant concepts because all the discussions were highly thought-provoking. I chose to leave the citations long because of their narrative value which portrays the influence of the dialogical-self (Herman, 2001) and the role of discourse (Bagnoli, 2007) on the participants’ identities (see chapter 2.4) which also had a role in guiding the conversations naturally.

The themes are constructed from the theories that emerged after the interviews. To recall while the Grounded Theory method emphasizes the natural evolution of theories from the interviews, I am also aware of my own bias in representing these specific theories. I had knowledge of some of these theories beforehand and my analytical perspective is also shaped by experiences with the participants over the years of friendship. Furthermore, I am writing from a white, native Finnish, female’s perspective and as such, choosing some citations over others is also influenced by my own cultural preconceptions. Having said that, my intention during the analysis was to be as open minded as possible while still acknowledging the researcher bias.

While the following table gives some clarity for the analysis, we must keep in mind that the themes overlap and directly influence each other.

Table 3: Themes and Codes

Themes	Codes
4.1 Transnationalism, belonging and roots	-Parents longing to move back -Keeping in contact with country of origin -Belonging and roots -Generational differences
4.2 Being in between cultures	-Culture and customs of diaspora and host society -‘Blessings’ and ‘curses’ of dual cultures
4.3 Dialogical self	-Changing behavior in both societies to fit in
4.4 Intersectionality, society and attitudes	-Gender roles -Prejudice, injustice and social change
4.5 ‘New’ identity	-Creation of your own new space/pioneers of this generation

4.1 Transnationalism, belonging and roots

All the participants have similar experiences with their parents being more attached to their culture of origin than they themselves are. Their parents are more active with diasporas both here and ‘back home’, and most of their parents do not consider Finland their ‘final destination’. The parents’ have moved or are planning to move back and plan on settling down in their country of origin. This is a clear indicator of the generational differences in culture and identity. As such it also marks a difference in transnational relations. These are influenced by both living in a different country other than the country of origin and the increased global culture between the generations. For most of the parents, living in Finland was a phase and they longed to move back home.

The generational differences are one of the main themes that exemplify how transnational networks evolve.

Abebech: My mother, she is very attached to her Ethiopian identity despite living here for 25 years. She identifies herself completely as Ethiopian and never learned the language properly.

Nadja: I've read that the older you are when you move, the stronger your identity is to your history and identity you cannot just... You have to keep something of yourself...your own past.

Abebech: My parents moved to such a new culture that they have felt the need hold on to their own culture, even if it wasn't even that strong in Ethiopia. It becomes stronger here, as though they don't have anything else to hold on to.

Nadja: My mom has never felt that she's entirely here nor there so hasn't known what to do. But she is more Russian.

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Sofia: *Our parents have such a strong identity that they strive to be Somalian and want to move back. Like Abebech’s parents also. But the generational difference is big, I want to see it (Somalia) but I think I see a future here maybe.*

For Onyeka, his father’s desire to move back is being concretized by him owning land back home where he intends to build a house. This also shows parents’ expectations of their children to continue the traditions of family and ownership.

Onyeka: *My parents still had this kind of dream of this place where they would be when they are older. And I started challenging them. My dad still has this idea that maybe he will go back to Nigeria. And he is kind of building a house there. In our culture, you build a house in your father’s plot. And they think of this from generation to generation. Since they were able to get a plot. And he probably expects me to do that.*

Zoran: *So, my parents, it’s a phase as you said, they have that something (roots back at home). They sold their apartment in Vantaa, they would have gotten more money out of it if they had kept it and thought smart. But they were thinking with their heart. So, they bought a place there. Because they want to go there and die there.*

The parents’ transnational relations are more bilateral (Finland and home country). All of the parents except Nadja’s and Anton’s, are intent on moving back home and consider Finland as a temporary place. Onyeka makes a clear distinction between his parent’s and the difference between being active in the diaspora and integration. Here we can see how a diaspora’s lack of integration can lead to a ‘closing effect’. Diaspora as criticized by Ang (2003) can be just as exclusionary as nation states because of its finite ethnic membership which may hinder transnationalism (p. 145). In this case we could argue that integration was never the point but rather to keep up the ethnic culture until it was possible to move back to the country of origin.

Onyeka: *When I was small I’d speak Finnish with my sister and our dad would get irritated and say do not speak that language in this house. So, he is not the supreme example of integration. Whereas my mom wanted us to speak Finnish to her. Dad’s idea was all along that eventually when he would finish his PhD we would all go back to Nigeria and that he didn’t need to learn the language. So, he focused a lot on keeping contact with the diaspora here and also, his family etc. We used to go to Nigerian Independence Day parties and there would be Nigerian food and lots of Nigerians and music. So, both of my parents have been very well in touch with the diaspora, but my mom has made a very strong attempt and succeeded in integration. She speaks Finnish and has lots of Finnish friends. But I’m not so in contact with the Nigerians... I have the same thing as Zoran, we meet and talk but I don’t call them. I don’t think it’s deliberate I just haven’t really made an effort.*

Contrary to their parents, the participants see themselves as belonging to a more global network, where their identities and actions are influenced by the push and pull effects of global culture. This is evidenced by for instance their own (lack of) participation in the diaspora and their network of global friends. Growing up outside of the home country also gave the

participants an ‘outsider’s’ perspective and this led to some criticism and clashing of values. Sofia and Abebech feel that they are too used to Western values to be able to move back for good and Zoran criticizes the strict divisions/differentiations of the ex-Yugoslavian countries.

Anton: The picture that I’ve gotten is that we have a much tighter knit community, but I’ve never really had a proper Russian network of friends in Finland and I’ve never really felt the need for one. There was definitely an identity crisis of sort of me not wanting to associate too much with my Russian heritage as a younger kid, and it shaped my identity in the sense that I haven’t really tried to live up to expectations of what it means to be Russian. I always like to say that I’m a world citizen, a global person not really trying to fit into some sense of ethnicity. I remember my mom taking me to events with a lot of Russians and I always felt like a fish out of water. So, it was very easy to say that this isn’t me. To be an outsider in that situation but then to not really have a home. I guess like, growing up was a process of being ok with that uncertainty and being like, a person without a home...in a way. And finding solace in the thought of being a global citizen and emphasizing with other people in the third culture. We were creating our own reality.

Abebech: It’s completely different now that my parents have moved back (to Ethiopia), we are more in touch with other family members. But myself I am very little in contact with relatives. So Facebook is very important, and a lot of relatives are all over the world, in USA etc. so we message around the world... Social media has a big role and my mother was always the one to contact when they lived here. I have been in Ethiopia 6 times in my life. Of course, there was the war so before 1995 we couldn’t even go. Nowadays I’ve identified so much with multiculturalism that even though both are my cultures I don’t know if I could be completely myself over there. That’s why it is not the first country I want to go to visit on a holiday.

Sofia: I feel like I couldn’t be myself, I’d have to think about what I’m saying constantly. My parents have a huge role there in the society. I feel like I’d have to tiptoe all the time. I think it is something that slightly keeps me from going. But of course, I would like to see the culture.

Nadja: I feel completely different. Every time I’m back it’s a vacation. I’m with my mom and her boyfriend and we go to restaurants and travel to new places.

Abebech: I could live there (in Ethiopia) for some time but not forever, and I’m a very impatient person and I at least think that I’m very open that I think I’d get fed up with...even though you can’t generalize...but people who don’t know...it’s the same if you’d go to the States to places that are not New York or Los Angeles or cultural mix....they are in their own world and only know how their world works I could get fed up with the mentality and constantly having to break the stereotypes.

Nadja: That’s interesting because that is also a type of stereotype.

Abebech: Yes... What I’m doing.

Nadja: Yea. People should give each other chances.

Abebech: In Ethiopia everything Western is so new and so cool that they (parents) are trying to bring that there through their business... they want to accentuate that they have lived many years abroad and like “uuuuh foreigner”...the kiuas stones (stones for the sauna) have been brought from Finland...Finnish sauna...they are really trying to bring that forward. They are so different.

Zoran: *Since 2003, it was the first time I went back to Serbia, I visited almost every year. But I was born in Croatia. So, I have family in both sides of the war. So that part of the story is very complicated. The diaspora in Finland...like it's funny when I go to Croatia they ask me are there any of our people over here. And what they mean by our people, they mean Croats. They don't mean Serbs. But what I look at as our people is all these nations that are the ex-states of Yugoslavia. They basically spoke the same language. They say that Croats speak Croatian...Serbs speak Serbian...Bosnians speak Bosnian. They try to separate themselves but it's all the same language it's a fucking Slavic language. So, I would consider the diaspora from Finland all the people from ex-Yugoslavia.*

Interviewer: *Your situation is even more complicated, others have a diaspora of people who still are a nation and still think the same and yours is...*

Zoran: *A war torn nation...*

Interviewer: *Yea, that's already divided within.*

Zoran: *Personally, I don't have a lot of friends from the Balkans here. I know a lot of people, but I'm not in touch with them. It was hard for me, we used to move a lot when I was a kid and every new place and new school was hard for me. When I moved I forgot what I left behind it was the only way to cope. So, I concentrated on meeting new people and not remembering the past. The friends I have here are not your usual friends, they are more people like you (laughter, high fives Anton). Who are more international and open.*

Interviewer: *What do you miss most from your county?*

Abebech: *Having relatives and family. Some kind of roots.*

Sofia: *Identity basically, you can speak in your own language, with everybody, you can have the same food, no need to check whether there is gelatine in the food, everyone is celebrating with you not only few of us, small simple things.*

Nadja: *Similar things for me, feeling that you belong in the community.*

Interviewer: *So maybe that the majority is part of your identity rather than...*

Sofia: *...that you are always the outsider.*

Nadja: *Mentality is probably different in all of our cases than in Finland, you have to adjust.*

Sofia: *And always have to explain why are you doing this?*

Nadja: *I have so many Russian friends here, who are 'caring' this part of me, so I don't need to go back there to get in touch to experience some kind of mental belonging I just need to call my friends. I think of them...who live in Russia...that they live in a different world. If they tell about ordinary things I feel like it's so different there.*

Abebech: *I feel this sense of togetherness if I talk to my cousins it's really cool that you share history and I feel like I have roots that I'm not just alone without any connections. Especially now that my parents have moved back.*

Despite longing for some aspects of the culture back home, the conversation was often geared towards how the participants were too different from their original culture to move back there permanently. Zoran for instance, is critical of the strong ethnic identities that divide the former Yugoslavian states and has made an effort to focus on forming a new identity and “not

remembering the past”. This kind of integration goes beyond the boundaries found in Berry’s (1997) model of acculturation and shows that integration can be as much about finding new identities with multiple cultures as it is about integrating into the host society (Oudenhoven, & Ward, 2012). As proposed by Robins and Aksoy (2001) transnationalism may “promote more cosmopolitan understandings of belonging” (Robins & Aksoy as cited in Vertovec, p.580) by unfixing previous identities. Anton and Zoran both feel strongly about being less connected to the past and instead are part of communities that have a similar mindset that stretch beyond national borders. These experiences reflect into the following theme of being in between cultures.

4.2 Being in between cultures

The theme of ‘being in between’ cultures and the subsequent theme of ‘dialogical self’ are very much overlapped. However, it is easier to first examine how feelings of being a part of two or more cultures have influenced the participants’ lives and how the seeming incongruence has evoked the need to adapt to both by changing certain behavior and characteristics of the self. The participants’ expressed both negative and positive thoughts when talking about being in between cultures. While ‘where you are from’ was generally thought of as their heritage as in where their parents were from, culture, in general was the main focal point from which the identity was formed. This could be a mixture of many influences. Most expressed frustration at the lack of being able to pinpoint exactly what that culture is.

Sofia: Especially for children who come here very young, they need to be shown that there are positive and negative aspects, and to take the positive aspects and to attach them to your identity. If someone asks me where I’m from, I say I’m from Somalia. But if someone asks me what my culture is, hell do I know, because I have taken things from here and there. I can’t say that I’m Somali but I’m definitely not Finnish either. So who am I? I know I’m Muslim, from Somalia, I know my mother tongue, but deeper down who is Sofia? What culture defines you? There isn’t one.

Anton: I feel that I haven’t really created any diaspora for myself while my mom she definitely has her own clique and community that kept evolving and made a point to have her finger in the pulse of especially the Russian community. But I never really was a part of that... Sometimes I come across Russians in Finland but don’t really feel that much of a connection...At an earlier age, we had our own bubble that colored the social interactions that were going on and only later I felt like I integrated more strongly into Finnish society. Especially after travelling to Spain and Tanzania and not creating my identity so strongly with what I wasn’t and kind of fighting any notions of isms and just being in tune with being a person and not feeling like the world was out against me...I feel like I’ve rather gone my own way.

Anton: Definitely I’m not a local when I visit. I definitely have an accent, but it’s not specific to any region...they can’t quite place it, but they can hear that I’m not native when I speak. I’ve tried to have some effort in connecting more with my relatives in Russia....But in general,

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I don't like the direction that Russian culture and Russian as a nation has taken with its xenophobia and oppressing minorities. I don't associate as being Russian but I don't deny my Russian heritage either, I have dual citizenship but it's more in theory. Although it's good just in case the world ends, and the Russians win (laughter).

Sofia and Anton both express an uncertainty towards any specific defining notions of which country they are from. ‘Where are you from’ is a familiar question but pinpointing the culture that ultimately makes up their identity is tougher to answer. Sofia has taken some aspects of Finnish culture and made them a part of her identity. This kind of ‘pick and mix’ of culture have made Anton and Onyeka distance themselves from preconceived notions of fitting into certain categories. Both have had instances in their lives that have ultimately led them to seek out others with similar experiences. Onyeka talks about his experience of realizing difference and not fitting into his previous idea of societal inclusion and exclusion. In his experience, is manifested both the ‘diverse habitats of meaning’ (Hannerz, 1996) and the intersectional multiple dimensions of being (McDowell, 2008).

Onyeka: Before I moved to Vantaa, I didn't even really see myself as black...I was listening to grunge and heavy music and when people would complain about Somali refugees I was charming into that. Once I got beaten up in Espoo by some skinheads maybe five of them. And while they were beating me up, the first thing that came to my mind was “hey what are you guys doing? I'm not even Somali!” They didn't care. But that's the first time that it occurred to me that I'm different. The friend that was with me...he was looking while I was being beaten up, and he didn't call the police. After that the guys (skinheads) looked at him and he walked away. Later I asked if he could help me identify them, he didn't. The fact that I'm different really hit me then. That's how the society is always going to see me. After that I really tried to make an effort to connect more with internationals, or other third culture kids. And integrate with them.

Onyeka saw himself as a part of the ‘larger society’ that complains about Somalis and his identity was composed of the idea that he is not like the majority of society but *at least* he is not Somali. Here we can see how, existing racialized socio- economic hierarchies (Hannerz, 1996) condition one's identity. He recalls that he ‘woke up’ to the fact that he is different and as such his habitat of meaning also changed. This was exacerbated by the perpetrators concentrating on him and not his friend, further pointing out the difference between them. From an intersectional point of view this exemplifies how diverse groups experience injustice differently. Onyeka was himself trying to justify not getting a beating by saying that at least he is not one of *them* (Somalis) as if beating up Somalis would be alright. This shows how minorities are categorized and positioned differently in society by both the natives and the minorities themselves. Furthermore, this experience was a turning point for Onyeka as he started to make more of an effort to socialize with others who had similar experiences of

inclusion and exclusion, not properly fitting into either national category. Anton also felt constrained with traditional conceptions of national culture.

Anton: Our parents were raised by their parents and so forth and there is a continuum of culture and ways. And then there is a break to it when the family moves, and the family is not a complete unit anymore. So, some of the culture is lost. The problem then becomes when you have situations that you are faced with the culture you left behind. So, it's very easy to not identify with it. And to say that “I am not that” which of course creates a vacuum to your identity and you are left to question “well who are you then?” ...I think the ultimate goal is to break free from those norms. I don't think there are any cultures like that in terms of national cultures. National cultures are very much about imposing who you should be, what you should do and why you should do them. The great gift of not having straight role models is to not be having to follow a certain path. Just figuring your own way out.

Anton: It brakes the chain of heritage because the curse of it is that you don't feel like you belong anywhere, but the gift of it is that you don't have similar types of burdens of living up to expectation because you kind of say no to it. I feel like living through this very tumultuous time of being a third culture kid of not having a place in the world and needing to force the universe to have meaning.

Anton talks about the similarities that women and people ‘without a place and roots’ might have. The participants felt that they did not entirely relate to their parent’s diasporas. Here we can see a shift from diaspora to hybridity. The theme of intersectionality overlaps here with the ideas of ‘being in between cultures’ to emerge as a theme of hybrid, new identity. He points out that in the end, for any human, the focal issue is about power struggles. This refers to how empowerment and agency are important in the creation of an identity. Both Anton and Zoran point out the irony in the us vs. them setting. Anton talks about how Russia is far from a homogenous nation. While Anton to a large degree felt optimistic about not having roots, Zoran clearly felt angrier at the conflict in his country of origin and the impact this has had on his identity.

Anton: I can't understand as a white male what it feels like to be a woman in the world. It's a man's world, as James Brown said and it's a very obvious thing that the language that we use, the power structures that are instilled in this world all are built around men having the power and women being kind of...you know the thing that is around all that rather than the focal point. Even though we were all raised by mothers. The thing that comes to mind I feel like women in many ways live through the thing that we live through. In terms of third culture children. They don't really have a place. Or they have a place, but it's not one that they chose...to put it very bluntly and weirdly, if I were a woman I would push the bounds... the struggles we face as people without a place and without roots is something that I feel is very similar to the struggles that a woman in any place feels and to have a playing ground where one can feel equal or even superior...or have some sort of power in this theme of control. Something that we all seek no matter how much testosterone or oestrogen is in us. It's something very fundamental to being human...in a way this is very central to the themes that we have been talking about in terms of roots and identity but at the same time it's something that I can't understand or comment on...as a white male.

Zoran: *I'm pissed off. When we are discussing this, I'm forced to think about it and to think about my part of the story. I get pissed off. I'm so fucking mad with the fucking Finns and the fucking Serbs and the fucking Croats. I do need control over it because I feel like it gave me everything, but it gave me nothing. It's like all these different cultures, at some point I thought like this is all a big richness... And all these people can only see one point of view. But I can see it from so many perspectives! And I understand every one of those viewpoints. So, you have it all, but you have nothing. But you need that something...that one thing. And I don't have it anymore. I am completely with no fucking roots, no nothing, just fucking ripped out.*

Anton: *It's the curse and the gift of being able to choose your own roots...in a way. You get to narrate your own story but it's very difficult because there are no thousands of generations to say this is how it's done. You are the first of your kind because you have to decide this is how it's done.*

Zoran: *Exactly! That is exactly how I feel. And that pisses me off, but it's also the fucking fuel...you know. I feel like instead of being in harmony with anything I am at war with everything.*

Onyeka: *Wow...that was actually...when I think about the Baltics and your statement...I mean wow, that's just amazing.*

Zoran: *Being the first one...that's exactly how I feel. They will never...my parents will never understand, and your parents will never understand you, you are an alien to them actually. You see the difference more than they see it. Don't you feel like you are in a way a total alien, unknown to your own parents? It's crazy!*

Onyeka: *I feel like I'm a...a pioneer without ever choosing so. I just wanna live life. I feel like all the younger Nigerian kids that are born here... They don't have to think about this stuff, but I got this role, didn't really have a choice.*

Onyeka: *I have no idea what I'm gonna do. Where to root. I'm left with this question mark. Another thing is that old people's homes in Finland...there are no foreigners there. You know when you get older you lose some inhibitions you kind of degenerate and when we visited some elderly homes here they realized how the old people were looking at them...like "who are those black people?". So, my mom [was] discriminated against when she came here, when she lived here and [also] when she goes to an old people's home? I wouldn't want that for my mom. So, then I would need to do the Nigerian model, do well for myself here so that I can have a space for my mom to live with me and to really take care of her. Are there so many foreigners here that if my mom goes into an elderly home will they have their own community? How easy will that be? So many questions! And like you said there is the question of control and you want to be able to somehow bring some kind of security into all of this. But when you say you are angry, I feel angry about this uncertainty. If I were a typical Finn, I could just think about the cottage, but in my case, it's too complicated.*

Anton: *Russia is a very ethnically diverse country. You have people who look like intuit, you have people who look Mongolian, Chinese, Turkish, Caucasian and they are all ethnically Russian. Nationality wise Russian. There are people who put on their winter coats (imitates putting on coat and looking tough) and beat up people saying "get the fuck out of our country" and it's like..."dude (laughs) there are families that have existed in mainland Russia longer than your parents have". It's ridiculous! But yea it's the feeling of control, and the feeling of inclusion that you belong to something greater than yourself. It's a very strong factor and a defining characteristic of what it means to be human in a way.*

Zoran: *Yea it's funny...to be a Serb, to really be a Serb, means you need to hate the Croats because they are the number one enemy. It's ridiculous, because they are the same fucking people, speak the same language. From my own experience, because I'm half and half, both sides will try to hear me out to see how I feel about things and see how much they can pull me over. There are members in my family that are openly racist towards those other guys that I am*

half. When I was in Croatia I saw a lot of Croatian flags all over the place. These people who hate them would say it's a good thing, we are patriots. You are supposed to be hating them, so they say that they expect me to say “yea those fucking Croatians fuck them (laughs)”. But they all think it's a good thing to say these things, you are supposed to love your country. Even though somebody hates this other group for the colour of the skin or religion or whatever, they appreciate that those guys are also like that... they like the separation. That you are there, we are here. But they can still do business...

Anton: *...as long as you know where you stand.*

The participants' feelings on not having a clear path reflects the lack of not following a certain generation of tradition and culture. Here we can see how a central tenet of hybridity is its lack in producing a homogeneous group of people (McLennan 1995 in Ien, Ang 2003, p.152). This manifests itself in multiple ways. For Onyeka it is uncertainty: how does he ensure a good future for his mother to grow old, free of discrimination? For Zoran, it is anger, that consists of the constant juxtaposition of Serbia and Croatia: the 'us' vs. 'them'. He feels that he is required to “love his country” while simultaneously being on both sides and coming to terms with an identity in the Finnish society. Here nation-states and diasporas are being pitted against hybridity which questions these homogenous identities. Zoran expresses that he is tired from the constant negotiation of differences. For Anton hybridity manifests as hope and he has a positive outlook about being in between cultures. He sees hybridity as a potential for making up his own culture and identity that are not bound by traditions of previous generations. This is an example of the positive connotation of Ang's (2003) 'together-in-difference'. To recall, Ang sees hybridization as the softening of boundaries between 'peoples' where differences can be negotiated, and individuals can feel a part of the in-group while being decidedly different to any traditional nationality (see chapter 2.4). This theory is especially relevant because Anton feels that control and agency come as a result of feeling included. It shows that membership in a majority, largely homogenous national group is not a prerequisite for agency. Furthermore, difference in itself can be both a source of empowerment and also a force to reconcile differences that might be issues in traditional national concepts of identity. Anton adds to this that not fitting in entirely can be helpful in understanding other marginalized groups. Here we can see how intersectionality (see chapter 2.5) as a tool is helpful in not only understanding how social categories affect individuals but also how they can help in empathizing with others who inhabit different degrees of social stratification (Marecek, 2016). As Ang (2003) mentions, cultural hybridity is about “encounters between cultures”. The participants had a way of navigating between cultures which allowed them to switch to certain roles. This will be the focus of the next part of the chapter.

4.3 Dialogical self

Interviewer: *Have you ever changed anything about yourselves to fit better into society?*

Zoran: *Everything...everything.*

Onyeka: *Do you really want to open this Pandora’s box!?* (All laugh)

When asked about whether the participants had ever changed themselves to better fit into society the answer was laughter and shaking their heads in disbelief. All of them had had experiences of needing to act in certain ways to fit in better and many of these instances were met with frustration.

Zoran: I changed so many times that I have no fucking idea who I was in the beginning (laughter, high fives Onyeka). I have moved from somebody being all the time having my balls busted at work to being somebody who can do whatever he wants, leave and come whenever I want. And then I changed a little bit more so they would fucking promote me. After a year of doing whatever the fuck I want. Because before I was holding on to the 'I won't be like them, I'm my own man, I know where I come from' and all that bullshit. Which is not bullshit, which actually gave me a sense of worth. But then I realized if I keep on this path then all I will ever have is that sense of pride...it won't pay my bills maybe.

Onyeka: *Yea, you hit it man.* (Nodding)

Zoran felt that in order for him to move forward he needed to change himself. For most of the participants, looking different and how they were perceived by others had been a source of struggle or inequality. However, their foreign names were also the topic of a heated conversation as they felt that changing their name into something more ‘Finnish’ would ease the integration process and the obstacles they faced in for example, finding employment. This is one of the challenges facing Finnish integration policies as successful integration does not only depend on the migrant but a positive reciprocity from society. The cultural preconceptions attached to foreign sounding names hinder employment possibilities, foster feelings of not belonging and therefore also integration. Although none of the participants had changed their names officially, they had considered the implications it would have had on their identity and integration into Finnish society. Nadja expressed that she had to grow out of the ‘shame of the name’. Onyeka had a Finnish second name and in certain situations, would use it to fit in more. Onyeka’s personality would also change depending on which name he was using.

Interviewer: *Have you ever thought about changing your name?*

Zoran: *I would never do that, that's a no no. But I've thought about...what if I added a name, something more Finnish.*

Nadja: *I've always thought that Russians change their names to be more confident. I've had some challenges because of my Russian last name but...I don't know...maybe I haven't been desperate enough! (Laughs). I want to believe in people and that attitudes can change despite not having changed my name. I've had to grow as a person to get rid of the shame of the name.*

Sofia: *For us it's shameful if you change it, it means you are not proud of your father. The dad's surname is the one that we keep.*

Anton: *When I was working in phone sales, I was always Ville (laughter). I mean phone sales...if anyone ever tried it, you know what the fuck I'm talking about. You got two seconds to make an impression (laughter high fives Onyeka).*

Onyeka: *It's just crazy. My parents had some wisdom. They gave me the second name which is Finnish. So, all the people from the international, third culture community, knew the badass one. Then the people from work knew my Finnish name. There is this subculture of other people. So, on papers I'm Lutheran, and one of my names is Mark (laughs) so every time someone called me by name I knew (laughs) which kind of people were calling me.*

Anton: *what kinds of cultural expectations were set (laughs).*

Onyeka: *Yea (laughs) it was really funny. Now, especially when I'm at a conference, every time we had the introductions, people would say something like 'Seija', 'Sara', their title, where they are from. And I always thought...oh man, should I say my first name... or let's just go with the second (Finnish) name because it's always the same thing. They are not gonna remember it (the Nigerian name). Their face and expression is just gonna change, they are gonna be like 'oh no....'*

Anton: (Laughs) *"Now I have to be culturally sensitive!"*

Onyeka: (Laughs) *yea. I just still decide to go with my first name. And sometimes when they look like they just can't handle it then I tell them my second name and they feel more comfortable. When I was a teenager I had to apply for a job, I actually tried this once. I called a place, started off with my first name and surname. After speaking for about one minute they started asking me how about my Finnish, and we had just had the whole conversation in Finnish. And they said they'll call me back. I waited a while, called there again. Then I said my second name, not even my surname. And they called me up for an interview. The same place!*

The above conversation about foreign and Finnish names portrays the extent of one's identity in relation to one's surroundings. While the aim of Finnish integration policies is to explicitly condemn racism and discrimination, it is harder to do in practice where cultural preconditions of foreigners are strong. Onyeka's experiences when calling for a job are straight examples of discriminatory behavior by the receiving society, with behavior that inhibit integration. His experiences at the conference on the other hand, reflect the more indiscreet or 'subtle' symbolic violence (Essed, 1991) where he chooses which name to use to better fit into the situation.

Using your own name and not changing it to better fit into situations or to yield a desired outcome (get job) would be an indicator for positive integration. This also shows how integration is not a linear step by step process but in constant flux that equally depends on the society.

Moreover, the ‘dialogical self’ is present in all the participants but is especially strong in relation to a person’s name, because (apart from physical traits) it determines the instant cultural expectations and biases. Anton uses the Finnish name ‘Ville’ when working in phone sales, to avoid prejudice and Zoran has (while not changing his name) thought of adding a second Finnish name to make life easier. They both have a narrative that juxtaposes their ‘I’ identities in relation to their parents’ origin and the Finnish society. In Onyeka’s case this is even more evident as he explains that his identity is comprised of a ‘subculture of other people’. He goes through a narrative in his head from which he can choose which ‘I’ to use and when. If we recall Onyeka’s experience of realizing that he is different, he also created a new ‘I’ that he now largely comprises his identity of. As such the “co-presence of different cultures in one’s self-construction” (Bagnoli, p.26) which Bagnoli talks about is very relevant in all the participants’ constructions of self. This also reflects their behaviour and role-changing in different environments. For instance, an important aspect that showcases the ‘in-betweenness’ of children of migrants is how they are viewed in their country of heritage. The extent of cultural influences and being raised away from that country can also be seen in the participants’ experiences of visiting or talking to relatives from ‘back home’. Most of the participants felt that this role-changing allowed them to better handle different environments. Sofia and Abebech both felt strongly about the need to have a certain identity around their family and the diaspora, matching with those cultural expectations. This has been a source of conflict because of the need to keep their parents’ culture while struggling with expectations and prejudices of the larger society and to ultimately find a balance in both. However, they have turned these experiences into a source of empowerment and agency. Sofia finds it important to express her Somalian identity in Finland, and Abebech has grown from ‘hiding under the hoodie’ to expressing and advocating for multiculturalism.

Sofia: I feel that in a way we are integrated to society, but we have a big community where everyone knows something about everyone. Not always positive. If you make a little mistake your family will get to know about it. People have get-togethers, and cultural events. The community is close knit. I’m a little bit different. 99% of my friends are either Finnish or from other countries. If I meet someone that knows my mother, I will switch to the Somali role. But when I’m with my friends I’m like this (points to us). If I’m like this to someone who is 60 years

old, it gives an impression that I haven't been raised according to our own culture. And it will affect my family. We have been told since we were little to have a certain image. Our parents have done everything to make sure we have a safe life. So, this role changing is a way to be able to be both.

Nadja: (Russia and Finland) they are two different cultures. But my family is maybe a bit different, we don't have such a network. I haven't felt the need to have different roles for the cultures, my role is pretty similar in both. However, my role has a lot of Russian influences for example with addressing (elders) formally. About children, I do think about these things, whether this part of my identity is something I want to pass on to my son, would he get to know it and understand himself better?

Abebech: Even though I was born in Finland, we have held on very tightly to our culture at home. But everyone knew my dad, he organized big events for the community then in Finland. This leads to not wanting your own family to lose face because of the child. (Sofia nods in agreement).

Sofia: When I talk with my cousins in Somalia you have to change the way you speak correctly even if they are younger or the same age so it's totally different... All my family is religious but the ones in Somalia are more religious so when I don't use a scarf or live by myself it was a huge shock, I was the black sheep of the family. But at the end they respect my parents, so they need to approve me as I am. But I still need to be very careful what I say and how I act. It's hard to say... If a local comes and asks me why I'm doing this a certain way I always want to show my identity strongly, I will never change that role about it.

Abebech: Before I was always singled out, people would point at me in the street and the library...yea really, literally with the finger! So I'd walk with my hoodie on, I didn't want the attention and wanted to melt in as much as possible. When I got older, I'm totally the opposite. I want to show my multicultural identity, and through showing it I think I also advocate it. I want to show a good example. Its turned around completely, what I am is what makes me strong now.

Onyeka: In eastern cultures respect is stressed more than whether someone is right or not. You don't question the source of knowledge or authority it's more about...even if you know that they are wrong, you nod and go along with what they are saying. But if it's someone I know better and am more comfortable with for instance my uncle then I'll try to come to the conversation and ask, “are you suuure that things go like this...”

When asked about how locals see the participants when they visit back home, they all said they don't fit in entirely. This portrays the extent of 'not being entirely from here nor there'. This is made up of the 'multiple 'I's in their identity and also the expectations that the local society and culture has about them. Even Nadja, who felt that her culture is not that different to the Finnish one, felt like she was a tourist when visiting Russia. However, the extent of how much the participant would fit in also has to do with how much she/he is used to changing their role back in Finland. Sofia for instance, expressed that her accent might give it away, but because she has learned to act in a certain way in the diaspora in Finland, she says she would fit in easily to the Somalian society. Yet, the pre-determined cultural expectations have a large impact on how one is seen. Abebech, Zoran and Onyeka all express frustration at the way that

locals act towards them. Sofia and Abebech comment on how they view development in their home countries and how this affects the way that they are viewed by locals. In this example, the more liberal values and identity taken on in Finland 'overlap' with the expectations back home and become more defined. For Zoran, his background with a war torn nation is more complicated and politicized, because choosing a side is important to the locals. For Abebech and Onyeka, their experiences relate to being/acting in a certain way that shows that they are not locals.

Nadja: Every time I go there I feel like a tourist, that I'm not entirely Russian. I like walking around freely and everything, but I feel like I need to be a bit alert. I'm not local and know all local details.

Sofia: Well if you go there (to Somalia) you need to dress appropriately. I think I'd look the part but when I open my mouth and speak in Somali, they'd notice my accent. I might seem more western in general, but I take on the role with my family so it's easy to fit in.

Abebech: With me, they notice right away when I'm in Ethiopia that I'm not local, I usually don't even need to speak. We also need to be able to camouflage so we always have a scarf with us. So, we wouldn't stand out so much. I don't know what it is why they notice, some say that it's my skin that's its lighter, but that's not entirely true I think. And lastly when I speak then they definitely notice. I try to avoid talking too much in public stores for example, because the prices go up immediately. Somehow, they just know.

Sofia: ...(sometimes) I think what if I just go there (Somalia) and (start) some business...my mom says "yees do it" but then I'd have to change everything starts from zero...so I don't know...but at the moment there are lots of things to be changed. At least from my point of view of lifestyle. Maybe for my niece...she really enjoys it she thinks they are very Western very open minded people. But in my eyes it's not. And Abebech's sister thinks the same thing (about Ethiopia) that everything is working there it's so nice...but at the end compared to what we think is open minded and nice, it's nothing even close.

Abebech: If I'm smoking a cigarette on the street in Ethiopia, people with the bagage (rickshaw) come to sneeze in front of me and then drive away because I'm smoking. These are things that I'd just really be fed up with, we are waiting for development but...not that its development for women to smoke more...

Sofia: Yes, but it about the freedom to be able to do what you want.

Zoran: My home country, which does not exist anymore, so it's either Croatia where I was born or Serbia which I fled...this is so complicated we could spend a lot of time talking about this. Even without moving to Finland...people would...in Serbia you are a refugee from Croatia, in Croatia you are...or I am... somebody who is not on the right side in the war. It's not that much about who my mother is, it's more about what side you are on.

Onyeka compares his experiences of not fitting in to either society. In Finland, he looks different, so he stands out, but in Nigeria too, the locals know he is not from there.

Onyeka: *The thing that made things worse was that we didn't visit (Nigeria) so often. And when I went there, I was faced with...in Finland I'm different, until I start to speak, then people can tell I don't have an accent so yea ok I could be Finnish. Best case scenario: “he is one of us”. Normal scenario: “he sort of is like us”. Worst case scenario: “go back to your country”. But in Nigeria if I don't open my mouth I thought I was safe but no! They could already tell by the way I'd walk. That “ok this guy is not from here”. So, I go there, and prices go up. Expectations on me go up. Because I'm from the outside so automatically I'm better off while often the reality might be that parents (in Finland) work from morning to evening and can barely take care of their responsibilities. There are no like... fucking dollars form a dollar tree.*

Zoran: *Yea! That's what they all think about people that come from somewhere else...*

Onyeka: *Yea, everyone thinks you are bathing in luxury. And then you have that expectation weighed upon you. Yea...but when I'm in Nigeria I definitely don't feel like they view me as Nigerian, they view me as..uum.. Some sort of source of a better life or something like that...a source to exploit. And then when I'm in Finland I also feel like an outsider. Yea... and also that the Nigerian culture is very opposite from apathetic. So uum..typical Nigerian attitude is that you are here (Finland) to make it. Any moment can be your moment when you can become a millionaire or something like that. So, they are very geared on prosperity. So those expectations are weighed heavily on male Nigerians.*

Abebech, Zoran and Onyeka comment on how locals back home see right away that they are not from there and their status is analyzed differently. This shows the varying levels of social prejudice that emerge in different societies about ‘outsiders’. Here we can see how the common in-group identity model (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000) plays into these experiences. To recollect, in-group members are treated similarly to each other. While the participants felt that their physical appearance is alike to the locals back home, they were not a part of the ‘in-group’. The locals reflect their perceptions of what it means to be from abroad on the participants and they are treated according to these perceptions. Onyeka also experiences that not only being an ‘outsider’ but also being male has certain expectations. This plays into the following theme of intersectionality.

4.4 Intersectionality, Society and Attitudes

As with the previous categories, intersectionality, society and attitudes overlap with the other themes. Dialogical- self for instance, is very much present when talking about gender. Divisions in social categorizations and how they intersected had a vast impact on all the participants lives, although for some they were more pronounced than others. Gender was a category which the female group felt more strongly about, although incidences of predetermined conceptions of gender were present in both groups. Consider for instance the following experiences.

Zoran: *The way I look and the way I used to dress, like a..like a fucking gothnik (laughter) leather jacket and all that shit. But for a long time and even today what people on the train expect from me...women expect rape and men expect an ass-whopping. Just because of the way I look. Not to say that I’ve been in many fights in my life. But that’s how I feel. There have been situations in the train where there are empty seats next to me and people standing next to them and looking at them and still not sitting there. Even if you smile at people it feels weird.*

Onyeka: *Sometimes if I see someone (an elderly person) carry heavy bags up the stairs I’ll ask them in Finnish “excuse me, can I help you carry your bag up the stairs?”. Sometimes they respond positively and very surprised. Especially when I was doing my military service and I had the uniform on. It was easier then. Sometimes they are a bit like... “don’t touch me” ...and apprehensive.*

The intersection of the categories of ‘foreigner’ and ‘male’ manifest here differently depending on the surroundings. Zoran feels that people avoid sitting next to him because he looks foreign. The gender category intersects with his physical appearance, as he is viewed differently by males and females. As such these “multiple dimensions of being” (McDowell, 2008) are influenced by social categories outside (Crenshaw, in Marecek, 2016) affecting the way his identity is shaped. In Onyeka’s experience these social hierarchies become evident when he wore his uniform because it would represent something more familiar (and safe) and people would react positively. He explains that it was ‘easier then’ to help the elderly when the familiar factor was present. For both instances, the intersecting categories are supported by external cultural meanings and attitudes: what does it mean to be male *and* look different, or to be male *and* look different *and* to be in uniform?

The female group was more equipped with opinions when asked to compare gender issues with their country of origin and Finland.

Sofia: *In Somalia, as a woman, your worth is always the same, I’m sorry to say...no matter how much my mom says it [has] changed and women have work. No, it hasn’t! You either have your own business or if you work for the government for example, the best job title you can have is a secretary.*

Abebech: *But there are women who want to be president!*

Sofia: *Yea sure but they won’t make it. The problem is that [they] teach the same mentality to their children the problems won’t change.*

Nadja: *But maybe it changes so slow that you don’t necessarily notice...*

Sofia: *It’s sad to say it out loud...I don’t think it will happen in the next 50 years. My sister is working in Somalia in a company where she is the only woman representing the company. She is calmer and patient while I’m more like equality functions everywhere... I’ll do the same amount of work as the man. If he is lazy it’s his problem. The way my sister speaks... her tone of voice changes to an inferior one. I asked her “why do you speak like that to them? Why are you begging?” She said she will never sell the deal if she doesn’t beg the men. It’s just the way*

it works. She takes on a role that is not her in the end. Because my sister is a very strong person. She has to change her role to a 'woman's role'. Personally, I don't get it.

Sofia compares the differing values and expectations between her and her sister's work-life experiences. She is frustrated at how her sister speaks differently to men back home, while being adamant about equality in her own work-life. Here, once again we can make use of Hannerz's (1996, p.578 in Vertovec) 'diverse habitats of meaning' to recognize the influence of external factors in one's self-formation. In this case, for Sofia being successful is equated with equality while she feels that her sister can only be good at her job if she follows certain standards of the Somalian society. As such, while both societies have their stereotypes of women, Sofia has adapted values that actively challenge these stereotypes. Sofia and Abebech also feel that slow development in for instance women's rights augments to their decision not to move back. Here again, we can see the multiple layers intersecting.

Sofia: The funny part is that when I talk to my sister and my parents, they say there is a lot of immigration back to Somalia [but] they do exactly what the local people do. They change their personality just to survive there. It's unfortunate but in the end the women's mentality is... having children, feeding husband, husband is [working]. I have lots of cousins who graduated from the university but all of them are stay-at-home moms. For me, it's ridiculous that I kill myself for 20 years studying just to graduate from something and then leave the rest 30- 40 years to stay home! To kill my own brain! NO. But I don't know, maybe it's their own choice but it's also influence from their parents. Just going from one generation to another generation, so there needs to be people like us, who go and change the system.

Abebech: But the ones who get educated and understand the 'new and better way' or more modern let's say...even though it's not always better...then they don't want to go back...

Sofia: Because they're afraid the system is still the same and they always say one person cannot change things, there needs to be a bigger volume. So basically, I don't know...I wish...we have a lot of smart Somalian people who could do a lot of change, but everybody is settling down to have this nice life in the West, to go back would be a huge change...

Sofia: I have an aunt who is 40, who works for the police in Somalia. She is the only woman in her department and in the beginning, it was very challenging to prove her place. Now that she's gotten it she doesn't have to prove anymore and that she can do the same work or even better, they respect her.

Abebech: We shouldn't be afraid of breaking stereotypes...

Nadja: But in Russia they don't talk about it so much, even though in many fields there is inequality. The woman does not demand it so much. She sees that they are compensated somehow. Being a lady is valued and wants to be beautiful and wear womanly clothes... The idea of gender equality is perhaps a bit foreign because they don't want to lose this certain type of womanhood. Because they consider that it's ok to be a bit weaker sex.

Sofia: But do you think as Nadja it is fair? That women should not demand more because of being afraid to lose something else? Because I don't think it's fair that I'd have to choose one or the other.

Nadja: *Well...I usually disagree with everything (laughs) but life is not fair. And it's a fact that men and women are different. In Finland they have gone a bit too far about everything being equal as if men and women do not have any differences. The woman needs some masculinity and strength by her side.*

Sofia: *But there are women who are like that by nature (strong). When it comes to work roles, you should be able to use your rights to be in higher positions. I get so frustrated that you can have the same education and even better grades than the male and you still can't get a higher position because you are a woman.*

Nadja: *But one idea I thought about the role of women, it doesn't come from men or just somewhere above, it comes from the mothers.*

(Sofia nods)

Nadja: *They have learned it and teach it to their own daughters, it's absurd when you think about it! If they would have understood it's not the only choice, then they could have made a difference.*

Sofia: *A good example is when we talk about cultural differences. My dad grew up abroad and when my mom had her first two girls, both of my grandmas said they should be circumcised. My dad is an educated man, he knows what consequences this has for women. He was against it. But the grandmas were so strong willed that both the girls were circumcised. When my dad found out, the rest of the children have not had it. So, you need to be able to be stronger willed than your own mother. Neither of them were educated. But the circle won't change if the same conventions go around. It has to start with the parents.*

The conversation about gender roles in society turned into an analysis about where stereotypes originate from. The level of education was another factor determining how the society back home was perceived. All the female participants agreed that attitudes are passed on to the next generation and that mothers have a direct influence in teaching these attitudes to children. Sofia and Abebech also felt that they themselves are examples of challenging local stereotypes and acknowledge the possibility of change through individual action. If we take into consideration Erdal's and Oeppen's Typology of Interactions, the relationship could be synergistic, where the participants would develop connections in their country of origin through the confidence and values attained in Finland (Erdal, Oeppen (2013). p. 868). However, they recognize the problem that the second-generation migrants might not want to move back because of such big differences in the societies. As such, the existing attitudes in a society can also be a factor hindering transnational networks and an obstacle to bringing back skills that second-generation migrants acquire in Finland which could be positive to the development of the country of origin. Here we can see how in the Typology of Interactions this type of situation could even be antagonistic (Erdal, Oeppen (2013). p. 868). The socio-cultural aspects that shape the attitudes of the second-generation migrants in Finland 'displace feelings of belonging' in the country of origin because of such differing values.

Intersectionalism can also be seen in Abebech’s and Sofia’s experiences at work. They have both had times when they have been questioned because of their gender, physical appearance, religion and/or age. In both of their experiences is reflected the multiple layers of discrimination in the way that they feel they need to prove themselves in different intersecting categories. Here we can see the similarities between theirs and Zoran’s and Onyeka’s experiences.

Sofia: It’s sad to say but here [inequality] is also very visible, women must do double the work often to be in leadership positions, when for men it’s clear that they can advance fast. And lots of companies don’t support...especially young women who don’t have children yet to be in leadership positions. But I think it’s weird here, you don’t have to be foreign but if you are foreign and a woman it’s double the work.

Abebech: Yes, it is!

Sofia: I have to prove three times that I can do my normal job, I can manage the language and I’m equal to others. I’m a foreigner, a woman and a Muslim on top of that! Sometimes some older ladies (customers) ask me, “could you please ask someone older for help on these pension matters”...and I say no I’ll help you. Once a customer asked me four times if I speak Finnish. Even though I asked in Finnish “how may I help you?” Then they ask if there are Finnish people here. It’s always about proving stuff.

Anton: I’ve felt a lot of oppression. I remember when there were kids outside of my home throwing snowballs at my window calling me a ‘ryssä’ (derogatory term for Russian) for no other reason than their father saying that...I was a bad person. I can’t even be angry at them even though I ran after them and they ran off because you just can’t stand for that shit (smiles).

Onyeka: in Nigerian culture... the man takes the financial burden of taking care of the family. The more the woman can use her salary to do whatever she wants, the better it is for the man. If the woman must participate in the normal chores, then the man is not as successful as the ideal situation. But the reality is that Nigeria is also open to globalization, so it has been influenced...men and women have to share those financial responsibilities more and more. Expectations on me...would probably be similar. Though if I think about my immediate family they just want...success to them does not necessarily mean prosperity in the traditional sense of lots of money and so on...rather it’s an emphasis on academic exposure, that has been a very strong expectation from both of my parents. It’s not a gender thing, it goes for all of my siblings. However, my father was a bit keener on my academic success and choices than on my sisters.

Sofia: A good example is, I started working 2.5 years ago, they promised me 5 months of trial period, and said that “we are sure you [will] get the permanent job”. But they kept moving it for 2.5 years, whereas my colleague who is Finnish got it in 5 months. I know more languages, I do more work and have higher amounts of customers and do the job faster. I’m not saying she is a bad employee but that I have to do triple the work for longer and only then get the job is pathetic! I don’t suggest any of my foreign friends to apply for this job unless they have been promised on paper that they get the job.

Nadja: But I can understand if you guys are the first ones that they are brave enough to hire then maybe in a year it’s already better.

Sofia: Why do we have to show it?

Abebech: *It's so wrong!*

Nadja: *It is! But it is a fact that this is how it is. What do foreigners represent for the local population? Change and the unknown...I don't think in Somalia they would hire a white person necessarily so easily. I don't know...similar to here foreigners also represent difference and change something unknown that they fear.*

Sofia: *But I understand if it is a person who just arrives to Finland and doesn't speak Finnish, doesn't know the culture. But a girl who has basically grown up here and gotten exactly the same education as the locals. When I first started I was a bit confused about the student support tuition and they just laughed and wondered why I haven't taken the money. But I told them that I have worked every day since I was 17 next to studying because I don't even once want to hear that "you are living off welfare money or with Kela money and I'm paying my taxes for you". These kinds of sentences are very disturbing because it's generalizing! We are so many that work from morning till night. We are 8 children and only two are at home and both are on maternity leave and are returning to work when it ends. What does this tell us? You cannot say that Sofia has used your taxes to hang out in the hoods and the streets. Sure, there are people who also use the money but a lot of them don't speak Finnish and sad to say there are also ones who milk the system, but you cannot generalize! I always have to fight and justify, and sometimes I get an aggressive attitude because people have such misunderstandings it's so pathetic... I work at a company where half the customers are international and the mentality especially with older colleagues...not the younger ones they went to school with a larger population of immigrants, so they understand the mentality...but the 40, 50, 60 year olds...lord help us! (laughter)*

Similarly to Zoran's and Sofia's work experiences, Abebech felt that she constantly needed to prove that she is a good employee and can do the work just as well as a local.

Abebech: *For me it's exactly the same. One of my jobs was at a hardware store where a lot of the customers are 50-year-old men, so I'm trying to prove that I can manage as a black person and as a woman. You have to work so hard, but you do get some acknowledgement... Then they wonder "how are you always so energetic and diligent etc." and I'm thinking "if I fucking wouldn't be like this then you would not accept me, now you see me as more equal because I work so much harder than you". Now I'm probably for the first time in my life in a job where I get to be in a multicultural environment, so I can be more myself. But in one government job I had before....there were lots of over 50 year old women working and you had to really spell it out to them that I am normal and worth the same as you...*

Abebech: *Another shitty thing is that when they've accepted you into the work community and say things like "yea YOU are alright but the oother...I can't stand him" and I think "fuck, he is the same as me". You can't just draw a line and think that I'm ok but the rest of them are shit. It's such bullshit.*

Abebech: *In the end I feel like the discrimination because I'm a woman is much less than the discrimination I get because I'm foreign. This I think reflects the equality of the Finnish society.*

Nadja: *There are so many Russians who live in their own bubble but then complain that everything is shit in Finland.*

Sofia: *People like that should not be complaining...there are lots of Somalians who don't follow any current events and don't integrate. Lots of Finns say that Finns should also be more open positive to the foreigner integration process. There are those migrants who use the system wrong but there are also many Finns with a very narrow world view. If you have a refugee*

status, it's very difficult. The customers we have who are refugees all of them want to go to work as soon as possible. But even cleaners are required to speak Finnish level 3. It's a huge problem. What does the cleaner do in the Finnish class?

Sofia: For me they [customers] are not the problem...my colleagues are. I've had a customer ask me if there is anyone white working here instead of me. But I know that he was feeling angry anyway so he is just trying to take it out on someone. He would have said something bad about a white person also. So, this stuff goes in one ear and out the other. But when I'm working with my colleagues 8 hours a day 5 times a week and they give me those comments...

Zoran: [Talks about being promoted] ten years for me to get promoted! Let me add this that I am the first foreigner in our terminal to get promoted. There are [Finnish] people who get promotions even if they start after me. It's all about the attitude also. But I can tell you that I would not be promoted even today if our old chief would still be in charge...

Onyeka: [Talks about moving to Finland in the 90's]. The 90s was a difficult time in Finland in general, you had a pretty serious depression that was going on and a lot of unemployed people so that sentiment combined with a big influx from people from a very different culture didn't bring out the best welcome reception. At that time it was easy to lump...or the Finnish people... or I can't say all... but they would lump all the people in one group. So, they couldn't tell the difference between east and west Africans...or people that came for other reasons than asylum seeking and so on... I remember very clearly the reception. My dad had two cars and the car that he kept on the sidewalk close to the house often had its tires punctured. So, he kept the other car further away. So, this gave a bit of a measure of the attitudes of people at that time.

Onyeka: I've experienced racism in different levels. Just to come back to one example in primary school in Finland. The teachers called the police to come take me. I was like 8 or 7. They would tell me 'älä riehu senkin neekeri' (stop rampaging you nigger) and then they drove me to my mom's workplace. Also, racism like in the 'positive' sense. For example, now I feel that the hospital I work at, they are so happy that I am there. I don't know if it's just normal, or there is this over eagerness to show people that "hey look we have a new candidate here, can you SEE our new candidate? Look at him, we are open minded!" I'm also not sure if it's just my insecurities but I feel like it's kind of like with Tarja Halonen as president, that "hey we don't have any glass ceiling, we have a woman president!" "You can't complain about racism, we have a black guy working here". So that's the other point. I think there is so much prejudice working on so many levels, working in so many different directions.

From these experiences, we can see how the attitudes in the Finnish society have been evolving. Especially in the 90's during the depression, members of the out-group would easily be seen as threats to the already fragile welfare of the host society (Integrated Threat Theory, Stephan & Stephan, 2000). To recap according to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew & Tropp, (2006)p.86 in Oud. Ward), there can be an increase in positive intergroup relations the more contact the host society and the migrants have. Onyeka discusses the differences between the atmosphere in the 90's with his experience from his current workplace. Sofia, Abebech and Zoran all have similar experiences with having to prove their worth, while acknowledging that their working environments have changed for the better once the managers have changed to a younger generation with a more open mindset. This is also reflected in the Finnish integration

policies where active steps towards integration were not added to the Constitution until 2011 (see chapter 1). These changes in generational attitudes and the feelings of belonging are all indicators of positive attitude changes towards integration not only on the part of the government but society as a whole.

Moreover, Sofia comments on how migrants who do not make an effort to integrate shouldn't be complaining.' As such, as Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder (2001) in Oudenhoven, J.P., Ward, C. (2012),p. 88) suggest, for integration to work, there needs to be both a positive response of the host society and for the migrants to be dynamic actors in society. Furthermore, the Common In-group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, (2000). in Oudenhoven, J.P., Ward, C. (2012).p.88) suggests, that the 'membership' to a group can be extended to include diverse people as long as they share similar goals. The participants' experiences could then be seen to reflect the evolving 'membership requirements'. Overall, the participants had experienced a shift to more positive attitudes in society. Throughout the past years their identities have been strongly influenced by this changing atmosphere in Finland and them finding agency. This had led to being part of a generation with culturally hybrid identities which will be examined in the next section.

4.5 New identity and Cultural Hybridity

Through the interviews it became clear that as they grew up, the participants become more certain of their characters and identities. This refers to both being proud of your heritage and looking different but also of integrating and being part of the society in a way that creates a new form of identity. Abebech for instance, felt that she has 'stopped hiding under the hoodie' and is now proud to show her difference. Anton, while acknowledging the difficulties in being 'in between cultures' views the lack of roots as a positive force in defining his own identity and he talked extensively about how people who are different are now coming together. Ang's (2003, p.147) concept of hybridization considers that the encounters between people are a constitutive element in what makes people who they are. As such, the being "together-in-difference" has emerged as a strong theme for the participants as they felt that their differences have led them to interact with others who have similar experiences. Furthermore, as McLennan (1995) points out, "hybridity does not easily produce a people" (p.152 cited in Ang, 2003) which pinpoints the participants' lack of a clear path of culture and customs and their feelings of being the pioneering generation. The difficulties in the latter are also intensified by the

society’s reaction to the refugee crisis of 2015. The female participants recognized that negative tensions in the public opinion had been exacerbated and Sofia and Abebech both had experience of ‘grouping’ and generalizations about migrants. Yet, they also felt that the public had become more vocal with the increase in conversation and that the society had found a ‘new supportive voice’ that had not existed before.

Interviewer: You talked about being icebreakers, and how society is changing. Has the recent influx of refugees somehow affected that?

Sofia: Once it brings more employment, then it’s positive. There was a huge volume of Somalians who came to Finland (in the 90’s). We were not liked then. But the situation calmed down in 2000 when we were working and studying and were integrated more into the society. But now with the new volume, there is this negative connotation and fears about these refugees whether they are part of ISIS...one of my colleagues said...it’s very rude...next to his/her house there is a hairdresser where there is a man as the owner and he apparently employed 10 refugees and pays them under the table. The colleague was prejudiced right away! And I was sitting right there...and she/he hadn’t thought with common knowledge that I am a person with a similar migrant background. This refers to what Abebech said previously about saying that all other migrants are shit but yooooou are ok. In the working environment they talk about this continuously out loud...it’s really annoying. So how do I answer to my colleague who is appropriate with me but talks to others like that?

Abebech: That’s increased through this crisis... [but] I have to also point out something different... at least there IS more conversation now! More than ever before. Maybe before when the Somalians came as a huge visible refugee group, it was not so visible the people who talked for them...but rather the critics. But now both sides are being very vocal. So, at the same time I think it’s incredible and wonderful that so many people are mobilizing to help these refugees.

Nadja: Yes, and without prejudice!

Sofia: Yes, sure but let’s be realistic, when we were at the demonstration for migrants...

Abebech: That was so empowering!

Sofia: Yes, it was really nice there were so many Finnish people...but only the ones who have contacts to the outer world, not other Finns.

Nadja: But there are more and more of those all the time...

Sofia: This might sound stupid but at work, the Finns who are totally against racism all have spouses or children with foreigners. The ‘real Finns’ are not interested.

Abebech: Yes, but if they were to be more in contact with others they would start understanding them more.

With increased contact Abebech and Sofia felt that there was more understanding but they both had experienced generalizations by the locals towards larger groups of migrants. They had instances where locals would treat them ‘appropriately’ but would generalize about others without considering that they were a part of that group. In these occasions Sofia and Abebech are considered the positive exceptions while the attribution of negative generalizations is targeted towards whole groups (Delanty, Wodak & Jones, 2017, p.4). We can, nevertheless, once again see how an increase in contact can result in the reduction of prejudice (Allport,

1954), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). Sofia for instance feels that the Finns who are married to foreigners/ have foreign friends, are least likely to discriminate and that the Finns who are not as much in contact with foreigners are not as interested in speaking out against inequality.

Abebech's opinion is that in Finland a lot of the migrants are in their own groups and diasporas whereas in other countries they have become more mixed and interact more with each other. Here we can also see the evolution of diaspora and its effects on integration.

Abebech: Multiculturalism here is so new...if you compare it to many other countries in Europe, Russians, Ethiopians, Somalians are all separate in their own groups while in other countries they are more mixed. At the same time that the juxtaposition has brought both ideas out more and brought about conversation...for example... there is the huge group on Facebook 'Poc Helsinki'... 'people of colour Helsinki'. And you read their things and it's incredible how they experience themselves as Finnish and everyone is multicultural. I think these kinds of groups would not have even necessarily come around without these refugee waves.

Sofia: Then again before the situation was shh shh...you don't talk about it at all.

Abebech: Yes...so now I think it's positive.

Nadja: Yes...exaggerated conversation is better than none.

Abebech: I really didn't know that there are so many Finns who support migrants and talk for them, I've always thought so negatively that most are racist. What about you Nadja? Finland has always had a stigma about Russia so have these conversations affected Russians status here?

Nadja: I find it comforting that there has been more of this other opinion which has left me more open minded. That it's not just danger and threat but that there is potential in this situation and people are of course escaping a real emergency and hope that they can live a good life here. But no I haven't noticed that there would be more prejudice towards Russians.

Abebech: I've also heard that Russians have been very vocally against the refugee politics.

Nadja: Yes so many are against it, but Russians are also very racist...for real.

Abebech: But I think it's rather odd, that Russians are migrants here and have been discriminated against so now they are doing it.

Zoran and Onyeka talk about how the increase in migration has led to polarized views, negative attitudes and generalizations about foreigners. While the girls agreed on this they also pointed out that it has also led to an increase in conversation and for the society to be more vocal. They regarded conversation to be important even if it wasn't positive. Abebech was surprised at the volume of pro-migrant support which changed her previous biases about Finns. Zoran talks about how the increase in migration has led to polarization.

Zoran: People are probing and asking, "how do you feel about this that young men are just coming here". And then if you say something that is not like...people who ask those kinds of questions usually have an opinion about it and if you are not going at it (incomprehensible) then you instantly become a...suvakki (derogatory term for tolerant people).

Anton: Globalist.

Zoran: *Mhm, yea. There seems to be no space for humanism and humane feelings in such conversation.*

Onyeka: *...Now with the asylum seekers I think we are a bit back into the polarized 90's situation...they kind of lumped migrants and refugees together. Now it's very important to specify which nationality has done which crime.*

Despite the increase in polarization and discrimination the participants felt positive about the subtle changes in the society towards more acceptance and recognition. They felt that the Finnish society was different when they were children and realized that they were active agents and pioneers in changing the attitudes. Anton talks about how you need to be aware of your own prejudices and recognize the struggles of minorities. Abebech talks about how, while being tiering, her hard work is an opportunity for change.

Anton: *We as humans like to think in extremes. Accept everyone or accept no one. The issues are in the grey zone which is where we have to be, and I think that issues that we face as third culture children or how ever we want to identify echoes into this future of minorities. That is why we really need to listen to the people who are weird and whatever because that's how the natives see us as. We need to be aware that we have our own prejudices and we must actively try to work against them so that we can see everyone who exists and their struggles as people trying to find out what their place is in this world, like we are. Also, to better understand ourselves.*

Abebech: *It's only now that the second generation of black Africans are being more visible and also other foreigners. Only now they have been brave enough to hire people who look different. We are the ice breakers, so we have to put in extra effort to show that we can do it the same as the others. And they sometimes don't even believe it when you do the same amount of work. You have to do just a bit more and then only do they start trusting you. At the same time though it is nice that we have the opportunity to...even though it's tiering...to show that we can do it so that others can too, and we are pioneers. So maybe in the future others will be hired more because of us.*

Sofia: *In my workplace I feel like they have hired a couple more Somalis because I have perhaps shown that I'm a good worker.*

Zoran: *I identify more and more as sort of a gypsy. And that's actually what I am aiming for. To disconnect from all these different identities that I have tried for the past 20 years...that I have tried on. And none of them fit. So uum...something of a modern-day barbarian nomad is...how I see myself and am comfortable as.*

Onyeka: *I think emotions in general unite us...and the themes we talked about...they create an oxymoron of unity and separation at the same time. I feel that a very strong tool is this third culture. (Talks about keeping in touch with his cousin). That's what I've been thinking recently. Family, my parents, their aging how am I gonna be there for them. This creates a bit of that stress that if I stay here in this society and I feel like I'm paving the way, will I meet a wall?*

Anton: *I feel like we are pioneers of the issues that all of us are gonna face as society in terms of who we are and where we are gonna go...it's fascinating, through not having clear terms...and then taking this whole conversation further of what it means to be a melting pot of cultures and people. What does it mean to be let's say...an Inuit Russian native trans-person growing up in Finland? What does that mean to be who we are as people in the modern world? In terms of being able to have agency. There are no easy answers. But if we give space for those types of voices to be heard it will help all of us. In the same way how, Dostoevsky said “judge a culture by how they treat their prisoners”.*

*“It Gave Me Everything, But It Gave Me Nothing”:
a Study of Second-Generation Migrants, Transnationalism and Identity*

Anton: And the nice thing is that when we were young we'd talk English on the bus and we would get weird glances...

Onyeka: yea!

Anton: ...and I imagined this world where we could be in Finland speaking our Finglish and what not and nowadays I look around and it's the dream come true! We have all these multi-ethnic kids speaking all kinds of languages in public with their own syntax and dialect and it feels like this is what we dreamt and fought for and no one really knows the story what it was like in the mid-90's. When there wasn't the same kind of structure to support this kind of acceptance of globalization or global values and humanitarian values that we take for granted in many ways today.

The above conversations elucidate how not only the Finnish society has been changing, but also the extent of change of the concept of what it means to be Finnish. Abebech explains that she finds it incredible how people who are ‘not traditionally’ Finnish consider themselves as Finnish and multicultural. The traditional concepts of the nation-state and its homogeneity are becoming more porous and the participants felt that they are in the forefront of challenging these ideas. Anton points out that now there is also a change in ‘terms of being able to have agency’ for marginalized groups. It is interesting to see how agency and the way it is manifested in the multiple intersectional categories that minorities may be a part of, will mark the structure of the future society. As such intersectionality can be used as a tool for realizing cultural hybridity. The next section provides a more detailed synthesis the of the data with the theoretical framework and provides some tentative conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion and Synthesis

The current chapter presents a synthesis of the data analysis with previous theoretical foundations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main emergent themes overlap and directly influence each other. This difficulty in analyzing the themes in isolation reflects the multidimensional nature of the participants experiences. For instance, experiences of inclusion and exclusion and intersectionality (part 4 of the Table of Themes) lead to feelings of not being ‘there nor here’ (part 2 of the Table of Themes) which in turn lead to formation of identities that strive to have their own cultural definitions of identity (part 5 of Table of Themes). Moreover, both interview sessions lasted for many hours and I found it difficult to omit the ‘non-essential’ data from the ‘essential’, because all the conversations were thought-provoking, and the participants were very vocal, especially once we got past the initial ‘formality’ of the beginning. This is also a challenge of the Grounded Theory method, as it is up to the interviewer to know when data collection is satiated enough to be able to discuss the results in the light of relevant theories. Keeping this in mind, this section discusses how second-generation migrants’ transnational relations differ from their parents, how the dialogical self’s I positions are narrated to form a ‘third identity’, how difference is seen as symbolic capital and how cross-cultural comparisons are seen in relation to cultural hybridity. Finally, I present a conclusion with limitations and further considerations.

5.1 Transnationalism and ‘More Than Dual Lives’

Contemporary transnationalism allows for the association of more than one identity. To recall, Portes (1997) describes the transnational migrant as someone living dual lives consisting of dense networks that move beyond political borders, with interests in both countries and frequent visits to both homes. However according to the interviews, this description would better describe the participants’ parents as they have had a strong presence in both countries mainly because they still identify strongly with their country of origin, some of them having moved back to pursue their interests. The density of the participants’ transnational networks, on the other hand, is not merely a result of home/host country bilateralism but it includes the influence of globalization that results in a form of local cosmopolitanism. As such, while it is certainly true that the participants experiences reflect the density of the transitional networks, I would argue that second-generation migrants, specifically live ‘more than dual lives’. Indeed, as the analysis shows, they are able to switch their roles or ‘I’ positions to accommodate cultural expectations but the ‘not being entirely here not there’ suggests that there is a ‘third

life’ or identity that is closest to being themselves, which is experienced through relating to other ‘internationals’ as Onyeka calls them or ‘third culture children’ as Anton calls them.

The overlapping themes and experiences have been analyzed through specific theories that together portray the societal hierarchies that define their everyday lives. For instance, the participants’ lives exist in a complicated intersectional web which sometimes becomes more pronounced than other times. Zoran felt that locals avoided sitting next to him on the train, Sofia felt the need to constantly having to prove herself and locals responded differently to Onyeka when he was wearing his military uniform. The culture and attitudes are key factors in defining their experiences. More intersectional levels are then added when the participants visit back home. What expectations are there of a Nigerian male in Finland? What expectations are there of him Nigeria? What expectations are there in Nigeria of a Nigerian male who has lived in Finland? These multiple layers together form a sense of ‘self’ which the participants then navigate through differently depending on the context. As Herman (2001) points out, according to the dialogical self-theory everyone has a narrative about the multiple I positions that ultimately comprise their identity at any given time. This identity can be changed according to the situation. The results of the interview suggest that, although the dialogical self-theory refers to everyone in general, the differences between the I positions become more accentuated with the participants because of their perceived differences compared to, not only the majority of the population in Finland but also with their countries of origin.

From the conversations and touching on the theory that migrants may feel more confident when they have social support from and contact with the country of origin (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012) we can see that transnationalism and hence diaspora plays an important role in supporting the identities and teaching about roots from back home. However, the importance and strength of the and diaspora for the participants depended on how much the culture differed to the Finnish culture and how strong these cultures were. For instance, the Somalian and the Nigerian cultures, even though the participants might not take as much part in them in Finland, affected the way they behaved with their diaspora members and determined to a degree their actions because of the expectations. It was clear that despite diaspora being an important source of culture and support, what was more important was having your own identity.

5.2 Difference as Symbolic Capital

The participants’ experiences reflect the evolution of identity in Finland and its broadening membership borders in what is considered Finnishness. Further, it pinpoints the criticism in the theories that emphasize integration as an ‘end goal’ or ‘one-way view’ (Strang & Ager, 2010) and shows the importance of agency in social processes as is shown in Erdal’s and Oeppen’s (2013) typology of interactions. The participants’ have both negative and positive lived realities that are part of being a pioneer in changing the society. As such, the definition of what it means to be Finnish is changing and is subjective to the experiencer, who is an active agent in the changing of these concepts. Onyeka’s experiences were perhaps the most pronounced in the changing identities depending on the context. While this reflects to some level the positive changes in society it also adds different intersectional levels in for example the workplace. Onyeka’s experiences have moved on a scale from racist derogatory name calling and physical violence to feelings of being overtly showcased at work because of his ethnic background. He comments himself that while this is a positive development, it does not remove the existence of prejudice.

Furthermore, global culture intensifies transnational links. The changing demographic landscape is mirrored in Abebech’s feelings about how *‘it is incredible how multicultural people are experiencing themselves as Finnish’*. This study demonstrates the differences that can be seen between the generations where parents do not consider themselves as being Finnish (and only intend to stay in Finland until they can move back) while their children are the generation that defies traditional concepts of what it means to be from Finland.

As pointed out earlier, the historical identity of the nation-state is critically tested by transnationalism (Vertovec, 2001). The participants felt that they neither wholly belonged to their parent’s nation-state nor Finland. As such, the experiences described in this study show that all of them experience a more culturally hybrid identity, that is part Finnish and part from their country of origin but also a ‘third identity’ that is the result of balancing these two. Here we can see the concrete flaws in Berry’s (1997) theoretical model, where the options of which culture one identifies with are rather limited. It also does not take into consideration the rate at which the ‘host society’ is affected by global culture and how the ‘native’ younger generations identify with plural cultures more than the older ones. This should be considered when analyzing the ‘degree of integration’ of the children of migrants. As such Robins and Aksoy’s proposition of *unfixing identities* is appealing because it provides an alternative to focusing on

predetermined identities (host and home) and gives space to create something new. For Zoran, whose ethnic heritage (Serbia and Croatia), is perhaps the most complicated and who felt most frustrated about the 'in-betweenness' the 'unfixing of identities' is appealing as he wants to "*disconnect from all these identities that I have tried for the past 20 years...that I have tried on. And none of them fit.*" For Anton, this 'unfixing' was positive as he felt like he gets to 'narrate his own story' even though it is difficult without "*thousands of generations to say this is how it's done*". He also felt that he wants to detach from any previous ethnic categorizations and said he was "*a global person not really trying to fit into some sense of ethnicity*". Haikkola (2012) had similar results in her research on teenage second-generation migrants, where some of the participants wanted to push aside any categorization relating to ethnicity and migration. However, she makes a valid point that agency and empowerment at the individual/local level can be respectable, but it remains to be seen how much influence this can have in altering the existing Finnish hierarchy and Finnish perceptions of different ethnicities (p.85). Nevertheless, coming back to this study, the participants' ideas about not being tied to fixed conceptions of identity, shows how cosmopolitan understandings of belonging can be advanced by transnationalism (Vertovec, 2001).

As Oudenhoven and Ward's (2013) article aptly titled 'Fading Majority Culture' indicates, as the population of second-generation migrants (and subsequently their children) grows, the culture of what was originally thought of as 'Finnish' may, not necessarily 'fade', but at least evolve by nature, as other cultural influences gain ground. Considering the problem of the dependency ratio this will have implications for Finnish society which may also be the case for the diasporas. Moreover, as diasporas are fluid and their definitions and memberships up for interpretation, in a sense the second-generation has also formed their own diaspora made up of other 'internationals' who share similar experiences of 'in-betweenness'. This is true, especially if we consider Ang's (2013) definition of diaspora; as a strategy of "claiming difference and turning it into symbolic capital" (p.141). Anton, Abebech and Sofia in particular, felt strongly about being proud of their difference. Abebech for instance, felt empowered through showcasing it and wanted to "*show a good example*". She has gone from 'hiding under the hoodie' to advocating multiculturalism. This is also evident when Anton talks about the need to try and understand other minorities- where the symbolic capital is embodied in a sense of solidarity, similar to Ang's (2003) concept of 'together-in-difference'. These are influenced by a combination of factors; becoming an adult and being more confident and certain of yourself, finding others with similar experiences but also, like Abebech mentions, finding

vocalized support in the general public, that made her change her opinion about Finns. Claiming difference and turning it into something positive is similar to what Haikkola (2012) argues in her research that identifying as a foreigner and the ‘identity game’ is a form of creating a positive identity, not a means of marginalization. “It is conditioned by the norms of the Finnish society and it’s existing categories and meanings” (p.85). She points out that this is how being a migrant should be seen in political decision making and everyday discourse. Reflecting on Finnish integration policies, these are considered in the idea that assimilation is out-dated, and integration is non-linear, where the migrant and the society are both active. As such, by definition, positive integration necessitates the claiming of one’s difference in a way that it ends up being beneficial to both the migrant and the society.

5.3 Cross-Cultural Results

One of the purposes of having participants from various ethnic backgrounds was to identify cross-cultural similarities and differences. As discussed before, there are plenty of similarities found in the sense of ‘in-betweenness’, ‘third culture’ and being a pioneer. Differences, on the other hand, were located in the themes of prejudice and the society’s preconceptions of different ethnicities. These were determinants in how positively the participants perceived cultural hybridity. Anton for example, felt more that the lack of feeling of belonging meant no expectations and a sense of freedom. Anton (and Abebech) in general saw hybridity more positively than the others. Proximity to the country of origin and the degree of cultural sameness may also be factors that influence how positively one experiences hybridity. Both Nadja and Anton reported to have felt some inequality and prejudice but their experiences with prejudice were milder, and as such they were less opinionated than the other participants on this subject. For Nadja and Anton they may not need to negotiate their differences and switch identities as much as the others, who have more cultural expectations (and cultural differences) weighing upon them. Thus the ‘lesser amount’ of racist and the subtler xeno-racist (Essed (1991) experiences may also contribute to feelings of positive cultural hybridity. The other participants, however, because of their clear differences to the majority of the Finnish population, have to do ‘extra work’ to turn difference into symbolic capital. If we recall Erdal and Oeppen (2013) highlight the importance of the actor’s agency in their typology. They also specifically do *not* focus on cultural difference but rather on the importance of individual agency. While this is imperative and makes a valid point, I would add that perceived cultural differences are also a source of agency. The analysis of the interviews shows that all the participants (except Zoran to a lesser degree) recognize their difference, are proud of it and

realize its potential for positive change in society. Their agency is in part a direct result of their cultural differences. This being said, we must keep in mind that these are based on subjective experiences and much larger studies would need to be conducted to be able to determine patterns in how much experiences of inclusion and exclusion are affected by ethnic differences.

5.4 Conclusion

To recall, this thesis explored the everyday experiences of second-generation migrants in Finland, by using the concepts of transnationalism, integration and cultural hybridity. It also juxtaposed the objectives of the current Finnish integration policies with the participants’ first-hand experiences. The small sample size allowed for a qualitative in-depth analysis with narrative value, which may not be found in statistical data. As research on second-generation migrants in Finland is rather new, it also aimed to fill the research gap. The research was conducted by collecting and analyzing data using the Grounded Theory method, which has aided in keeping the interviews as objective as possible from the start. With the use of codes, the data was then categorized into themes which were subsequently discussed in light of the theoretical underpinnings. It found out that pertinent to second-generation migrants was the development of a ‘third identity’ as a result of not feeling like belonging entirely in Finland nor their parents’ country. This reflects the societal changes in Finland, with the second-generation migrants at the core of the change.

The participants experiences portray the underlying social hierarchies that construct their everyday lives. This is specifically where the importance of this research lies. The aim of the Finnish integration policies is to successfully integrate migrants so that they become valued, active members of society. The government promotes cross-sectoral initiatives that aim to promote employment, general well-being, equal opportunities and access to public services. Moreover, fostering of a discussion culture without racism and discrimination is an important step in government initiatives. Nevertheless, despite the advances in Finnish integration measures, policies such as the condemnation of discrimination is harder to put into practice. During the interviews, this came out as a specific issue related to second-generation migrants. Integration policies in Finland are aimed at large towards migrants who for example need assistance with language skills and utilize the ‘initial assessment’ and ‘personalized integration plans’. Second-generation migrants, however, fall somewhere in between official integration efforts and being equal to native citizens. This is where the issues problematized by the term

‘second-generation’ come to light. If we recall, Schneider (2016) points out three problems with the term. Firstly, the term ‘second-generation migrants’ refers to a generation who has lived their entire lives in a country and identify fully as citizens of that country, yet because of their perceived differences and their parents being migrants, are grouped into the undifferentiated group of immigrants. Some of the participants’ experiences show how especially in-discreet discrimination played a role in generalization and placed the participants into the general group of ‘migrants’ or at best doubted their abilities/skills because of their appearance and/or foreign names. Onyeka for instance, called about a job, spoke in Finnish during the whole phone call, was still questioned about his Finnish language skills and only got invited for an interview after calling again and using his Finnish name. Secondly, there is no differentiation within the immigrant category, which causes the experience of prejudice to be the same despite the heterogeneity of migrant populations and/or their reasons for arriving in Finland. Finally, the first two issues lead the second-generation migrants to be associated with the ‘problems of integration’ (see chapter 1) even though they have nothing to do with general attitudes such as ‘migrants don’t pay taxes and are here to live off our welfare’. Sofia explicitly talked about how she works hard so that no one can say that they pay her taxes for her.

These are major issues that reflect both the ‘in-betweenness’ of the participants and the social hierarchies that hinder integration. The participants are educated, employed, speak the language, and are active agents in society. As such, by the standards of Finnish integration policies, statistically they are ‘successfully integrated’. However, the intersectional thematic analysis in this research has shown that despite the advances due to the generational shift in attitudes, generalization, xeno-racism and (indiscreet) discrimination are widespread as the participants felt that they have to keep proving themselves to the native population. Furthermore, while Finnish integration policy aims to promote equal opportunities, the interviews show that the efforts are not always up to the migrant and that prejudice is a major factor in determining ‘how equal’ opportunities really are. Thus integration, while statistically successful for second-generation migrants cannot be equated with a life without prejudice or ‘equal’ to that of a native Finn. This, I would argue is the biggest challenge of integration policies in Finland; to have positive reciprocity, because it requires not only the efforts of the migrants but a whole shift in attitudes by the society, an extension of the society’s membership requirements and a reconsideration of what it means to be Finnish.

5.4.1 Limitations and Future Considerations

Since Finland is relatively new to migration and has only experienced a considerable increase since the 1990's it is in a position to learn from other countries. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the main limitation of the study is the small sample size, yet this allowed for more time allocation to each participant to share their experiences. From the analysis of the interviews some tentative conclusions can be drawn that can be valuable in reflecting trends for larger populations. First, there are clear changes in attitudes in the host society and the estimates that the younger generation is more approving of multiculturalism is reflected in the participants experiences. Second, the changes in attitudes reflect the changing mind set of what it means to be Finnish and its expanding membership. This can be especially related to the participants' experiences in their workplaces.

In light of the findings and the evaluated data, some questions for further consideration (apart from a larger sample size) could be; what effects does the increase in both first and second-generation migrants have on diasporas and whether these will, as migration increases, become exclusionary and hinder integration as Ang (2003) suggests? Or is it possible that the increase of second-generation migrants who choose to not be as invested in the diasporas, weaken them? Moreover, how do a variety of factors and social processes such as geographical proximity, degree of cultural homogeneity and religion play in the identity construction of migrants, the strength of the diasporas and their subsequent integration into society? Moreover, as the society becomes more heterogeneous the social hierarchy will become more complex. This can result in (and has already) migrants from different countries being socialized differently depending on various factors such as class background, perceived racial differences and stereotypes (McDowell, 2008), and not only by the natives, but also by other migrants themselves. As Haikkola (2012) points out, research into how different migrant groups interact with each other/ identify each other as could be a useful addition to the 'historical continuum' of previous research on migrants. These are especially important to be able to avoid the pitfalls and mistakes of other European examples. Finally, this heterogeneity has implications for nationalism and national identity. As Schneider (2016) points out even in many countries in Europe, which have officially long been 'countries of immigration' the changes in demographics and its implications for the concepts of nationality have not been sufficiently considered (see Schneider, 2016).

Integration is a two-way process that takes initiative from both the migrant and the host society to be successful. As mentioned before, earlier models considered integration

to have an end goal. However, contemporary transnationalism and human mobility is far too complex to be reduced to linear models. Today it consists of not only the sending and receiving countries but of the influence of globalization and internationalization. Thus, while integration and transnationalism in their early days were considered incompatible, they may now be intertwined to form multifaceted networks of push and pull factors. This study focused solely on the identity constructions of young adult second-generation migrants, but their experiences do not exist in a vacuum. As such, this study also serves to highlight how their interactions and everyday life experiences affect the larger population and change expectations and attitudes. As estimates shows, migration will keep increasing and so will the contact with the host society. Moreover, it is worth investigating how, as demographics are changing, cultures merge, not only bilaterally with sending and receiving countries but also from the effects of globalization. For instance, the Finnish native youth of the same age as the second-generation migrants may well have more in common with them because of global culture. Thus, some aspects of the ‘third-identity’ may well be an increasingly common identity within the native Finns as well. It may be of interest to study how global culture is a factor in the ‘Fading Majority Culture’ (Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012) phenomenon. Finally, another point in concern is where to draw the line of who is a migrant. When second-generation migrants have children and grandchildren, are they still considered migrants having born and lived in Finland? Despite of changes in Finish identity and demographics, the likelihood of the question ‘but where are you *really* from?’ will still be high.

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