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**IDENTITY WORK AND THE
RECONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES AMONG
HUMANITARIAN-BASED IMMIGRANTS IN
FINLAND.**

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ABSTRACT

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The word 'immigrant' in Finland is associated with the refugee crisis after the immigrants' wave in 2015. One of the fundamental concerns within Finnish society is regarding refugees' identities that might be judged as the ones who cannot be acculturated, included, and integrated into Finnish society. Therefore, the first objective of this research is to explore and examine how refugees construct and reconstruct their identities at the intersection of personal, organizational, and social life through conducting identity work. The second aim is to understand the ways in which their identities can impact their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations.

Studies regarding refugees are very fragmented and borrowed theories from various disciplines. Among them, identity work from the social identity theory, acculturation from cultural studies, and inclusion from diversity management have been covered separately by many scholars. This study utilizes a novel approach by combining various theoretical lenses. Accordingly, the thesis develops a theoretical model for studying and understanding the identities of immigrants and refugees. First, I employed three theories of personal, organizational, and social identity. Second, I identified how these theories could lead to identity work which is the leading theory in this study. Third, I employed the acculturation and inclusion framework, which can be analyzed as tools to understand refugees' obstacles in reconstructing their identities or act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees.

The method is used in this study is qualitative analysis through semi-structured interviews conducted from eight refugees with around three years of working experience in Finnish organizations. Through qualitative content analysis and grounded theory, three major themes emerged in relation to the refugees' identity work and its impact on their identity reconstructions. First, conducting identity work leads to negotiation in identity hierarchy and early-adopting identity work tactics. Second, conducting identity work leads to tensions between self-aspects of refugees' identities and other actors in Finnish organizations. Third, conducting identity work intensified by arising explicit challenges and obstacles.

This study yields a novel insight by incorporating acculturation and inclusion into identity work research. The informants in this study constantly were involved in the process of identity reconstruction through internal self-dialogue by evaluating their own identity with the identity of others; and thus, consciously or unconsciously utilized ethnicity role, cultural perception, behavioral characteristics, and personal values as the main challenges to reconstruct their identity based on acculturation and inclusion criteria in Finnish organizations. Furthermore, I identified one central motif that immigrants constantly negotiated to reconstruct their sense of 'selves' within themselves and organizations. I define it as 'inner self-border identity', which reveals what kinds of 'Musts' and 'Nots' individuals hold within the core aspects of their identities and how they are executed in the organizations. Identity work happened for the informants through this motif and 'Musts' and 'Nots' that primarily emanated from their identity-based characteristics. This study could create strict borders between individuals' psychological aspects and their identity-based attributes by distinguishing between 'Musts' and 'Nots' of individuals. It was clarified that 'Musts' and 'Nots' of individuals could cause identity work to occur, and they could also be caused due to conducting identity work.

Keywords: Immigrants, refugees in Finland, identity work, acculturation. inclusion. organizational identity.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The topic of immigration after the refugee crisis in 2015-2016 has exceptionally increased in Finland and all EU countries. In today's world, immigration mainly occurs in four different ways of family-based, work-based, study-based, and International protection (humanitarian-based) immigration (International Migration, 2019). The foundation of this thesis is on the refugees that are a part of humanitarian-based immigration. According to Statistics Finland (2017), there were 384,123 people in Finland with a foreign background, from which 321,494 people were born out of Finland. From this number of people, the percentage of family-based immigrants is 54%, work-based immigrants 17 %, study-based immigrants 10%, only 11% based on humanitarian reasons (refugees), and 8% is devoted to other types of immigrants (Statistics Finland, 2017). When the number of people with foreign backgrounds in Finland is 321,494, of which 11% are refugees; therefore, the number of refugees in Finland is around 35,364 persons.

The word 'immigrant' in Finland is associated with refugees after the wave of immigrants in 2015, which has caused various harsh discussions in Finland. According to the International Migration 2018-2019- Report for Finland, 9,992 articles on immigration were published between the first of July 2018 and 30th June 2019 in Finland, as mentioned under Meltwater media. From a political point of view, refugee wave in 2015, have sometimes been seen as a tool for some political parties to reach their political goals and objectives. In Finland, this allowed the Finns party (Perussuomalaiset) to become the second-largest party and increased their seats from 38 to 39 in the parliamentary elections of 2019. The Finns party was included in government in 2015 before splitting into a moderate and a hardline anti-immigration party in 2017 (Ylä-Anttila, 2020). One of the fundamental concerns was whether refugees could be included, acculturated, and integrated into the Finnish society.

The purpose of the integration process is to equip immigrants with all the capabilities to enter working life (International Migration, 2019). The requirements for integration measures depend on immigrants' background and their situation in life (International Migration, 2019). As the working environment is a situation in life, there is a need to analyze the success of integration programs through understanding refugees' working experiences. Therefore, understanding how Finnish organizations can affect refugees' capabilities to use resources in order to reconstruct their identities, be acculturated, and increase their sense of inclusion in the workplace can be investigated from both organizational and refugees'

perspectives. In this study, the focus is on understanding refugees' experiences in Finnish organizations and the ways in which their identities are reconstructed through identity work.

Refugees are considered the most vulnerable group among all types of immigrants (Ministry of Interior Finland, n.d). "A refugee is a person who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" according to the legal definition of United Nation of High Community for Refugees (UNHCR, 2002, p. 3). The focus of this master's thesis is to examine the process of identity reconstruction of refugees in Finnish organizations which is a part of Finnish society. Subjective narrations of human beings define their identities and who they are, based on personal qualities, roles, group, and social characteristics (Caza, Vough, & Puranic, 2018). Therefore, it would be meaningful to understand how refugees reconstruct their identities within Finnish organizations by understanding their personal experiences. For many, the central component of understanding who they are is through narrating occupational experiences (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010).

Consequently, many factors have direct or indirect impacts on the reconstruction of refugees' identities. Individual, organizational, and social identity characteristics of the host country, plus the attachments to home countries, have impacts on the identities of refugees. Therefore, the theories used in this study are multidisciplinary drawing on personal, organizational, and social identity theory. However, identity work is the primary theoretical lens, in addition to acculturation and inclusion framework. The acculturation and inclusion have the potential to be viewed as both a means and objective for the analysis of identity work. Moreover, the method is used in this study is qualitative analysis through semi-structured interviews with eight refugees with around three years of working experience in Finland.

1.1. Research Background and Objectives

Immigration has been a topic among researchers in all parts of the world, especially in the USA. Over the previous decades, international migration studies have been diverse among researchers from different fields of study. Research on migration theories is very fragmented, and literature derives from plenty of disciplines leading to an incomplete view of migration theories (Molho, 2013). Therefore, migration theories are multidisciplinary and can be analyzed through various lenses. Lee, Carling, & Orrenius (2014) believed that the

theoretical and empirical significance of International Migration Review (IMR) as one of the earliest sources could pave the way for multidisciplinary scholarship because, at first, the research foci in the IMR was dominated in the field of sociology and by American researchers. When the study of international migration was growing around fifty years ago, the focus was mainly on traditional immigration from Europe to North America (Lee et al., 2014). During fifty years of reflections of various IMR articles, the multidisciplinary immigration studies gradually attracted not only by sociologists but also economists, anthropologists, and geographers that employed diverse empirical methodologies (Lee et al., 2014).

Researchers through a variety of disciplines investigated the employment experiences of refugees. De Vroome and Van Tubergen (2010) concluded a study focusing on the economically disadvantaged position of refugees in the Netherlands by applying human capital theory and social capital theory from the aspect of labor market integration. The essential supposition of the human capital theory is that individual skills determine the labor market's success (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010). In Finland, there are also researchers with a focus on the public economy. As an example, Väänänen (2018) has studied 'the labor market integration and the impacts on the public economy' of Finland. Parutis (2011) discusses that little attention is devoted to investigating how participation in the labor market impact migrants themselves.

Scholars since the 1990s have realized the importance of social, economic, and political ties that, as a result of migration, stretched out in space; and seek to investigate how these ties have impacts on the lives of migrants and societies of destinations (Lee et al., 2014). Social, economic, and political ties can be considered the major elements in constructing immigrants' identity. As mentioned by Lee et al. (2014, p. 50), the dominant theory about immigrant integration around fifty years ago was straight-line assimilation that defines immigrants becoming more similar over time in values, norms, and characteristics, this one-way taken-for-granted assumption, "uniform process of acculturation and eventual structural assimilation of immigrants into the host societies". However, today researchers seek to discover what are the ways in which the host societies can be impacted by the immigrants (Lee et al., 2014), as well as how immigrants' identities are reconstructed.

Refugees' studies fit under the lens of identity work due to the conceptual proximity between intersectionality and identity work (Atewologun, Sealy, & Vinnicombe, 2016). The extent to which individuals seek to construct a sense of self (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008) is closely related to conducting identity work. Refugees consciously or unconsciously negotiate various dimensions of their identities such as national, physical,

race, ideology, and color, in various contexts such as the organizations they work for or the society they live in through interactions with others. Identity work emerged from an interest in perceiving how people in organization cope with their complex and, many times, enigmatic and inconsistent experiences that happen at a workplace (Alvesson et al., 2008). The prior conceptualization of identity work was put on the self and internal aspect of identity (Watson, 2008). On the other hand, “identity work occurs at the intersection of the person and the external environment; although individuals may have some agency in the identities they choose, these choices are interpersonally negotiated and constrained by social context” (Caza et al., 2018, p. 891).

Prior research covering both refugees and identity work has been on a very small scale. For instance, Van Laer and Janssens (2017) have studied professional refugees and approach agency through the resistance studies, the lens of identity work, and ethnic minority individuals’ material actions and behavioral tactics. Thus, through relying on the resistance literature Van Laer and Janssens (2017) found that the ambiguities, contradictions, and tensions inherent to ethnic minority employees. They mentioned that the tensions and struggles occurred for the professional refugees on three interconnected plateaux of identity, career, and social change. However, Van Laer & Janssens (2017), by studying on professional refugees, suggested that future researchers can examine identity work among the lower status refugees.

From a theoretical perspective, this research can be accounted as a response to the call of Alvesson et al. (2008) by proposing to identity theorists to develop a sharper eye for the manifold ways in which inescapable personal-social relation can be combined in a specific form in identity research. Therefore, in this study, three main theories of personal, organizational, and social identity are put together from a theoretical perspective. However, from the empirical point of view, this research can be a response to the call of Van Laer and Janssens (2017) that suggest future researchers focus on the struggles of ethnic minorities such as refugees. Therefore, refugees can encounter with abundant challenges and tensions on the various dimensions of their identities and in different levels such as the personal, career, and social levels. Therefore, such studies are not only a need in Finland but also have not been covered in countries with more refugee populations.

Indeed, there is no research regarding the working experience of refugees who have already settled down in Finland with the objective of seeking to reveal their various layers of identity reconstruction. From the time that immigrants are settled in Finland, all the efforts were in the integration process that leads to labor market integration. However, the process of identity reconstructions of refugees by entering to working life and whether conducting

identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion should be investigated. Therefore, the research questions are as the following:

1. How do refugees working in Finnish organizations construct and reconstruct their identities (personal, social, and organizational) through identity work?
2. How do their identities impact their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations?

The main objective of this thesis is to explore how the fundamental challenges, concerns, issues, and problems of refugees through organizational experiences can impact their identity reconstruction; and what are the main obstacles they face in rebuilding their identities based on the acculturation and inclusion criteria in Finnish organizations. Penetrating and understanding various layers of refugees' identities is very complex and requires combining different theories. As a result, I produced a theoretical model for studying identity among refugees. First, I employed the theories of personal, organizational, and social identity. Second, I identified how these theories could be applied through identity work which is the leading theory in this study. Third, I employed the acculturation and inclusion framework, which can work as tools to understand refugees' obstacles in reconstructing their identities or act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees.

There has been a variety of integration programs for immigrants in Finland and understanding the process of reconstructing their identities may develop the analytical and measurement tools and thus improve the integration programs. In order to discover the success of the labor market integration of refugees in Finland, it would be necessary to analyze and understand how the identity of refugees is reconstructed through both external influencers (organizations and society) and internal influencers (values, ideologies, and race). By understanding the impact of both internal and external influencers, then it can be analyzed whether refugees can be included and acculturated to the Finnish organizations. Consequently, this study can pave the way for recognizing cultural, social, and organizational obstacles refugees face in their working milieu. Thus, understanding those obstacles and challenges can help Finnish authorities to learn about differences, similarities, and the ways in which refugees' identities are reconstructed in order to make effective policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers.

1.2. Key Concepts

Identity: In this study, identity refers to the general meaning of who one is and how refugees define themselves. The formation of identity is through the process of self-categorization or identification (Stets & Burke, 2000). Alongside this, the core of identity in “identity theory is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role, and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). The researchers develop this description of the core of identity in many ways. One fundamental phrase in the stated description is “the incorporation into the self”, which the significance lies in the components of the self. Therefore, what makes the identity of refugees and what are the main components of incorporating the self is the way in which identity is employed in this study.

Personal identity: The definition of personal identity can be defined and refer to different aspects of human beings. The personal identity of every individual is associated with the social identity of that person. In this respect, Finnish people in Finnish organizations more or less have many shared personal identities such as cultural identity and national identity. The personal identity can be described as “the self as a unique entity distinct from other individuals” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 228). In other words, personal identity also can be described as the most elementary type of identity that indicates the unique self-description of individuals (Caza, et al., 2018). Caza et al. (2018, p. 894) also corroborate that “individuals also utilize their self-defining traits in the construction or repair of identity narratives”. Refugees can be the ones who constantly utilize their self-defining attributes, which lead to reconstructing their identities in the new societies. Therefore, in this study, the definition of personal identity will “refer to unique personal attributes-those assumed as not being shared with other people” (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 10).

Social identity: Researchers mainly developed the social identity theory from the definition of Tajfel (1978, p. 63), which state an individual’s social identity is the “knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978, as cited in He & Brown, 2013). Social identity theory focuses on identities at a collective level which emphasizes how and when individuals will define themselves as a part of that collective level (Caza et al., 2018). Two of the ways identity work occurs through social identity theory are when “individual engage in identity work as they change the degree to which they associate themselves with a collective”, and

also by “changing the meanings that they associate with a group”. (Caza et al., 2018, p. 896). Therefore, refugees are the ones who may constantly change their self-meaning in relationships with a collective and a group that occurs under their new social contexts and societies in which they are living. Therefore, social identity in this study is a combination of stated definitions and descriptions which emphasize the unique aspects of refugees’ self-concept in Finnish society.

Organizational identity: Organizational identity is the attempts of organizations to define themselves and implicate questions such as ‘who are we’ and ‘who do we want to become?’ (He & Brown, 2013). There are two ways to approach the definition of organizational identity. First, organizations define themselves as who they are, which in today’s world, business corporations clearly define themselves on their websites. This type of definition mainly arises from the insiders’ point of view, such as management teams and leaders. However, the second approach towards defining organizational identity can be expressed by the employees who also shape the organizational identity. Therefore, refugees who work in the Finnish organizations can also define who Finnish organizations are, and also through their descriptions, the process of their identity reconstructions in Finnish organizations can be understood.

Identity work: The root of identity work is taken from this definition: “the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept” (Snow & Anderson 1987, p. 1348). The mentioned definition of identity work has all the necessary components. However, the other forms and definitions developed by other scholars seem to emphasize the way in which they define identity rather than identity work. For instance, Caza et al. (2018, p. 890) provide an example of the definition of identity from Pratt (2012). He stresses that identity construction is related to “how identities come to be formed” that fits directly into the forming aspect of identity work. Therefore, it can be understood that the way in which researchers define identity, may to some extent, shape their perception of identity work. From another aspect, the identity work emanates from an interest in understanding how people in organization cope with their complex and, many times, enigmatic and inconsistent experiences that happen at work (Alvesson et al., 2008). These enigmatic, contradictory, and complex experiences of individuals in the workplace have caused confusion and unclear approaches to identity work (Brown, 2017). This confusion and unclear approaches may emerge from the word identity as mentioned earlier. Therefore, to reach an agreement in defining the identity work, there

is an incumbent to reach an agreement in defining the identity. As identity is multifaceted, thus identity work is also multifaceted. All in all, identity work in this study has the potentiality to be viewed as an analytical tool to identify the inclusion and acculturation of refugees in Finnish organizations. Furthermore, refugees' studies fit the best under the lens of identity work because there is conceptual proximity between intersectionality and identity work (Atewologun et al., 2016).

Acculturation: Acculturation, as its name suggests, has taken from culture. It “is defined as how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration” (Berry, 1997, p. 7). This definition by Berry reveals two main facts. First, immigrants and refugees are the ones who live and work in a new cultural context different than their home countries. Second, under what circumstances immigrants and refugees can manage to adapt to a new context. Acculturation also was disintegrated into different branches such as behavioral acculturation, value acculturation, and identity-based acculturation. Therefore, in this study, the acculturation framework is analyzed under the three branches: behavioral, value, and identity-based acculturation.

Inclusion: The definition of inclusion by scholars is, to some extent, different from one another. The definition of inclusion that is more comprehensive, is defined by Robertson (2006, as cited in Shore et al., 2011) “the removal of obstacles to the full participation and contribution of employees in organizations” (p.1267). The emphasis here lies on the phrase “the removal obstacles” which should be understood where this removal of obstacles emerges. Some definitions of inclusion stress that ‘the removal obstacles’ is the responsibility of organizations; however, individuals such as refugees are also responsible for removing those obstacles in order to be included in Finnish organizations. Therefore, in this research, inclusion means how Finnish organizations do to remove those obstacles and how refugees themselves attempt to remove those obstacles that arise from their identity.

1.3. Limitations and Structure of the Study

This research has two potential limitations in regard to employing theoretical lenses. The first limitation is emanating from the focus area of this study. The second limitation is due to the multidisciplinary nature of this study. These limitations may confine a deep analysis of

the theories utilized in this study and may be subject to not covering a strong conceptualization of the theories.

The first limitation of this study is regarding the focus of this study which is to examine the process of identity reconstruction of refugees in Finnish organizations and within Finnish society. Since Finnish people are a part of Finnish society, thus cultural, values, and social norms of Finnish people can be noticeable in Finnish organizations. However, it is certainly not logical to consider all Finnish organizations the same since each organization can vary widely. On the other hand, immigrants and refugees who live and work in Finland have different cultural, values, and social norms, mainly constructed before entering Finnish society. Therefore, understanding how refugees reconstruct their identities based on those differences cannot be simply analyzed through solely some theories.

The second limitation is about multidisciplinary nature of this study, which increases the complexity of the literature review due to covering various theories. It is not possible to go too deep into the theories utilized in this study because covering the literature from personal, organizational, and social identity in addition to acculturation and inclusion has a rich history and cannot be fully covered. Therefore, since covering theoretical and literature from these fields of studies is not possible and oscillating from one theory to another without going deep into them can be inevitable, I decided only to refer to some grounds of personal, organizational, and social identity and the ways they lead to identity work. Thus, I attempted to discuss the primary and essential grounds of those theories, which allows me to answer this study's requirements and research questions.

Therefore, the structure of this study from the second chapter is commenced from a broad literature review. Chapter 2 discusses and provides a short review concerning personal, organizational, and social identity. Each of the theories has devoted one sub-chapter to itself, in which their relationships and interconnectedness are explained. Besides, it is explained how each of the theories is adopted and applied in studying migrants. Those theories could justify and lead to identity work as the primary lens and devoted another main sub-chapter to itself. Identity work has the potentiality to be analyzed in order to identify the process of inclusion and acculturation of refugees. Therefore, acculturation and inclusion devoted one main sub-chapter to themselves. Chapter 3 discusses the methodological aspects of this study and how data are collected and analyzed. Chapter 4 discusses the empirical data collected through semi-structured interviews. The emerged themes are described in detail. Chapter 5 focuses on the discussions by which the relationship between the literature and the empirical work is scrutinized. Lastly, how studies on refugees can be continued for future research are presented.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The literature covered in this study is composed of various theories that can be used in determining the identity construction processes among refugees in Finland. Therefore, regarding theories, first, I draw on personal, organizational, and social identity theory. Second, these theories pave the way for identity work which is the central theory in this study. Furthermore, acculturation and inclusion frameworks are considered as the analytical and interpretation lenses for identity work theory and vice versa.

The combination and shared similarities of individual, organizational and social identities can be best understood through the theoretical lens of identity work (Atewologun, et al., 2016). The reason is that identification is an “ongoing meaning-making process of working out whom one is” (Atewologun et al., 2016, p. 226). Therefore, through identity work, researchers attempt to understand how individuals negotiate conformity between their own sense of self and others' view of self through identity work (Atewologun, et al., 2016). Jack and Lorbiecki (2007) state that a vital tool for conceptualizing the identity formation process requires understanding and revealing the peoples' experiences and meaning-making in the workplaces.

The conditions in which individual and organizational identity play their roles are under the context of social identity. On the other hand, identity in organization studies has a multilevel construct. Thus, it is useful to distinguish between individual and organizational identities within organizations (Jack & Lorbiecki, 2007). Accordingly, I start by implicating each of the personal, organizational, and social identity theories which are explained and described in the subheadings below.

2.1. Perspectives to Identities

Within social science, there are a plethora of ideas regarding how the term identity should be conceptualized (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006a). This study can be considered as a reply to the call of Alvesson et al. (2008) by suggesting to identity theorists to develop a sharper eye for the manifold ways in which unavoidable personal-social relation may be put together in a particular form in identity research. Therefore, in this study, three main theories of personal, organizational, and social identity are combined from the theoretical perspective.

However, from the empirical perspective, this study can be an answer to the call of Van Laer and Janssens (2017). They suggest that future researchers can focus on the struggles of ethnic minorities such as refugees. These struggles and challenges occur for refugees on three interconnected plateaux of identity, career, and social change (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). These three plateaux of identity, career, and social change from the theoretical perspective are similar to personal, organizational, and social identity suggested by Alvesson et al. (2008) to research in those spheres. Therefore, refugees can face many challenges and tensions on the various dimensions of their identities and in different levels such as the personal, career, and social levels.

Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 17) suggest that in the future, one of the identity scholarships in organization studies can be implemented in order to “understand human experience”, through practical-hermeneutic/interpretivist orientation. Within the organizational context, this approach paves the way for understanding people’s reflection on who they (organizations) are and what they do (Alvesson et al., 2008). In addition, this practical/hermeneutic approach seems to answer from one angle the requirements for this study by focusing on how people form their identities through interactions or how they entwine “narratives of self” in harmony with others and out of multiple contextual resources within their reach (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 8). By involving personal, social, and organizational identity, refugees may emphasize each of the identities as important to them in their identities' reconstruction process. Studying immigrants is very complex and requires a comprehensive way of prospect; thus, in order to answer the needs of this study, I apply the three angels of personal, organizational, and social identity and explain the ways they lead to identity work. Finally, through the criteria of acculturation and inclusion framework, the reconstruction of refugees’ identity will be evaluated.

2.1.1. Personal Identity

Identities can be attached to almost anything (Alvesson et al., 2008). Identity at the individual-level stresses on the self-identity aspect (Alvesson, 2010). The terms of identity, self, subjectivity are mainly applied interchangeably in order to refer to the internal side of identity in which one takes itself to be (Watson, 2008). Revealing this self-identity aspect by individuals occurs through subjective interpretations of them. Therefore, it is very complicated to narrate and interpret subjectivity issues, including identity (Alvesson, 2010). Subjective interpretations of human beings define their identities and who they are, based on personal qualities, roles, group, and social characteristics (Caza et al., 2018). These

subjective interpretations of personal identity, which people may refer to, can be defined under two main categories of ontological and epistemological knowledge of 'self'.

Personal identity is studied and discussed by philosophers from ontological perspectives (Olson, 2019). Individual identity outside the philosophy usually "refers to properties to which we feel a special sense of attachment or ownership" (Olson, 2019, para. 5). Those properties can be studied from epistemological aspects and seem to be the social science issue that can pave the way for understanding how someone's identity shapes in different layers of society and through which components. Organizations are one of those significant contexts within the society in which personal identities can be built and evolved (Alvesson et al., 2008). The questions such as 'what makes a person', and 'what distinguishes him or her from others' are the properties and components of personal identity (Alvesson et al., 2008).

Furthermore, for many organizational researchers and within the context of organizational identity, personal identity refers to subjective meanings and experiences of the ongoing efforts of employees in order to address two related questions of "Who am I?" and by implying "How should I act?" (Brown, 2020, p. 36; Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008). Those subjective meanings indicate weaving feelings, values, and behavior which point them in a particular direction (Brown, 2020; Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008). The individual subject is the central concern for scholars because an immense contribution to identity construction is regarding how a person deals with experiences with selves and narrates stories of self (Alvesson et al., 2008). Discussions about identity are so critical; thus, there is still needs to understand the dynamics of identity (He & Brown, 2013). These dynamics of identity deal with how a person feelings, thoughts, and values shape, and what a person does in all social milieus including organizations (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

Analysis that focuses directly upon process of identity reformation has been ruled by some of the overlapping ways of building and studying identity, such as central life interest, distinctiveness, coherence, and self-awareness (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). This central life interest refers to a sort of question that asks about a person's feelings and ideas about basic identity concerns and qualities such as 'who I am' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). One of the other overlapping and interrelated areas in the process of reformation of identity is coherence. It is described as: "A sense of identity is understood to connect different experiences and reduce fragmentation in feelings and thinking" (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 625). This sense of identity can be analyzed in a variety of contexts for different groups

of people. One of these groups of people is refugees who have fragmented experience in the context of Finnish organizations.

Eventually, the individual subject because of managing experiences with selves and evolving self is at the center of this study. The identity reconstructions of refugees within the organizational context by narrating their experiences of self can be explored. For not all, but for many people, the central component of understanding who they are is through narrating jobs and occupations (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). This requires understanding what organizational identity means and how personal identity and individual subjects can be explored within organizations. Therefore, in the next chapter, organizational identity will be discussed.

2.1.2. Organizational Identity

There are various rich definitions of organizational identity, but there are uncertainties and often fractious disagreements (He & Brown, 2013). However, the most overused definition of organizational identity is the attempts of organizations to define themselves, and implicate questions such as 'who are we' and 'who do we want to become?' (He & Brown, 2013). However, organizational identification from social identity perspective widely been used to explain the relationship between employee and organizations (He & Brown, 2013). Organizational identification has the capabilities to generate a range of positive employee and organizational outcomes such as employees' satisfactions and well-being (He & Brown, 2013). However, one of the concerns of organizational scholars is "how organizational members negotiate issues surrounding self in workplace settings" (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 5). This negotiation may arise from the boundaries of personal identity (such as 'who I am in this organization') and organizational identity (such as 'who we are as an organization'). Kreiner et al. (2006a) assert that creating boundaries can occur on the sphere of individual and organizational identity. It occurs through first, separating self from others (external boundaries), and second, distinguishing internalized objects and representations (internal boundaries) (Kreiner et al., 2006a).

Kreiner et al. (2006a, p. 1320) suggested two types of boundary interfaces within the individual and organizational identities. They defined them as: "*intra-identity interfaces*, where boundaries within identity are negotiated, and *inter-identity boundary interfaces*, where boundaries *between* individual and organizational identities are negotiated". The identity negotiation that occurs at the intra-identity interfaces and at the individual level is

due to multidimensional of personal identity in which Kreiner et al. (2006a, p. 1322) use this example that “an individual may have multiple personal and social identities- female, Hispanic, Olympic athlete, extrovert, graduate student, fiancée, protestant”. This is because the knowledge from the identity at the personal and organizational level can differ in various situations. However, through the inter-identity boundary, the interaction of various aspects of identity occurs at the intersection of individual and organizational identity, such as someone who claims a strong sense of oneness with a variety of aspects of organizational identity (Kreiner et al., 2006a). Identity at both the individual and organizational level is comprised of various aspects of self that "these aspects vary in accessibility and salience across situations; and certain aspects are more central and stable while other aspects are subject to ongoing interpretation and change" (Kreiner et al., 2006a, p. 1318).

Identity carries an essential role in understanding the complex and dynamic relationships between self, work, and organizations through interpretively organizational researchers (Alvesson et al., 2008). Consequently, due to the roots and linking nature of identity, it has a bridging potentiality, which is appropriate for analyzing how actions at the micro (individual) level might have macro-level consequences (Brown, 2020). Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 12) suggest broader context and large-scale developments, in which they implement organizations studies of identity “to promote critical, reflexive exploration of the larger social and political implications entailed in the ways individuals cope with the interface among self-understandings, ideals, and a frequently imperfect and hostile world”. This approach has a relation to this study because refugees cope with the interface among their self-understandings and whether there is a view of an imperfect world around themselves and within the organizations they work and the society they live. Accordingly, because immigrants who live and work in the host countries have their roots from their home countries, therefore the role of social identity within the context of immigrants is required to be explored. Thus, the next chapter explores the role of social identity at the intersection of personal and organizational identity.

2.1.3. Social Identity

The way people understand themselves is shaped by significant cultural and historical formations (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008). Social identity theory is about someone’s knowledge by being aware that he or she belongs to a social category or group, in which individuals hold a common social identification to see themselves as the members of the same social category (Stets & Burke, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). These types of

references arise from the definition of Tajfel (1978, p. 63), which state an individual's social identity is the "knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (as cited in He & Brown, 2013). In addition, identity within social identity has characteristics of dynamic nature in itself. As Alvesson et al. (2008) discuss, identity is context-sensitive, evolving, and temporary rather than holding a fixed nature.

Evolving and temporary nature of identity lead to considering self in both social identity theory and identity theory as the reflexive element through which it can take itself, for instance, as an object that can classify, categorize, or name itself in various ways in connection to other social categories or classifications (Stets & Burke, 2000). The name of this process in social identity theory is called self-categorization, and in identity theory is called identification, in which through both of them, an identity is shaped (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Negotiation of identity occurs between the level of personal identity by those characteristics that differentiate one person from another and social identities by categorizing oneself into a more inclusive social unit such as race, gender, occupational roles, and so forth (Kreiner et al. 2006b). Individual motivation for change, organizational and occupational demands directly impact the adjustment and evolution of identity (Kreiner et al. 2006b). Therefore, the process in which individuals can negotiate about "who I am" can occur amidst social responses of "this is who we are" (Kreiner et al. 2006b). For instance, what are these 'I's and 'selves' whom refugees refer to? The same question can be asked in a different way as how refugees' identity can be constructed? Furthermore, how they (refugees) negotiate different dimensions of their identities such as 'national,' 'physical,' 'race,' 'ideology,' 'color', and many others in a various context such as the organizations they work for through interactions with others.

This study can be considered within the territory of both personal identity and social identity. The personal identity approach is the same as Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 10) "refers to unique personal attributes-those assumed as not being shared with other people"; on the other hand, social identity refers "to an individual's perception of him or herself as a member of a group". However, in this study, group means organizations in which refers to refugees' perception of themselves as a member of an organization. This study scrutinizes how refugees that are working members of Finnish organizations see and perceive the general environments of Finnish organizations through interactions with Finnish employees and how their perceptions impact on their identity reconstructions.

Since there is no comprehensive picture of how to study identity, it would be more challenging to apply social, organizational, and personal identity in understanding refugees' identity reconstructions. Therefore, I developed a theoretical model for studying identity construction among refugees. First, I adapted three theories of personal, organizational and social identity and the ways in which they could be developed in this study. It is incumbent to emphasize that all the components of those theories could not be developed, but only the potential elements that could lead to identity work were employed and included. Second, I employed identity work as the central theory in this study, in addition to acculturation and inclusion frameworks.

Analysis of the personal identities of refugees seems much more complex. This is because the social contexts that refugees had left behind in their home countries have shaped some layers of their identities. Therefore, understanding their working experiences in Finnish organizations may reveal a great deal of the contents of their identity reconstructions. The grounds and logic behind the adaptation of the main theories can be seen in the below figures. It is emphasized on the distinction between the personal identity of a native person and an immigrant (refugee).

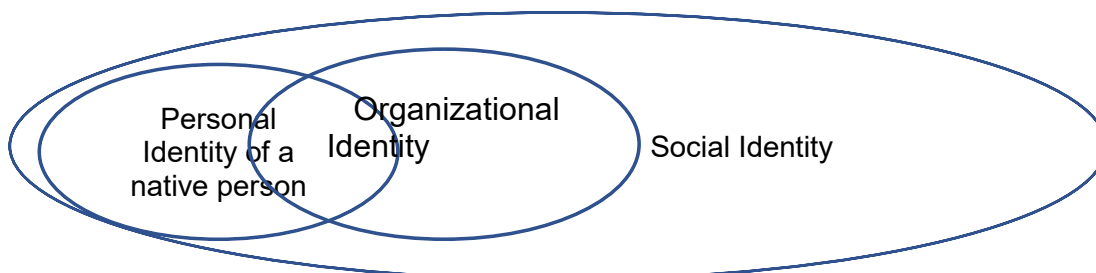


Figure 1. The inter-relations of identity construction within a social context for a **native**



Figure 2. The inter-relations of identity construction in a social context for an **immigrant** entering to a host country

Researchers' decisions to use some of the above-mentioned theoretical lenses, such as social identity theory and organizational theory, is to explain identity work, which often leads their insights to impact others subscribing to the same approach (Caza et al., 2018). Refugees' studies are suitable under the lens of identity work because there is conceptual

proximity between intersectionality and identity work (Atewologun et al., 2016). The ways in which individuals attempt to construct a sense of self (Alvesson et al., 2008) are in a close relationship with conducting identity work. Therefore, identity work is one of the most suitable options for this study, and it is explored in the next chapter.

2.2. The Construction of Identities Through Identity Work

Those who study personal and social identity can discuss the overlapping concept of self-identity in which the constructions of it emanates out of cultural raw material such as language, meanings, values, and so on, in addition to early life experiences and unconscious components (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). This makes a complex combination of conscious and unconscious factors in which through the interpretive and reflexive framework, can be shaped by the process of identity work. In addition, the process of identity work can lead to the clarification of organizational identification (Brown, 2017).

Identity work emanates from an interest in understanding how individuals cope with their complex and, many times, enigmatic and contradictory experiences of work and organizations (Alvesson et al., 2008). These enigmatic, contradictory, and complex experiences of individuals in the workplace have caused confusion and unclear approaches to identity work (Brown, 2017). Whether this confusion and complexity arise from mixing and overlapping individuals' personal identity and individuals' psychological aspects is a question mark as well. Therefore, understanding what exactly identity work means requires having a broad conceptualization of both ontological and epistemological aspects.

Some various layers of refugees' identities were constructed and shaped before arriving in Finland. Therefore, refugees in the workplace consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, conduct identity work. The reason is that some of the main elements of their identities, such as race and language, are not similar to Finnish people.

Through social interactions, identity work raises questions such as who I am and who we are, in which individuals represent on their cultural resources in addition to memories and wishes to reproduce and modify their sense of self (Alvesson et al., 2008). As a result, exploring refugees' experiences may reveal whom they think they are, and also through applying identity work by the interpretation of Atewologun et al. (2016), most of the layers of their identities can be explored. Atewologun et al. (2016, p. 223) suggest and apply "incorporating identity works a theoretical lens and analytical framework into intersectionality research, due to its focus on explicating everyday experiences of self-identification". People

put their attempts into making sense of everyday events, particularly those events that challenge their self-identity, to keep self-esteem, and thus through identity work, the dynamic interactions between individual and environment can be understood (Atewologun et al., 2016).

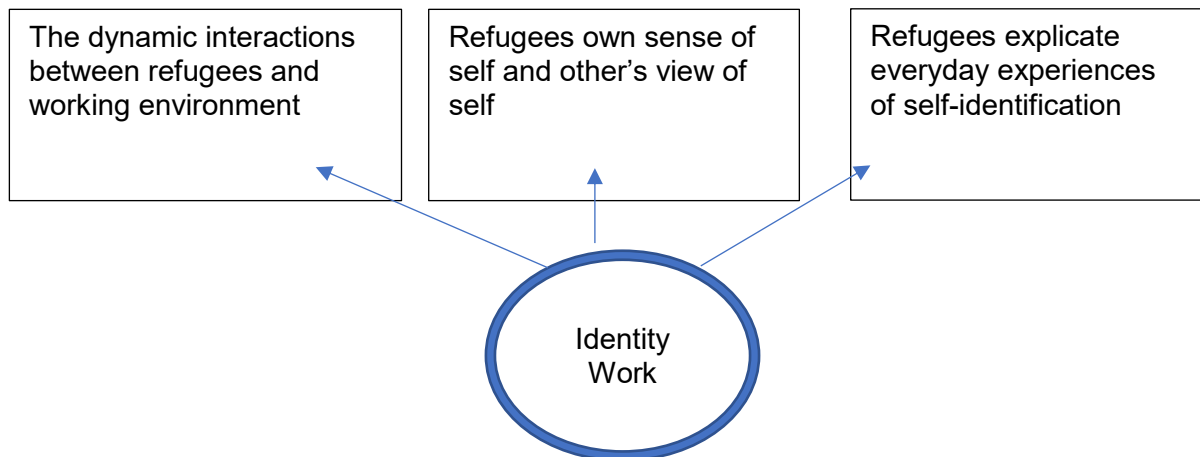


Figure 3. Implementation of identity work in this study

Therefore, through organizational studies and within the context of immigrants and refugees, the conception of ‘I’ and ‘self’ can be applied in the identity work and best through the interpretation of Atewologun et al. (2016). The focus of this study, like many other studies, is on the individuals and self. Much of the early formal conceptualization of identity work was put on the self and internal aspect of identity (Watson, 2008). On the other hand, identity work occurs at the intersection of the person and the external environment; even though individuals might have some agency in choosing their identities, but those choices are interpersonally negotiated and restricted by social context (Caza et al., 2018). Therefore, identity work is conducted by refugees and at the intersection of first, personally by choosing some form of their personal identities, second, interpersonally by negotiating it with other people at work, and third, may be restricted by social context, as the intersection is visible in the below figure.



Figure 4. Identity work at the intersection of personal, organizational and social identity

It seems inevitable for the refugees to face some sorts of tensions and struggles at the intersection of the areas mentioned above in figure 4. Furthermore, identity work can also appear when employees face tensions and struggles between their self-identity and social context, such as the working environment within which they find themselves (Mackenzie Davey & Jones, 2019). Understanding the ways in which individuals negotiate the tension between their personal identities and social identities can also be addressed through identity work (Kreiner et al., 2006b). Therefore, the tensions and struggles of refugees in reconstructing their identities can be understood by divulging their personal, organizational experiences. Accordingly, through their working experiences, refugees may reveal their identity work and how they make sense of their everyday work events that may challenge their self-identity through dynamic interactions with other employees; as identity work emphasizes on the dynamic interaction between environment and individuals (Atewologun et al., 2016; Watson 2008).

2.2.1. Identity Work

Identity work has appeared as a key explanatory concept in studies of identities within organizations (Brown, 2017; Watson, 2008). From the ontological aspect, one of the essential discussions is whether to indicate 'identity work' as a concept, construct, a perspective, a metaphor, or a mixing of these (Brown, 2017). Therefore, identity work can be considered from an ontological aspect many things. For example, Brown (2017) states that some scholars opted for a realist ontology and applied for identity work as an empirical construct and preferably express it as a linguistic metaphor that seems applicable in analyzing identity constructions. This kind of perspective arises from uncertainty and disagreements among scholars concerning the ontological and epistemological status of identity work (Brown, 2017). For instance, Brown (2017) mentions that it is uncertain whether activities around identity work are considered as explicit or tacit, tangible or subtle, habitual or intentional, conscious or unconscious, explicit or ambiguous. Therefore, before defining and indicating identity work, whether it is a construct, perspective, metaphor, or other things, there is an incumbent to explore where the identity work emanates from (ontological) and why, where, and how it can be studied (epistemological).

From epistemological aspects, Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 15) describe identity work as the "ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued". However, recognition of numerous approaches to identity work brings clarity to be confusing and unclear literature (Brown,

2017). The questions that may arise from epistemological aspects depend on the context in which they are studied. In management and organizational studies, there are two terms of 'identity work' with 'work identity', which distinguishing between them is necessary to understand the concepts better. Both 'identity work' and 'work identity' are verifiable and can be applied for various purposes. Work identities "are self-meanings tied to participation in work-related activities, such as organizational, occupational and role identities" (Caza et al., 2018. p. 889). In other words, participation in work-related activities construct work identities. Yet, the ones who participate in the work-related activities are the people in the organizations. Therefore, one can conclude that those who participate in work-related activities have a kind of identity; thereby, the combination of all personal identities of individuals in the workplace creates a sort of work identity. On the contrary, identity work has had a variety of similar definitions, which initially defined by Snow and Anderson (1987, p. 1348) as "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept". However, different formulations were developed and proposed since then, mainly by Ashcraft and Alvesson (2007); Watson, (2008); Caza et al. (2018). As it is explicit, to some extent, understanding 'work identity' can lead to 'identity work' and vice versa.

People, by having multiple identities, are able to impact on when, how, and why identity work occurs (Caza et al., 2018). Alvesson and Willmott (2002) state that experiences, encounters, transitions serve to heighten awareness of the quality of self-identity and drive to more focused identity work. In another example, Watson (2008) states that all workers, especially managers go about forming, maintaining, or working at their concept of self, which stresses that managers cannot be simply themselves at work. This is because they (managers) "have to act as the voice..., must be seen as..., must present themselves to others" (Watson, 2008. p. 122). These sorts of obligations that Watson (2008) quotes about managers give this impression that managers conduct identity work because they cannot be themselves at work. This type of view paves the way for Watson (2008) to set out identity work from a sociological notion. However, such statements provide some hints to argue whether employees or managers who conduct identity work are due to their attempts to be themselves at work or because employees cannot be themselves at work, so they have to conduct identity work. Or is identity work better to be conducted on those occupations where people want to show and manifest their identities? Or is it an external influence that forces them to exhibit their selves through conducting identity work?

There are few studies concerning refugees that applied for identity work as a theoretical lens. However, there are some studies in relation to the identity work of other ethnic

minorities and some professional refugees. Atewologun et al. (2016) examined individuals' experiences at the connection of multiple identities by conducting interviews on identities from senior, gender, and among women and men of African British ethnicity, and through introducing and implementing intersectional identity work. They suggest that future research can test and examine their approach in a study and by the frame of intersectional identity work (Atewologun et al., 2016).

Furthermore, refugees' professional lives as ethnic minority individuals' agency have recently been investigated in a small set of organizational studies. Such studies approach agency through the resistance studies, the lens of identity work, and ethnic minority individuals' material actions and behavioral tactics (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). Based on relying on the resistance literature Van Laer and Janssens (2017) found that the ambiguities, contradictions, and tensions inherent to ethnic minority employees while stating their concerns about identity, career, and social change. Nevertheless, their studies covered the professional refugees, and therefore they suggested future researchers to examine identity work among lower states of refugees (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). In another study, Zikic and Richardson (2016) examined the experiences of two groups of immigrant professionals (medical, IT) and found out that due to encountering barriers, immigrants stimulated identity work which forced them to reconstruct and reevaluate their professional identities. Another similar study focusing on refugees' professionals was conducted (doctors and teachers) through identity work. In that study, researchers found out that refugees encountered struggles in restoring their professional identity and evolving new identities (Mackenzie Davey & Jones, 2019). In that study, conducting identity work was because refugees engaged in reconciling tensions between their previous and current identity (Mackenzie Davey & Jones, 2019).

Caza et al. (2018) stated that identity work occurs at the intersection of the person and the external environment, and thus individuals may have some agency in choosing their identities by negotiating them interpersonally and under the influence of social context. If refugees by reconstructing their identities through identity work, can successfully pass the external environment and be integrated, then the acculturation and inclusion process may successfully happen. Therefore, by exploring various layers of identity reconstructions of refugees within organizations, refugees' obstacles to pass those-external environments can be understood. Consequently, both acculturation and inclusion can work as tools to understand refugees' obstacles in reconstructing their identities or act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees. Thus, in the following chapters, acculturation and inclusion will be discussed.

2.3. Acculturation and Inclusion Among Immigrants and Refugees

2.3.1. Acculturation Framework

Acculturation refers to cultural change that is not unidimensional but multidimensional, which exists in disparate literature on cultural practices, cultural values, cultural identification (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, Szapocznik, 2010). The acculturation framework is a well-recognized approach towards the study of migration that applies to individuals. Berry (1997, p. 6) defines acculturation as “how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration”. By integrating the three kinds of literature (cultural practices, cultural values, cultural identification) which has both conceptually and empirically relations, some expanded perspectives on acculturation that can be constructed and labeled as behavioral acculturation, value acculturation or identity-based acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010). However, Schwartz et al. (2010) note that behavioral acculturation has been at the foci of the vast majority of studies. Therefore, there is also a need to explore the value and identity-based acculturation from research perspective.

Research from an acculturation approach does focus on immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers whose objective is to live permanently in their new destinations (Schwartz et al., 2010). Acculturation leads to various sorts of adaptation outcomes which are categorized into four aspects of psychological, socio-cultural, socio-psychological, and economic adaptation (Yijälä, Luoma, 2019; Berry, 1997). Among these four adaptations, the one which seems to answer the needs of this study is the socio-cultural and the socio-psychological adaptation, because of its relation to changes in identities (Yijälä, Luoma, 2019), in addition, it refers to external psychological outcomes which connect individuals to their new context, covering particularly their capabilities to deal with problems such as workplace issues (Berry, 1997).

Adaptation here refers to “changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands” (Berry, 1997. p. 13). Therefore, the socio-psychological adaptation, as illustrated by Berry (1997) because of holding social elements (in this study) can be seen as the foundation for understanding what kinds of changes in identities of refugees can occur when refugees deal with workplace issues. In addition, it may also be understood that whether those changes in identities of refugees in the workplace can lead to acculturation or not. On the other hand, Berry (2005, as cited in García

et al., 2011) states that acculturation is also “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that occurs as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (p.87).

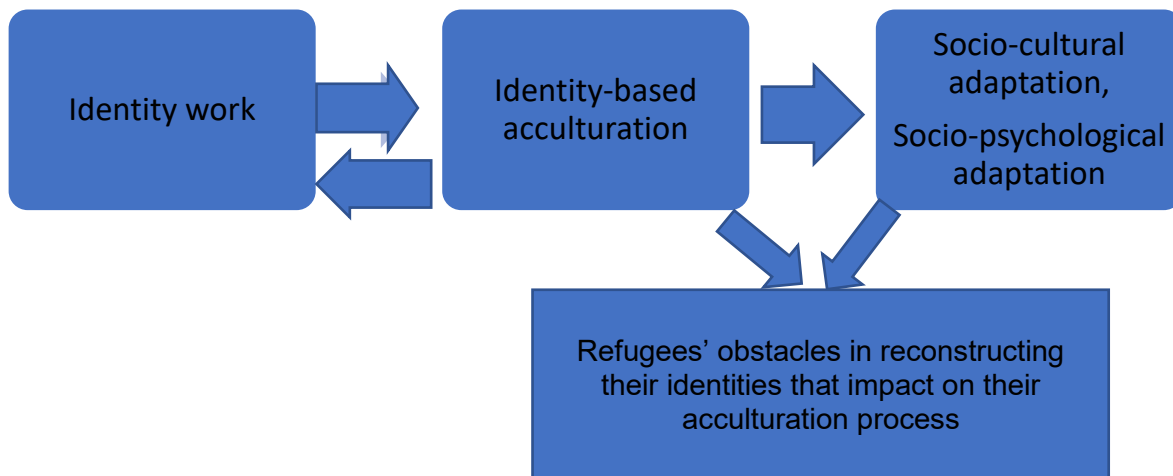


Figure 5. The relationship between identity work and acculturation process of refugees

Consequently, as mentioned earlier, acculturation may happen for refugees if they can pass successfully the external environment (Caza et al., 2018) by conducting identity work and through reconstructing their identities; therefore, the type of acculturation that may occur is identity-based acculturation. Thus, the type of adaptation that can occur for refugees can be the socio-cultural adaptation or the socio-psychological adaptation. It can be understood if various layers of their identity reconstructions are explored through understanding their organizational experiences. Whether a person is acculturated or not is probably an oversimplification of a complex phenomenon (Schwartz et al., 2010). Therefore, understanding and drawing on whether refugees can be acculturated is complex and requires detailed and subtle analysis and interpretation.

2.3.2. Inclusion Framework

Some research about immigrants in Finland has been devoted to how to accelerate immigrants' inclusion into working life in which understanding those mechanisms can lead to a successful labor market inclusion (Krutova, 2016). For various scholars, the definition of inclusion is slightly different from others. Shore et al. (2011, p. 1265) define the concept of inclusion as “the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the workgroup through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs

for belongingness and uniqueness”. For Robertson (2006, as cited in Shore et al., 2011) inclusion is defined as “the removal of obstacles to the full participation and contribution of employees in organizations” (p.1267). At the individual level, refugees' inclusion constructs a vital role in the results that arise, for example, from well-being, performance, and refugees' careers (Knappert, Dijk, & Ross, 2019).

Shore et al. (2011, p. 1267) state that on the current literature in regard to the definition of inclusion, there is a “considerable disparity among researchers”. The definition of Shore et al. (2011) for the concept of inclusion seems to be supposed from a structural perspective which is organizations. They stated in their definition, “an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the workgroup” (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1265). This is because it seems that management or leadership team are responsible for providing a set of behaviors and environment by which employees can perceive that they are an esteemed member of the workgroup; thus, their definition emphasizes that the employees should feel the organizations include them. This definition is essential from an organizational perspective. However, refugees' mindset towards their inclusion in the workplace is as significant as organizational level. This is because as long as refugees themselves do not think and feel that they are included in their workplaces, organizational and employers' perspectives may less assist in understanding whether their refugees' employees are included or not. Thus, at the individual level, one of the significant stages is refugees' perspectives of inclusion.

From another aspect, the definition of Robertson (2006, as cited in Shore et al., 2011), who defines inclusion as “the removal of obstacle to the full participation...” may seem to be more comprehensive for this study (p.1267). This is because not only can those obstacles be seen from an organizational perspective but also from individuals' perspectives. This individual's perspective can have two meanings in itself, first individuals' perspective in order to explain their personal views about their obstacle created by organizations, and second those obstacles which are created by themselves such as some parts of their identities which may be seen as a barrier for their inclusions. Therefore, by penetrating into various layers of refugees' identities and through the definition of Robertson (2006), it may be understood whether those obstacles are created by organizations which refugees have worked for or those obstacles are created by themselves.

The process of removing those obstacles can lead to challenges and tensions that refugees encounter. Knappert, Dijk, and Ross (2019) investigate the unique resources and agencies that equip refugees to reply to the challenges and issues facing them at the workplace. However, they emphasize that the prior research regarding working experiences

at the individual level that had influence on the inclusion of refugees consists of language proficiency, work experience, gender, and contact to the national of host countries (Knappert et al., 2019). Lee et al. (2014) emphasize that there is no comprehensive explanation for the success or failure of immigrant integration and inclusion, this is because of the revealing shortcomings of grand narratives such as the USA (as a settler society), and France and Germany (as social welfare states). Therefore, the most influential immigrant integration policies are “institutionally, nationally, and even locally specific” (Lee et al., 2014, p. 22).

As mentioned earlier by Caza et al. (2018), identity work occurs at the intersection of the person and the external environment, and individuals may have some agency in choosing their identities by negotiating them interpersonally. Therefore, refugees may have some agency in choosing their identities; the question that arises here is to what extent refugees choose their identities and whether those parts of their identities that they choose may be seen as obstacles in their inclusion to the workplace. Thus, occurring inclusion at the workplace requires both passing organizational obstacles and personal identity obstacles.

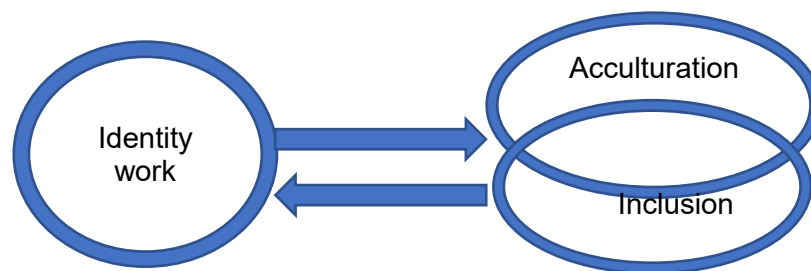


Figure 6. The relationship among identity work, acculturation and inclusion framework

All in all, as mentioned earlier and through the above figure, both acculturation and inclusion can act as means to understand refugees’ barriers in reconstructing their identities or act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees.

2.4. Synthesis of the Theoretical Framework

The complexity of this study emerges from combining various theoretical lenses. The first objective of this research is to explore and examine how refugees construct and reconstruct their identities at the intersection of personal, organizational, and social life through conducting identity work. The second aim is to understand the ways in which their identities can impact on their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations. Every individual

draws various meanings from the concept of identity, which depends on many elements such as socio-demographic characteristics, personal attributes, roles, and group memberships (Caza et al., 2018). Factors such as socio-demographics, roles, personal qualities, and group memberships can create multiple identities for individuals in which holistically construct the content of individuals' self-concept (Caza et al., 2018). Among immigrants and refugees, the meaning of identity varies greatly and derives from understanding their self-concept. Therefore, in this study, the general meaning of identity is considered regarding personal identity, which highly depends on the perception of refugees' self-concept.

The main objective in understanding personal identity is 'who one is', or 'who refugees think they are' not only as part of organizations they work but also within their society. Elsbach (2014) referred to the book of Majken Schultz, Steve Maguire, Ann Langley & Haridimos Tsoukas, that they viewed organizational identity as not "who are we?" but as "who are we becoming?". This definition of organizational identity is considered as 'process'. The same approach to the 'process' can also be considered from the perspective of personal identity, especially for immigrants and refugees. Therefore, refugees' opinion about who they think they were in their home countries and who they think they are now in the host countries is a process of identity reconstruction. Or concisely, who refugees think they are becoming in the host countries.

Muller and Huber (2014, p. 544) also comment on the book of Majken Schultz, Steve Maguire, Ann Langley & Haridimos Tsoukas, that the process of identity construction is considered as an ongoing accomplishment in which "is characterized by multiple and contradictory narratives, coined by relational and temporal aspects and influenced by interlinked levels (organizational and individual levels). Therefore, who refugees are becoming should be analyzed through different criteria. There are many elements that have direct or indirect impacts on the reconstruction of refugees' identities. Individual, organization, and social characteristics, in addition, the attachments to home countries, have effects on the identities of refugees. As a result, the main theoretical concepts of this study were summarized in below table 1.

Table 1. Summary of the main theoretical concepts and their sub-themes

Main theories	Application of theories for this study	Key authors of the main theories
Personal identity	Refugees' subjective understandings of "who they are and becoming" in the Finnish organizations and Finnish society	Brown (2020) Alvesson (2008)
Organizational identity	How refugees' opinions about Finnish organizations can impact on the reconstruction of their identities	Albert and Whetten (1985, 2006)
Social identity	Refugees' perception as a member of Finnish organizations in the society, and influence of society on their identity reconstructions	Tajfel (1978)
Identity work	Identity work is considered a construct and a tool to analyze acculturation and inclusion of refugees, moreover, to penetrate to various level of identity reconstructions of refugees	Snow and Anderson (1978) Watson, (2008) Sveningsson and Alvesson, (2003) Brown (2017) Atewologun et al (2016) Caza et al (2018)
Acculturation	Act as means to understand refugees' barriers in reconstructing their identities or	Berry (1997) Schwartz et al. (2010)
Inclusion	act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees.	Robertson (2006) Shore et al. (2011)

This study from manifold perspectives seeks to investigate the external influencers in reconstructing refugees' identities through their organizational and working experiences. Besides external influencers, refugees' internal influencers, such as their personal qualities (values, ideologies, mindset), are also essential factors in their identity reconstruction. Therefore, both external and internal influencers are always in the process of reconstructing identities. A visualization of the relationship among the main theories can be found in Figure 7. The aim of this visualization is to demonstrate the connections among the main theories and simplify the theories in one figure.

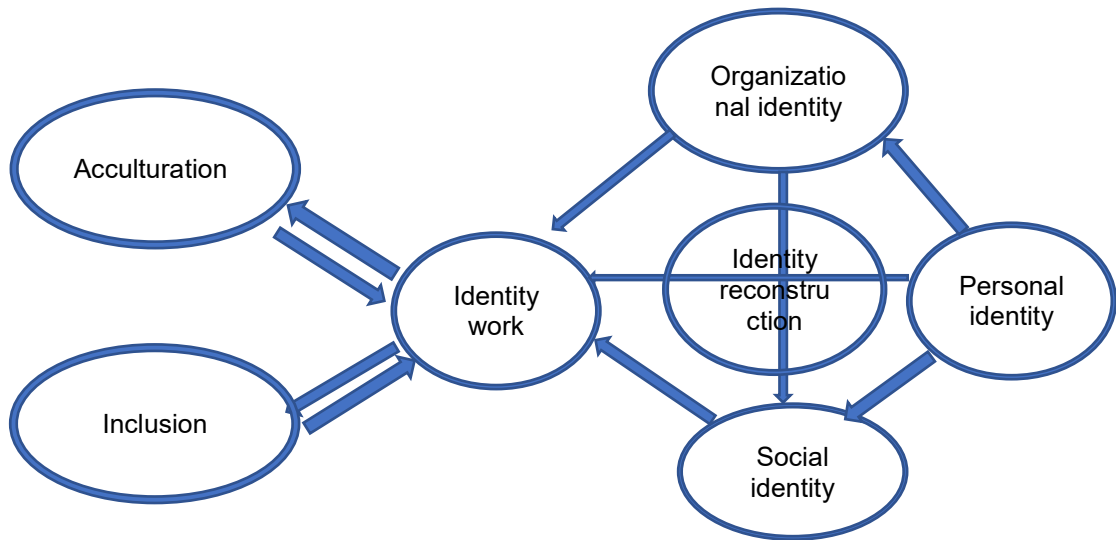


Figure 7. The relationship among all the main concepts of this study

In this study, as it is obvious in Figure 7, identity work plays a significant role in understanding how refugees' personal identities are being constructed at the intersection of their personal, organizational and social life. When the interconnection and the impact of different components of personal, organizational, and social life of refugees are understood on their identity reconstructions, then it can be analyzed how do their identities impact their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used for this study. The first subsection is about data collection and why the qualitative approach was selected, including a detailed description of how the interviewees were chosen, where, and when the interviews took place. The second subsection of this section will be about the process of data analysis and all the detailed illustrations of why different approaches were applied. I conclude by discussing the limitations of this study.

3.1. Qualitative Method

Qualitative research has an inductive and exploratory nature in design and purpose that is visible in a wide range of qualitative research (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). One of the most taken-for-granted ways to collect empirical data is through interviews. The key data collection method used in this study was done through qualitative semi-structured interviews. Interviews range from structured to semi-structured and unstructured (focused group) interviews (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The structured type has a quantitative nature and is more used in survey approaches (Edwards & Holland, 2013). However, semi-structured and unstructured interviews are implemented by qualitative researchers and are applied by the terms such as in-depth, open-ended, conversational, narrative, naturalistic, informal, ethnographic, and many other types (Edwards & Holland, 2013).

In a regular semi-structured interview, the researchers have a list of prepared questions or topics to cover in the interview, but within a flexible range of how and when the questions can be articulated and be responded to (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The flexibility of reordering the interview questions depends to the type of the interview. Silverman (2001, cited in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011) describes three types of interview studies that he calls positivists, emotionalist (also known as subjectivist), and constructionist. The interview study of this research is a combination of the emotionalist and constructionist type of study. Emotionalists consider and deal with interviewees' authentic experiences, conceptions, understandings, emotions, and viewpoints, while the constructionist type focuses on how meanings are produced through the interaction of interviewer and interviewee (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011). The best research might be done by combining the two approaches due to covering both 'what' and 'how' questions (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011). Moreover, the interview questions in this study, although seeming to have an "emotionalist" approach, but

also cover a constructionist approach. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were implemented, which can be used to cover “what” and “how” questions, and although all the issues and themes are prepared, there is also a possibility to reorder the questions while the tone of the interviews is fairly informal and conversational (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011).

Many qualitative research approaches might differ in their philosophical background, focus, and research techniques (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011). Theoretically driven is one of the major characteristics in qualitative research (Edwards & Holland, 2013). In this study, the main theory that drives an influential role in designing and creating the interview questions was the identity work. The concept of identity work can be analyzed best through qualitative data analysis. Moreover, apprehending qualities may define and interpret a phenomenon of theoretical interests through the lens of ‘concept’ as a more general and less well-specified perception (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). On the other hand, subjective experiences specifically concerning ethnic minorities suggest a qualitative approach (Atewologun et al., 2016). Thus, subjective experiences of refugees which is the purpose of this study is to explore and reveal the ways in which refugees’ identities are reconstructed in Finnish organizations. Consequently, through various ways of conducting this research, the qualitative semi-structured interview was employed.

3.2. Data Protocol and Generation

Doing research about refugees is sensitive and requires careful considerations in designing the research topic, interview questions, and the ways to conduct interviews. The interview protocol utilized in this study consist of two main factors. The first protocol used in this study is about the main theory of identity work which was highly supportive for the interview questions. The second primary protocol used was about generating and conducting the formalities of a semi-structured interview.

Identity work had a highly significant role in generating the interview questions. First, through the analytical definition of identity work by Atewologun et al. (2016), the research questions and interview questions could be designed and developed (Please refer to Appendix A for the interview questions). The interview method was flexible and suitable for exploring everyday identity work, in which openness and sharing are encouraged, as stated by Atewologun et al. (2016). This is because people generally enjoy talking about their work but often do not hold an opportunity to do so (Atewologun et al., 2016). Specifically, in the case of refugees who may not readily have an opportunity to share their experiences with a

person who can provide a friendly atmosphere to share their working experiences without being worried about its consequences. Therefore, in order to make the interviewees confident, it was promised that none of their names would go public and what is only needed is their authentic experiences without any exaggeration.

The number of participants in the study was eight. These informants were selected because of having at least three years of working experience in Finland. The reason for choosing the informants based on three years of working experience is that the probability of experiencing the challenges and obstacles in Finnish organizations was much higher than those who had less experience. Moreover, their various ideas from various occupations may, to some extent, make the findings of this study rich. There is a significant point here to stress that all the refugees who participated in these interviews were granted Finnish citizenship. From one point, they may not be considered refugees anymore. However, because their path towards citizenship of Finland began through refugee status, therefore, in this study, they are regarded as refugees rather than their current legal status of possessing Finnish citizenship.

Gender equality was achieved by assigning four interviews to women and four to men. The language of the interviews was Persian and Dari. Dari is both the language and an accent of a vast group of Afghan people; however, there is deep discussion even in Afghanistan among scholars whether to consider Dari a language or an accent of the Persian language. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed and translated into the English language. Seven out of eight interviewees were from Afghanistan (four men, three women), one from Iran (woman). By applying snowball selection approach, I found the interviewees from my connections; I had visited the men before the interview on some cultural occasions and was familiar with them. However, the women I had not known before the interviews and through the connections of my other connections they accepted to participate in the interview. Among all these interviews, three took place in various libraries in Vantaa, Espoo, and one in Tampere. Two of the interviews were held in the house of the interviewees in Helsinki. Three held through WhatsApp. The length of the interviews varied from 27 minutes to 84 minutes, with an average of 52 minutes. Besides, the interviews were done during July and August 2020.

Table 2. The structure of interviews

Interviewee	Gender	Duration of residency in Finland	language	Length of interview	Interview method	Place of interview
A	Male	9 years	Persian,	41 min	Face to face	Vantaa
B	Male	14 years	Persian,	59 min	WhatsApp	Helsinki
C	Male	7 years	Persian, Dari	84 min	Face to face	Helsinki
D	Male	8 years	Persian, Dari	57 min	Face to face	Helsinki
E	Female	10 years	Persian, Dari	27 min	WhatsApp	Tampere
F	Female	11 years	Persian, Dari	24 min	WhatsApp	Tampere
G	Female	10 years	Persian	67 min	Face to face	Espoo
H	Female	13 years	Persian	57 min	Face to face	Tampere

The range of the occupational positions by the interviewees was consist of ‘electrical engineer, translator, camp supervisor, warehouse worker, social worker, teacher assistant, teacher, café worker, seller, cashier, kindergarten employee, practical nurse, and health employee’. Among the mentioned jobs, many of the informants had not only been involved in one but many. Consequently, the experiences narrated by the interviewees were from the mentioned occupations. Among the interviewees, three of them had a university degree and one university student. Four had finished vocational school. While quoting from interviewees, they are characterized by the capital alphabet, which the first four letters are male interviewees (A, B, C, D), and female interviewees are the rest (E, F, G, H). In order to have consistency in quoting the experiences of interviewees, the implemented strategy was to identify each quote by the first eight alphabetical letters. For instance, from person A, all the quotes used by the same person were determined by A throughout all the chapters.

Regarding Persian and Dari language, it would be beneficial to illustrate the two main characteristics of them. First, the phrase ‘for example’ in the Persian language is used in a great profusion for connecting the sentences and phrases in daily dialogues. Thus, during the interviews, the phrase ‘for example’ has been put to use in a great abundance by the interviewees. Due to establishing cohesive quotes, all those extra and unnecessary usage of the phrase ‘for example’ were deleted while translating into English. Second, in the

Persian language, sometimes people refer to themselves by the pronoun 'we, us' instead of 'I, me', which is more about culturally and linguistically preferences. When narrating their experiences, they usually say 'we did this or that'; this does not mean two persons are involved. Therefore, during the interviews, it was pretty visible that the interviewees naturally many times called themselves as 'we" which in their narration only 'one' involved.

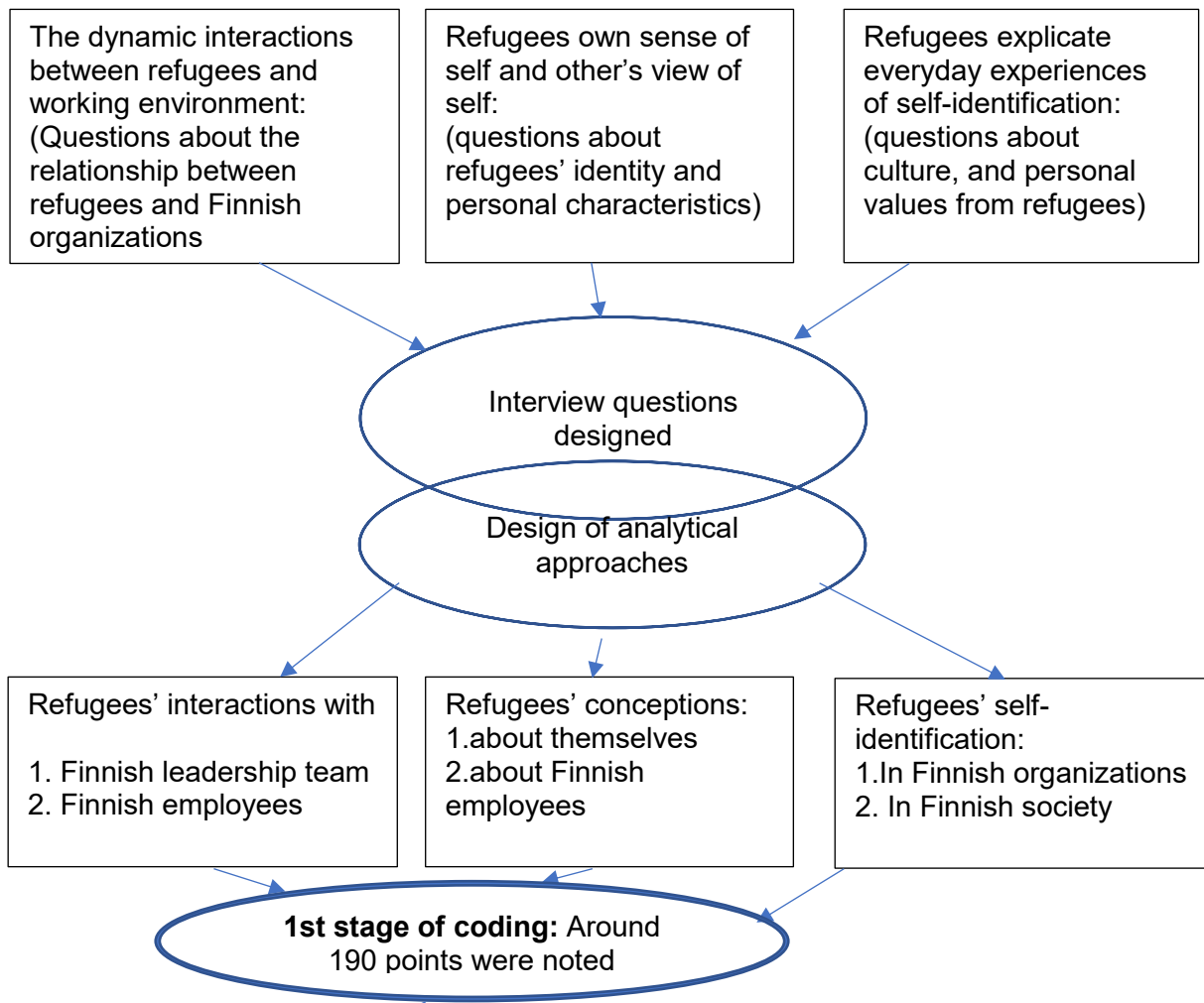
3.3. Data Analysis

Qualitative content analysis and grounded theory are two main analytical approaches that were employed in this study. Qualitative content analysis is divided into inductive and deductive. Deductive is applied when the structure of the analysis is functioned based on previous knowledge, while the inductive approach is utilized when the study is fragmented, and no previous studies covered in a specific phenomenon (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). On the other hand, grounded theory is used to investigate individual and social actions, such as everyday life in organizational changes, identity transformations, establishing workplace practices, and analyzing life changes (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). Moreover, grounded theory is explained as a research approach in which data collection and analysis occur concurrently (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). Flick (2014) explains two significant methodological steps in the extent of approaches, in which the first one is to code the data, and the objective of the second strategy is to develop the material by making one or more interpretations.

Regarding why the coding was applied through both content analysis and grounded theory is because not only the nature of this research is multidisciplinary, but it also covers topics that require analyzing the data through at least two different methods in order to have a broader understanding of the phenomenon. As Triangulation is defined a way to combine not only methodological perspectives but also theoretical perspectives under one study (Flick, 2014). For instance, Wertz et al. (2011) took one interview and analyzed it according to five different methods (Flick, 2014). From another aspect, inductive coding is sometimes called grounded theory (Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). Therefore, through inductive content analysis and grounded theory, the attempts were to create and emerge different themes from the data and cluster them according to the objective of this study.

The main aims of this research are similar to the general objectives of qualitative data analysis explained by Flick (2014). The first aim is to describe a phenomenon in more detail, which through subjective experiences can be described by a specific person or a group, and

the second aim is to determine the conditions that those differences are based on (Flick, 2014). Working experiences of refugees and how they reconstruct their identities in their working environments and become members of society were understood through semi-structured interviews. By doing so, themes can be covered systematically while holding the informality, as stated by Eriksson and Kovalainen (2011).



- 2nd stage of coding**
1. Leadership style of Finnish organizations that impact on the identity reconstruction of refugees
 2. Behavioral identity work
 3. Adoption and integration as identity work tactic
 4. Congruency of refugees' personal values with Finnish organizational values
 5. The role of mutual expectations in conducting identity work
 6. The process of identity changes of the refugees
 7. Identity work occur naturally when the individuals labelled as 'refugee'
 8. Conducting identity work creates inequality for refugees
 9. The influence of structural and social challenges in identity of refugees

- Aggregate themes**
1. Conducting identity work in Finnish organizations leads to negotiation in identity hierarchy and early adopting identity work tactics
 2. Conducting identity work leads to tensions between self-aspects of refugees' identities and other actors in Finnish organizations.
 3. Conducting identity work intensified by arising explicit challenges and obstacles.

Figure 8. The inter-relationship among interview questions, analytical approach, coding and the created themes.

Analyzing the data and coding started at the time of the first interview when simultaneously the voices were recorded, and the main points were noted. However, after the interview, the data also transcribed verbatim. In a grounded theory study, coding starts directly as the data gathered by the researchers (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). Therefore, first, significant notes were written at the time of each interview which was based on interview questions. The number of interview questions was 25; however, nearly ten questions were naturally answered by the respondent while explaining something else. The questions covered during the interviews were classified into three categories. The first set of questions were about understanding the relationship between individuals and Finnish organizations, the second set of questions was based on understanding individuals' identities, and the third set of questions was about understanding the cultural and personal characteristics of individuals.

Therefore, the first codes were created from the answers to the questions, and nearly 190 points were created concerning all significant notes and through deductive analysis. The point in these stages was not to categorize them but to highlight and create themes as much as possible. Coding is not a linear process, but to be responsive to theoretical possibilities, researchers move back and forth between various coding stages (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). These 190 points were coded into nine categories based on the theoretical orientations and the research questions, which are visible in figure 8. The nine categories were shaped through inductive content analysis and grounded theory that led to three major aggregate themes. In order to give subtle nuances to the acculturation and inclusion framework for covering the second research question, 23 points additionally, were created separately which not only discussed in the finding section broadly but also more systematic in the discussion section. These three aggregate themes and the second stage of order of clusters are presented in chapter 4 as the findings of this study.

As Flick (2014) mentions, the initial coding is about implementing this strategy that analysts read the data word by word, line by line, or paragraph by paragraph. Since the primary theoretical lens of this study is identity work, therefore all the themes and important notes which could have impacts on the personal identity of refugees were noted. After somewhat modifying the research questions, the second strategy applied in this study by implementing the initial coding again (secondary coding) because there was a possibility to notes something concerning the research question that may not be conceived during the initial coding. The last strategy done in this study was to listen to interviews a couple of times and after reading some conceptual articles about the main theories of this study. This

strategy paved the way for a fresh connection between what I have just read and what I have just listened to. Therefore, there was a possibility of creating significant themes to bridge the gaps or even discover new ways to link or interpret. On the other hand, listening to the recorded interviews may lead to discovering something that might appear from the voices of tones, intonations, or emphasizing words or phrases by the interviewees. As a result, reading the transcriptions and listening to them helped me categorize and analyze the themes.

3.4. Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Research regarding immigrants and refugees provides many limitations and require ethical considerations. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) argue that humanitarian studies reveal a scarcity of high standard social science that derives from meticulous conceptualization and research design, and in common, do not address ethical issues concerning researching vulnerable communities. Research design is a general limitation in this study. It is discussed that a small-scale study may yield in-depth and valid information but not automatically representative of the target population (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). Therefore, in this study, data analysis findings cannot act and see as the representative of all the refugees and even not all the Afghan immigrants in Finland.

One of the greatest limitations I faced during data analysis was highly attempting not to be judged of falling into the trap of what Myron Weiner used to call advocacy research, in which a researcher already knows what he or she wants to say, and thus, through research, find ways to having proved it (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). Therefore, during data analysis, I had many times two minds regarding how to describe and utilize quotes in order to convince the critics and analysts somehow.

Another limitation I faced was regarding generating a fair analysis from eight interviews by looking through different angles and a combination of rules. As Flick (2014) states, a good qualitative analysis happens when there is a combination of rules between transparency of data and usage of intuition in data analysis. Intuition and even the degree of importance of each sentence and words of interviews from collected data vary from researcher to researcher. Hence, a decision on what to include and what not to include from all the interviews was very challenging. Therefore, I decided to cover many quotes and bring many examples as possible for the sharp eyes who may question the rationality of the data analysis.

This study employed the snowball sampling method like many other refugees' studies as state by Jacobsen and Landau (2003). However, it is argued that the snowball selection method runs a high risk of producing a biased sample because they are likely to be homogenous in some ways, such as belonging to the same religious branch or cultural group (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). In addition, snowball sampling does not provide an equal chance of being selected for everyone in the target group (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). The reason for employing snowball approach is that refugee population is not big enough to be covered by a random sample in Finland. As a result, "ethically, increases the risk of revealing critical and potentially damaging information to members of a network or subgroup" (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, p, 13).

Therefore, ethical issues while doing research are not only considerations but also an obligation while doing research with refugees. "Informed consent, the avoidance of deception, harm or risk, and Kant's universal principle of respect, treating others always as ends and never as means" are some of the ethical principles concerning researched topics and researchers in a broader sense (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011, p. 2). The anonymity of interviewees in this research, as Eriksson and Kovalainen (2011) mention it as the first priority was employed. Moreover, the confidentiality of personal information was considered as a priority for this research as well.

From another perspective, the contractual model of ethics (which is an agreement between the interviewer and interviewee) is often advised by research institutions and universities (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2011). However, this contractual model of ethics is not a suitable option when interviews are done with refugees. The reason is to some extent well explained by the European Commission (2020) (Guidance note- Research on refugees, asylum seekers and migrants) in which mentions that informed consent may discourage refugees from participating in a research project, and instead oral consent is considered as the best option and is highly suggested. In summary, I utilized the Guidance Note of the European Commission as the main ethical principle of this research.

4. IDENTITY WORK, ACCULTURATION, AND INCLUSION OF REFUGEES

The empirical findings present three major themes to respond to the previously explained research questions. The first theme describes how conducting identity work by the refugees leads to negotiation in identity hierarchy and early adoption of identity work tactics in Finnish organizations. The second major theme describes how conducting identity work can lead to tensions between self-aspects of refugees' identities and other actors in Finnish organizations. The last theme is how conducting identity work can be intensified when explicit challenges and obstacles occur for the refugees in Finnish organizations. The argument that may arise here is what is the relationship between conducting identity work in Finnish organizations and the identity reconstruction of refugees. This question can be answered through various levels. First, when the informants described the characteristics of Finnish organizations, they not only shared their experiences but also discussed some characteristics that tacitly can be seen as barriers to their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations. From another aspect, the criteria used for assessing conducting identity work by the refugees in Finnish organizations are based on acculturation and inclusion approaches.

Accordingly, regarding the first major theme, refugees, by narrating their experiences in conducting identity work in Finnish organizations, emphasize those organizational characteristics that may either facilitate or impede their acculturation and inclusion process. Concerning the second major theme, how conducting identity work can create tensions through interactions between refugees and other employees in Finnish organizations is understood. Moreover, it paves the way for understanding under what kind of relationships and interactions refugees can be acculturated and included to Finnish organizations. Thus, the second theme allows understanding what kinds of core aspects of the personal identity of refugees and their Finnish colleagues may facilitate or impede the acculturation and inclusion process. Finally, the third theme discusses how identity work can be intensified when refugees encounter with explicit challenges and obstacles in their acculturation and inclusion process in Finnish organizations.

4.1. Identity Hierarchy and Early-Adoption of Identity Work Tactics

Conducted identity work in Finnish organizations leads to negotiation in identity hierarchy and early adoption of identity work tactics by the informants. These negotiations in identity hierarchy and early adoption of identity work tactics can be described within three major

sub-themes. First, the influence of the leadership team on the identity reconstruction of refugees and its impact on creating identity hierarchy will be discussed in the first sub-chapter. Second, the impact of behavioral identity work of refugees in creating identity hierarchy will be discussed in the second sub-chapter. In addition, the impact of the characteristics of Finnish colleagues in conducting identity work by the refugees will be discussed as well. Third, the influence of conducting identity work in early integration and adoption of identity work tactics will be discussed in the third sub-chapter.

Therefore, the first order of clusters was created through three major categories, as their relationships are visible in figure 9. Through conducting identity work, the informants revealed these clusters as the main aspects that impact their identity work, besides the impacts on identity reconstructions. A summary of the themes was visualized in figure 9.

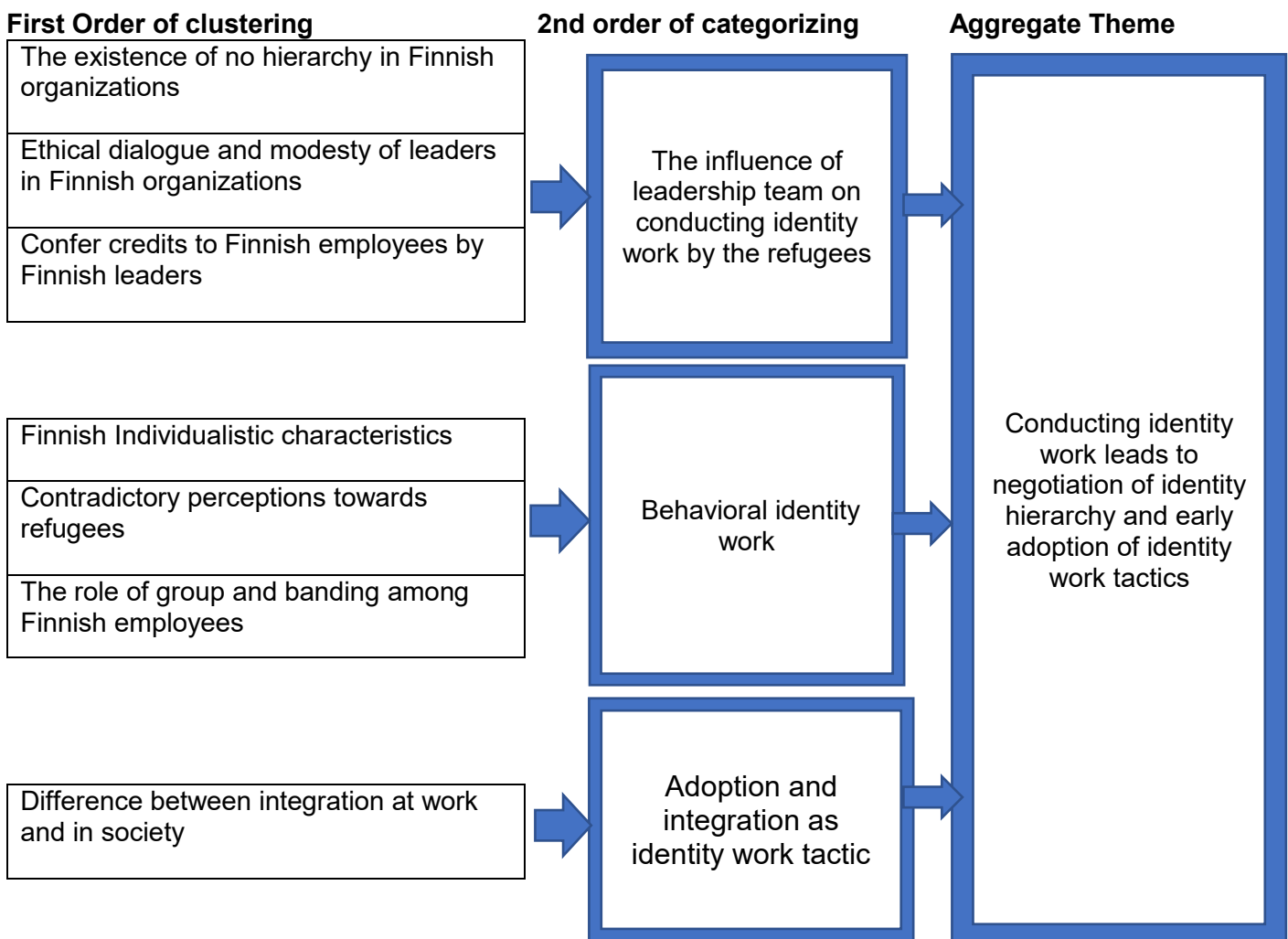


Figure 9. Data structure: related to the first aggregate theme.

4.1.1. The Influence of Leaders on Conducting Identity Work

The influential leadership style of Finnish leaders was imparted by the informants throughout the interviews. Nearly all the respondents were satisfied and delighted to see no hierarchy when contacting Finnish organizational leaders. They were asked to describe their relationship with the leaders in Finnish organizations. Mainly, the dialogue was started by how Finnish leaders are seen and act like ordinary employees with the informants. For instance, interviewee A replied as:

Interviewee A: "In my idea, they are managers, but they are seen as an employee.

Interviewer: Aha, they are managers but seen as employees?

Interviewee A: That's right. I think It's so good. They are not arrogant; they don't think they are God's gift to mankind. They're nice. They exchange opinions, they don't impose their opinions, and as a manager, they want other employees' opinions more. This is more seen in social works. But in other jobs, such as a warehouse, it is a little different in the workplace; here, the manager is different from the managers of other jobs.

Interviewer: How? Could you tell what differences there are?

Interviewee A: This manager who is working in the warehouse doesn't have a lot of relationships with the employees. He doesn't have a close relationship with them. He only stays at his own office and does his tasks. We don't see him at all."

The respondents explicitly explained the modesty and ethical behaviors of Finnish leaders and managers. The words used for the description of Finnish leaders were such as "excellent" by the interviewee F, 'modest' by the interviewee A, B, D, and one (interviewee G) mentioned that " their leadership are good, still, I can give seven out of ten". These comments may emanate from the nature of Finnish leaders who do not interfere in their employees' works as long as every employee commits its duties.

The very polite way of asking and transferring meanings by choosing impressive words and gestures could highly content the informants from Finnish organizational leaders. Therefore, conducting identity work by the informants not only seems a challenge or a problem for the leaders but also can positively support the refugees in order to be acculturated and included in Finnish organizations. The below quote is about an engineer who works for a company where the manager's duty was to find projects for him.

Interviewee B: "It's usually good. They usually know how to manage. But I think our boss was really good in many aspects. For instance, one of the things a boss should do is that he should support his workers to make them satisfied. My boss was good. However, in some cases he tried, for example, to find a project for me, but he couldn't. I didn't know it was the fault of management, lack of knowledge, or I didn't know what the reason was. He didn't know or it was my fault that my name was a foreigner that others didn't want me, I don't know [smiling]. In general, I would say that Finnish people have a really good management. I mean they know what to say, or what to do. They ask their questions in a very polite way."

The mentioned example was from an engineer's perspective who seems to have a high-quality job. Alongside such comments, there are also respondents with various positions who assert the same type of points. As Interviewee D state:

Interviewee D: "For example, in this job (seurakunta Finnish) that we were, there were eight of us workers, for example, every day the same boss would visit one of us (workers), he comes to work and, for example, talk for a short time to see what he (employee) does or does not do or just some greetings..... he announces one day prior to his visit that he comes here tomorrow at ten o'clock, well, for example, suppose if a person is lazy, he starts working at ten o'clock, the boss comes again. These things and their reliability to workers are very good, and It's interesting. Or he does not come as a selfish person; he (the boss) is just like a normal humble worker."

The leadership style of Finnish managers, apart from the personal and individual characteristics, was also analyzed from the management of work-related issues. The feedback for Finnish managers also consisted of how they run their organizations. The informant could cognitively analyze the situation that Finnish leader deals equally with him in which there is no surprise visit. One of the respondent's feedback was regarding the yearly schedules of bosses, which mainly were not changed according to the new circumstances and based on the previous plans continue. As interviewee D stated, the below quotes:

Interviewee D:"and they did not bring any changes, and the same system, the same planning that he did for a year that, for example, this should be done or this should not be done, they move forward exactly according to the same plan. For example, according to the conditions, it does not change the work, which is the case."

Such a way of managing organizations might be due to systematic plans in Finnish organizations, which the respondents emphasized. The possibility that the organizational system could impact refugees' identity reconstruction is high. In another example, interviewee H stated that:

Interviewee H: "I can tell you very easily that for a Finnish employee or it doesn't matter if he's manager, teacher or a simple worker, they first make a plan, they really work hard for their plans."

However, labeling that Finnish organizations are all the same that they do not change their plans based on the new situations is a simplistic notion. This is because the respondents expressed what they understood and felt while working in Finnish organizations. Feedback has a significant role in the leadership style of Finnish organizations. The role of feedback in acculturation and inclusion of refugees is not rejectable. The reason is that when the refugees are asked to express their opinion, the sense of acculturation and inclusion can significantly increase. In this study, nearly all the interviewees noted that Finnish leaders

always asked for feedback, but whether their feedback is evaluated could not be acknowledged by the interviewees. Although, acknowledged by one of the respondents as stated that:

Interviewee E: ...”the kindergarten director is always there (in the meetings); he listens to what problems we have, to what we need, to what we don’t, what should he reduce, what should be increased, then he notes the problems and then fixed them.”

In general, the interactions between leaders and refugees were outstanding in the Finnish organizations. However, what makes the interactions of the leadership team with refugees somewhat challenging was when there was a dispute between refugees and Finnish employees. In this case, two respondents claimed that Finnish managers confer more credits to Finnish employees. For example, one respondent posited that:

Interviewee G: “They would even come from the top (managers) to investigate, but we could not show or tell them the reality because they accept most of what they (Finnish employees) say. For example, you who have been here for six months, another one who has been here for six years, which one of them do you accept? Well, the one who is for six years. If I become a boss one day, I will definitely consider the person who came there for two days...give at least a five percent possibility that she is also telling the truth, but you don’t accept him at all, because I accept you and say she was my employee, and it is impossible that she makes mistakes. While you are just her boss, you haven’t been her colleague, you were just in your office, with your computer and your papers, she is the one who is always with her.”

The argument that emerges here is that these remarks may be seen as manager’s unequal treatment and tacitly refer to identity hierarchy. Secondly, they were made in a controversial job which was about the leaders in Nursery Home, as the same respondent pointed out:

Interviewee G: “Then our bosses that were not great, to put it bluntly, in this one year, five or six bosses were changed, they would come and get fired...you may have heard that if one want to work in a nursing home, there are a lot of stories, it means unlimited stories.”

Therefore, arguably such remarks may not occur in all the jobs but in occupations that are seen as very challenging for both managers and employees. Even interviewee G was aware that her job was very challenging, and therefore management style can be somehow wholly different. In the second example, when a problem emerges in the workplace, in order not to have any problems among employees, the manager somehow has to support the Finnish employees by conferring more credit to them. For instance, interviewee B stated that:

Interviewee B: “But the problem is that when you see nobody supports you, the boss and others have to support them. At the workplace nobody wants to have problems with each other, and everyone likes to support each other. So, in this case, a worker like me is not important at all. maybe because I was a foreigner.”

Such challenges emerged from constraining aspects of identity work. The informants G and B recognized that conferring credits to native employees is due to their subordinate identity. However, their reflections allusively noted that the refugee employees understand their leaders' positions in which such behaviors are inevitable to retain the working environment cohesive. The reason is that when the question was asked from the same interviewee (B) to give his opinion about Finnish leadership style, as noted earlier, the first word that he said was 'excellent'. Therefore, such issues are pretty fathomable for the respondents. However, the influence of such actions in the acculturation and inclusion of refugees cannot be underestimated.

4.1.2. Behavioral Identity Work

The respondents, through identity work, experienced repairing and forming their identities in Finnish organizations. Since the working experiences of every individual refugee are different, some contradictory views depending on the jobs and the levels of their experiences are perceptible. When respondents were asked to describe their relationships with Finnish employees, they also unconsciously discussed Finnish people. Keeping this in mind that all the respondents confirmed that good and bad people are everywhere. Somehow the respondents were inclined to assert that their mentioned grievances about Finnish employees do not mean that all Finnish people are like those they encountered. By conducting identity work, the respondents narrated the personal characteristics of Finnish employees. The informants distinguish among individuals at work and other Finnish people in the society. Interviewee C referred to Finnish people in the society as "very helpful" as he explained:

Interview C: "Indeed, they collaborate with me, one must have a conscience, some of them have really good morals ("We should consider the culture as well"). For example, asking for the address and such things, these people (In Persian says, 'servants of God') really help, this is either in their culture or it is related to their personality."

In the above comment, the respondent was quite satisfied with the way Finnish people helped him in society. In this example, the informant could accomplish his self-aspect of identity reconstruction in Finnish society through social interactions with other people. In the social context, this informant acknowledged the idiosyncratic characteristics of Finnish people that can impact on rebuilding his identity. Alongside his quotes, he says "one must have a conscience", which refer to one part of his self-aspect of identity, which can be considered as one of the deepest layers of his identity. Interviewee D refers to other

characteristics of Finnish employees that some of them are very kind, silent and at the same time they do not interfere in anyone's task. Through cognitive identity work, the respondents subjectively interpreted and evaluated the personal characteristics of Finnish employees in which can also be considered as part of their social identity aspects of Finnish employees in organizations. The respondent C also describes a difference between Finnish employees and other immigrants at work.

Interviewee D: "Some of them were very kind, well people are different...Finnish workers never interfere in your work, whatever you do they do not say a word... but with foreigners, we talk about nearly any topics, such as what do you do? How's your life?...when we were with Finns, they do not speak a word, but at the same time they do not interfere in your work, this was just tiring, but with immigrants, we were talking, laughing and working even though we couldn't speak properly Finnish."

This narration displays the difference between the social aspects of the identity of a Finnish employee with other immigrants. The influence of cultural identity in forming the personal characteristics of Finnish employees is perceptible in this example. Therefore, the identity work that this person or other immigrants conduct is divergent from what other Finnish employees conduct. The comparisons between different cultures and various behaviors by the respondents do not mean one is better than the other, but they are just different. As Interviewee D states that 'it was just tiring'.

The identity reconstruction of respondents is impacted by the individual self-aspects of the identity of Finnish employees. As in another example, interviewee E affirms that Finnish employees do not interfere or ask personal questions, and when they talk, they only talk about themselves. As he expressed:

Interviewee E: "We Afghans are very social, we are very social compared to Finns...they more talk about their personal life, but rarely they ask questions, it means they don't ask from anyone if you want you can talk, or no one talks, they don't ask, if you want you can describe what you did from Saturday until now."

Through conducting identity work, the respondents distinguish three types of contradictory behaviors of Finnish employees. These three contradictory behaviors of Finnish employees lead to identity work tactics that respondents employed while in contact with Finnish employees. The first type is about discrimination behavior at work; the second type is about specific work-related matters. The third one is the role of gossiping in the working environment. Five respondents mentioned discrimination under various discussions in which some of them are felt by explicit behaviors and some tacitly encountered.

Due to engaging in identity work, the individuals faced discrimination type of behavior. Discrimination may emanate from identity-related interactions at the intersection of contrary

identities. It has also occurred in relation to the self-aspect of personal identity (individuals from the majority) and not on social aspects of identity. The cause is that the respondents experienced a personal type of discrimination from very few individuals and not systematic social discrimination. For instance, respondents (F) dealt with one colleague who possesses an anti-immigration approach. As she explicitly mentioned in her comments:

Interviewee F: “It depends on the person you are dealing with. Some of them are so anti-foreign person that they do not want to say a word at all. Now, if you need help, they would say, I do not have time or I have a problem. This is where I work now. There are a few people who are very anti-foreign persons. Many times, we have faced problems. My tolerance was extremely high. Finally, the patience bowl overflows.”

The informant mentioned specific behavior practices that were tied up to the identity work she conducted. Her reflections exhibit two significant elements that the number of anti-immigrants' people are very few; however, tolerating was very hard for her. First, she implicitly states that “it depends on the person someone is dealing with”, which means she also encountered many good people in the working environment. Secondly, she expressed “my tolerance was extremely high”, this statement may confirm that she does not have the characteristics of resistance. Resistance is an identity-based characteristic that not all but some individuals undertake in order to negotiate the identity work they conduct.

On the other hand, this respondent used identity work by maintaining and reflecting on the identity of an ‘ethical worker’ in the face of bullying at work. However, the same comment can be analyzed from the inequality aspect, which also could be a part of inequality. Therefore, discrimination at work is the most significant barrier in the acculturation and inclusion process of individuals that arise from engaging in identity work.

The second type, which was about specific work-related matters, was mentioned as an example by interviewee B:

Interviewee B: “Yes, I explained to my boss. This was the second time. I remember the first time was a small project.....So he said eight hours, but I did it in eight hours and a half. He sued me because of this extra half an hour! He consulted with others and with the boss, and even a well-experienced engineer got surprised and said it doesn't matter, it's not necessary to talk about or get angry. No one could understand that this (work) should be done in eight or eight hours and a half or nine hours. This is because he put the blame on someone else, and I explained.”

This statement is about role-based identity, which respondent B attempted to create meaning and legitimacy in his engineering role in a project. Through conducting identity work, being a refugee engineer may reject his legitimacy in a professional image within his role-based identity. Tacitly, his legitimacy in a professional role is verified when the respondents state that another well-experienced engineer supported him in work by commenting “a well-experienced engineer...”.

The third is the role of gossip, which is highly important to shape discursive identity work through narrating stories and dialogues. Caza et al. (2018) state that individuals are producers and products of discourse. Therefore, discourses through expressions of gossip play a vital role in shaping individuals' identities at work by influencing the acculturation and inclusion process of the minorities within organizations. As an example, Respondent C state that:

Interviewee C: "I used to think that the Finns do not gossip, but in many places, the Finns do gossip. For example, if you make a chat, make sure that this chat rotates, be sure that it rotates at work. For example, it was rotating well for me when I received it back from someone else because I only told that issue to one person; fortunately, this talk was good, and it was a positive chat. Well, for example, I noticed that everything I said could be spread."

It is not clear how gossips can impact the identity reconstruction of refugees. However, it impacts the identity work tactics employed by refugees. When the respondent feels that everything he says could be spread, it might cause a direct impact on his conducting identity work that may lead to less motivation to share something with their colleagues. If the gossips are negative, then acculturation and inclusion will not occur smoothly.

The role of gossip and rumor is also stated by some other respondents and under a different context. Two of the respondents indicated with clarity the role of group and band in Finnish organizations. When individuals define themselves as a part of a group, they create meanings for the groups' members and create identity conflicts for the outsiders of the groups. A short dialogue was presented between the interviewer and interviewee as:

Interviewee A: ... "They make groups; they say we are in this group or that group. There is a band, a working band that I have seen in any job. Most of them tend to rumor about you and look at you differently, and it can put you in trouble. In the end, it makes you think that you are not close to them, so you would decide to get out of this work.

Interviewer: You mean because they have a special band, those employees make more relationships with each other?

Interviewee A: Of course.

Interviewer: Why don't you join those bands? I used "band" because you said this word.

Interviewee A: they don't let you join them. They have some values.

Interviewer: What are the differences that you can say?

Interviewee A: They only want themselves to be at work."

These reflections about the role of group and banding opine that first, the respondents did figure it out not only in one job but also in all the works he involved. Second, the reason that was explained emerges from his perception that because his colleague wants themselves to be at work, they make rumors and gossip about him.

The respondent B also stated:

Interviewee B: ...”Anyway, good Finnish people are a lot in Finland. For example, we are at work, but the problem is that in the working environment, we are at the center of attention of everyone. It’s said (hiljainen syrintä) in Finnish, something like discrimination. They somehow don’t tell you directly that they don’t like you, but they show in their behaviors that you are not one of them. Maybe at the first time, you don’t understand, but finally, you do according to their behaviors. You have to be alone. This loneliness makes you be behind developments and them. It’s like a train that left you behind. There isn’t any way to catch up with them. You may be left behind. I found in a former company that they had a private group in which I wasn’t there. I don’t know what kinds of relations some of them had with each other.”

This comment has covered many aspects of identity work. First, the interviewee asserts that in Finland, there are a lot of good people. It seems he is also commenting according to his idiosyncratic personal qualities as a part of the self-aspect of personal identity. Later he brings this issue that an immigrant at the workplace is the center of attention of everyone. Therefore, being in the center of attention impacts the identity work individual conduct and may lead to insecurities and misconception for the individuals within his or her personal aspect of self-identity. Accordingly, it may not enhance the acculturation and inclusion process of the refugees in organizations and may create some sort of exclusionary behavior. Another respondent (G) noted:

Interviewee G: “For example, the employees who are at work for the years... and from the root, they took it (work) in their hands, they are making something new for themselves, this is it.

Interviewer: You mean, for example, they make a new culture?

Interviewee G: They have a new law, yes, they are making something new for themselves.”

The comments mentioned above stated that the employees who were at work for a long time create some types of new laws for themselves. In this example, identity work occurred for this individual utilizing her needs in negotiation for the agency.

4.1.3. Early Adoption and Integration

Individuals utilize different identity work tactics in order to accelerate their integration at work. The respondents emphasized their personal self-aspects of identity as the grounds for adoption and integration at work. Therefore, through identity work tactics, the informants engage in the integration process at the early stages of starting a new position. For instance, respondent A mentioned:

Interviewee A: “I’m comfortable with the managers in all of these jobs. They do their own jobs. Being accepted as an employee through the interview, it’s your task to be adapted with the other employees and show yourself in that workplace. This is your task. It’s like this in Finland. The thing that I noticed here is that you should show yourself in the first days of working. All of them expect you to understand what to do. They, especially the employees,

don't guide you. Thank God it has been good for me. After you have been adapted to and acquainted with the environment, there will be a very close relationship. It depends on what job you are in."

Within the integration and adoption process, identity work had occurred for the respondent when the informant could redefine himself in association with others and the collective at work. The adoption that applies by the interviewee declares that refugees' tasks are to be integrated into the working environment utilizing personal qualities and through identity work. The statement such as "they don't guide you" means that it is not because of the discrimination, but maybe because it is not other employees' tasks to guide a new colleague unless they are ordered to do so. On the other hand, the statement may imply that other individuals in the organizations can assess whether the personal identity of the refugee has the potential capabilities to be integrated without guidance. As he mentioned "After you have been adapted to and acquainted with the environment, there will be a very close relationship". This means that after adjusting some part of his identity to the new working environment, his close relationship can begin. It also can be expressed that acculturation and inclusion happened successfully through identity work. However, respondent B, from a different angle, compared the integration in society and at work by indicating:

Interviewee B: "...this cultural integration that they say is different as night and day. There, it is important that you learn the language, respect Finnish culture; it means that you should not say if someone has committed a huge crime that should be punished according to Islamic laws. It means you should respect the Finnish law, learn the language, go to work, in short, to be in progress, and these are called integration. But in real life, these are not integration, because these things exist and done...the important thing is how do you treat them (Finnish people)? What do you do? Are you similar to one of them?"

The respondent commented on cultural integration in society, which concisely is about learning the language, respecting Finnish law, and working. However, he admits that in real life, these things exist and are implemented by the refugees. The main point he upholds is how a refugee interacts with Finnish people and whether refugees can be similar to them. Therefore, it can be explained that the respondent, through identity work, should find ways to attach themselves to a collective in an organization. This is better answered by the same respondent when he stated:

Interviewee B: "Those points are very important. Once you get a job, this is not the end, but the problems just begin. You should prove yourself at work and get along with others. It doesn't mean that your work is right or wrong. The others may do the wrong work, but you have to be like them and get along with them."

The phrase "the problems just begin" indicates that the refugees should conduct various identity work tactics and strategies in order to solve the problems of integration at work.

Besides, the phrase “you have to be like them and get along with them’ also denotes that conducting identity work requires discursive and behavioral elements in order to negotiate personal aspects of identity for the acculturation and inclusion purposes within organizations. Howbeit, another respondent tacitly brings up some conditions for the immigrants in order to be integrated or adopted faster. She stated that:

Interviewee E: “I get used to Finland very quickly...if a person has a pure heart, it means if that foreigner or Afghan who didn’t do bad works at their home countries, and are healthy people, in Finland, they progress very fast, because they (Finnish) have a pure mind, and are very good, and do not want bad for others”

The respondent’s conditions for foreigners to get accustomed to Finland quickly is to have a pure heart and be (mind) healthy to have fast progress. This respondent emphasizes some self-descriptions of personal identity that individuals should enact to rebuild and revise their personal identities based on Finnish criteria. Because she implied that to be integrated, immigrants should be the same as Finnish people as the interviewee A and B stated differently. Another respondent also believes that integration and adoption not only to the Finnish society but also to Finnish working environments is the duty of immigrants. As she clearly expressed:

Interviewee H: There is always a border. There are differences between us. But these (Finnish people) are not the ones who should get along with us because we are in the minority. We have to deal with it. I think like this which may not be true”.

These remarks express two fundamental ideas about the differences in personal identity. The first is placed inside the word of ‘border’ and the second inside the term of “minority”. The border can have various meanings but here means cultural border that may not allow immigrants to be integrated at work or society. She also confirmed that “Finnish people should not get along with us”, but immigrants who are minority should find ways to get along with them. Due to being in a group of minorities, immigrants should deal with it. Therefore, identity work can appear within the terms of ‘border’ and ‘minority’ in which can create tensions and struggles between self-aspects of personal identity and the social aspect of identity. Consequently, refugees have to conduct identity work to negotiate between self-identity (of themselves) and social identity (of the majority of native Finns) in organizations.

4.2. Tensions Among Identities

Conducting identity work by the respondents could create various interactions between refugees and other employees in Finnish organizations. By analyzing interactions, it could somewhat be revealed under what kind of relationships and interactions refugees by conducting identity work can be acculturated or included in Finnish organizations. Thus, it paves the way to understand what kinds of personal aspects of self-identity of refugees and their Finnish colleagues may facilitate or impede the acculturation and inclusion process.

The personal values and ideologies of the respondents are the major components of their personal identity. The informants consciously or unconsciously conducted identity work through their personal values and ideologies in organizations. Thus, through conducting identity work, the first sub-theme reveals whether the personal values and ideologies of the respondents are compatible with Finnish organizational values as well as the personal values of Finnish employees. Personal values and ideologies as components of identity work can intensify the tensions and conflicts among distinct values of individuals in the organizations. Therefore, refugees were asked clearly to express their ideas about their personal values, Finnish organizational values, and Finnish employees' values. The reason is that by recognizing their perspectives, it could be understood how, where, and when conducting identity work creates tensions, conflicts, or threats for the respondents. Conducting identity work by the informants could somehow emerge cultural expectations between refugees and Finnish employees, which the second sub-theme and chapter are regarding them. This is because the content of what was reflected by the refugees tacitly suggests that refugees have an expectation mindset towards their Finnish colleague. The last theme was shaped due to personal self-identity changes, which were quite perceptible on the identity of refugees.

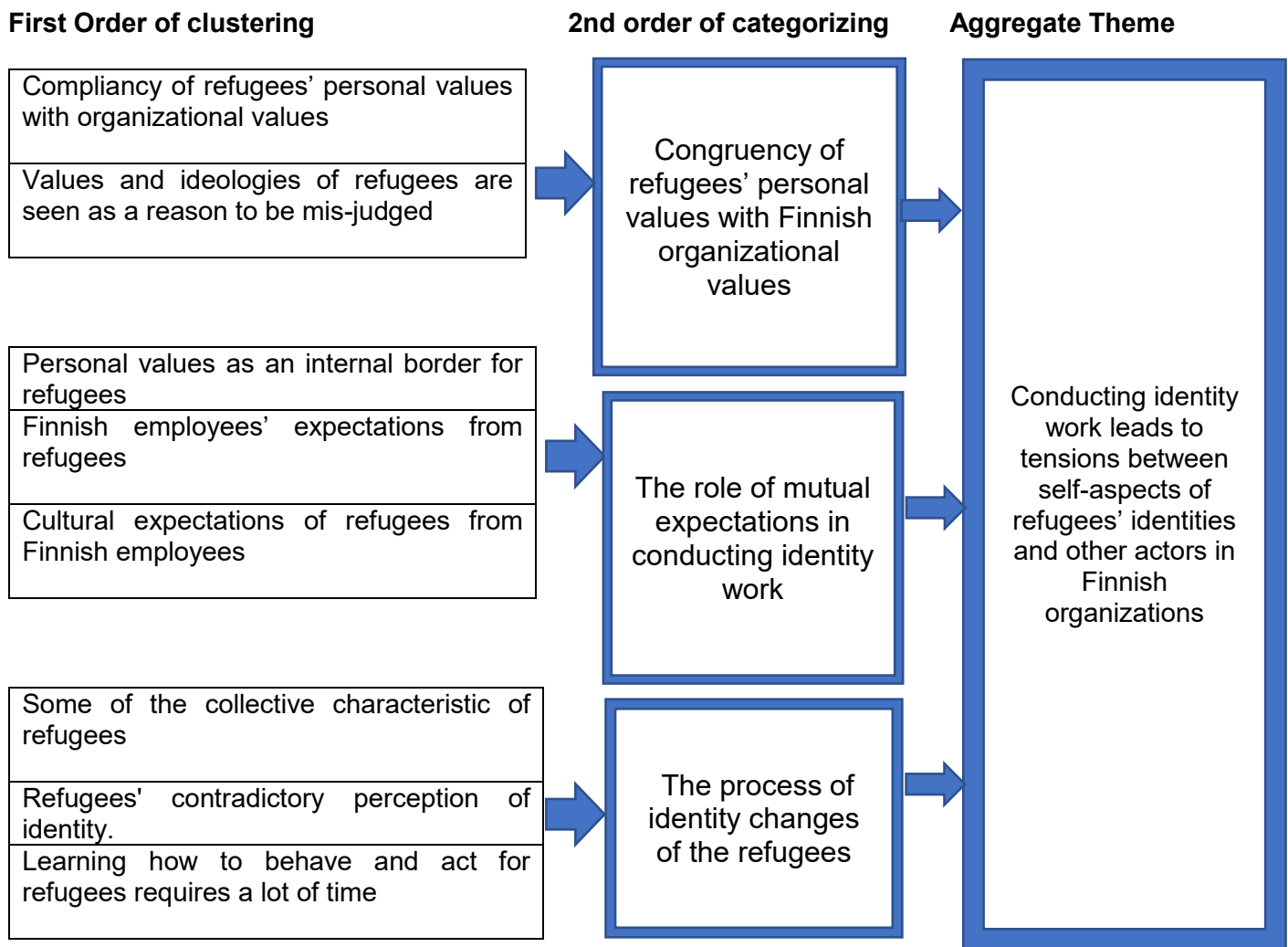


Figure 10. Data structure: related to the second aggregate theme

4.2.1. Congruency of Values

Nearly all the respondents stated clearly that their personal values are compatible and in harmony with Finnish organizational values. They mainly explained that the core components of Finnish organizational values are to be on time, do the work, and show good behaviors to others. These components of Finnish organizational values impact positively on the identity reconstruction of refugees, which also facilitate their acculturation and inclusion process. For instance, interviewee B stated that:

Interviewee B: "I think it's no different. They expect you to work there. I'm personally on time, and I have to work. We should have a good personality. In this case, you don't make trouble. I mean, our behavior and actions should be right and normal. And we are like this! We should be on time; we should do our projects based on the timetable. I haven't had a problem with these things. I mean, the values have been the same."

Many of the respondents (such as respondent H), by declaring that “yes, it is compatible”, did not explain more in detail. In this study, the personal values of informants are derived from Islamic values and ideologies, which might be performed and seen in the workplace. These values are in three categories: first, praying during the day; second, fasting in one month (Ramadan month); and third, for women to have a scarf at work. These personal values of Muslim refugees are the main elements of their personal identity which can be the main source of obstacles or opportunities for conducting identity work in organizations. For instance, the respondent F mentioned:

Interviewee E: “well, if I say I become Finnish at work, no, I don’t. I have my own culture in my mind, my dress, my scarf. But I follow all the rules, what others do, you do...even if I want to pray at work, I do it in coffee break times (tauko).it doesn’t take more than four minutes and a half, I pray and then I leave, I distribute the work division with my colleague.”

The statement connotes two different things. First, the informant conducted identity work by performing her personal values. As she clearly stated that “if I want to pray, I do it in coffee times”. Secondly, she indirectly states that even keeping her own culture at work does not violate any organizational values or rules. Having and utilizing personal values at work certainly impact every individual differently. This seems that for respondent E, through conducting identity work and congruency of personal values with organizational values, acculturation and inclusion had occurred. Another respondent (H) confirms that her personal values are compatible with Finnish organizational values. However, she asserts that some of her personal values might not culturally be accepted in Finland. She stated that:

Interviewee H: ...”I did not feel any difference. I think all the possibilities that exist for Finnish teachers are for me. I have the same conditions. Spiritually, well, we have some conflicts, we have hugging of children. Now I try to do this with children who are Afghan or Iranian and Persian-speakers, but I try not to do it with Finnish children. I try to develop myself according to these differences. Well, when they (Finnish children) are not used to it, why should I do it? (means why should I hug them).”

Here, she confirms that there are equal opportunities for her and other colleagues. Secondly, hugging seems a personal value for her about the children, which through identity work, she attempted to avoid hugging for the Finnish children. She implied that Afghan or Iranian kids are used to be hugged and embraced a lot by their parents. Therefore, hugging them is attached to emotional connections that for the Finnish children at school may not be appropriate from her perspective. Thus, conducting identity work for this respondent requires rejecting and avoiding tactics in order to be acculturated and to be the same as others which can positively impact her inclusion.

The second personal value stated by some of the respondents is concerning fasting for one month for Muslim immigrants who, according to their religions, are not allowed to eat anything from dawn to sunset. One of the respondents in this regard stated that:

Interviewee C: “The colleague was really helpful; he fetched me to the work when the weather was cold, for example, this month of fasting (Ramadan month for Muslims), we always drink coffee together, for example, a few of us drank coffee together. Well, I remember that my boss and everyone knew that I do not eat and drink. And I did not just do anything... These are things that you do, for example, in your free time, if you pray...some of them said because of kindness, one of them came and said, you cannot even drink coffee? or A glass of water.”

This statement shows that the respondent is aware that his colleague’s questions may be due to kindness or curiosity. Maintaining their self-aspect of personal identity at work could not be seen as a barrier in conducting identity work. Respondent D by pointing to the same fact, makes additional comparison with people from other cultures. He uttered that:

Interviewee D: “During that month (Ramadan month), not a single person asked me why don’t you eat, they do not pay attention too much if the same thing happens in Iran and if you do not eat today, the day after your colleague would say, what happened? Why don’t you eat? Is there something wrong? But these (Finnish people) won’t interfere and see it as a personal thing which you are a Muslim or not a Muslim or whatever.”

This respondent confirmed that whether he eats something or not, his Finnish colleagues do not interfere because of seeing these values as personal identity. Therefore, for this informant, conducting personal values may not directly influence conducting identity work in organizations.

There is also another significant point that emphasizes the values and ideologies of refugees, which can be seen as a reason to be misjudged by their Finnish colleagues. These values and ideologies may not affect the identity work this person conducts in his working environment, but out of the working environment, the differences of personal values emerge. For instance, the informant B stated:

Interviewer: “Do you mean that your personal values have only been different from others?”

Interviewee B: yes, there are many differences about out-of-work issues...when you have a new job, at first everyone is good with you. But when they gradually know you, the spaces between you and them will be deeper and deeper! I found two major reasons for that; one is that they know that you don’t do the things that they do.

Interviewer: Can you make any example?

Interviewee B: well, they went out to drink once a week or month. They told me that they went to drink wine, but I didn’t go. This caused a space between us... I think they saw me praying in my former company. We were at the bodybuilding, and I was praying in a corner. Some of them saw me praying, and once they understand you’re a Muslim, they look at you negatively. Being and to be seen as a Muslim, you may be considered as a believer Muslim.”

This created space between the refugee and his Finnish colleagues emerged not from inside the working environment but outside of the working environment. The relationship between them is reciprocal in which when the refugee does not accompany them in activities such as drinking out of work, his self-identity behaviors might be misjudged by his colleague and labeled as a robust Muslim believer who may hold dangerous ideas. As respondent A clearly states that:

Interviewee A: "For example, when you do pray at work, other employees could see it. It's clear.

Interviewer: How do they see you, then?

Interviewee A: They see you based on their assumptions among that bad group (bad group means radical Muslims). It can be effective, which can lead them to gossip and rumor. Then I would be the first person who is fired...

Interviewer: You mean your values, your beliefs, even your religion make them not to accept you at the workplace?

Interviewee A: Yes, it is like this as long as they are sure about it. They can't accept me as a religious person who is working with them. However, this ideology is not dangerous for them. Although they can know it, but I don't know why they can't understand it."

These created spaces can negatively impact the acculturation and inclusion of the respondent into the working environment. This dialogue with the previous one demonstrates that seeing a Muslim that prays in the workplace may cause the distance between the refugee and their Finnish colleague and lead to the creation of rumors. Therefore, such an informant, through personal self-aspects of identity, may distance himself from others and his conducting identity work will be intensified in the face of such crisis, and tensions. The respondents wanted to assert that their ideologies and values are not dangerous at all. For instance, respondent D claim that his ideologies and values are not dangerous, but on the other hand, it might bring added values to the organizations. He stated that:

Interviewee D: "Well, I am almost satisfied with myself, both by the work conscience and by honesty, for example, not to mix lawful and unlawful which was written in my mind.

Interviewer: Can you explain the meaning of lawful and unlawful (Halal, Haram)?

Interviewee D: Suppose that I go to a machine and see it is not functioning, ok?

Interviewer: That's right

Interviewee D: So, I call to that person and say that the device is broken, for example, bring a piece. He does not say, now that the device is broken, you should go and do something else. Well, he says, okay, I will take it. The hour until he brings the device, that one hour I do not sit there. Why do I sit there?...

Interviewer: You mean you feel that being lawful means the money you get from work is lawful (Halal)?

Interviewee D: It is lawful (Halal)

Interviewer: It means that because I work for this money, so I should work hard?

Interviewee D: Yes, yes, no one says anything to me for an hour, but what is my conscience, well, now it is true that there is an excuse that the device is broken, and you can sit for an hour, but there (near the device) is another work...but for example, if I sit, I think I worked for

seven hours. This person (meaning the employer) came and paid me for eight hours, and now what about that one hour?

Interviewer: it means it is not good for me to get paid for that one hour?

Interviewee D: Yes, if I sit, this may also be my right, and may not be a sin, but my conscience cannot be satisfied.”

Identity work is conducted through self-aspect of personal identity of this respondent. Such dialogue also manifests that if a person possesses such values or ideologies, they can also be considered a person with an influential conscience that can bring added value to the organization. The reason is that such values cannot easily be shared with people and are not noticeable. Ideologies such as praying are visible through the mode of physical identity work, but plenty of inner values are hidden from the eyes of Finnish colleagues. However, congruency of refugees’ personal values with Finnish organizational values could be confirmed, but refugees’ personal values can be misinterpreted by their Finnish colleagues. Consequently, it can impact the acculturation and inclusion of refugees but depend highly on the working environment.

4.2.2. The Role of Expectations in Identity Work

Conducting identity work through self-identity aspects by the refugees paves the way for creating expectation from their Finnish counterparts. The respondents in their narrations about their Finnish colleagues tacitly reflected some sort of expectations. Self-identity aspects of identity work emerge tacit expectations for the refugees because they struggled to negotiate their subconscious desires directly with their colleagues. As a result, expectation can increase tensions among individuals and endanger the self-reflective aspect of identity work. On the other hand, refugees’ expectations can lead to the creation of the expectation of Finnish colleagues from their refugees’ co-workers. However, refugees’ expectations are in the range of attitudes and need of support. As the respondent B stated that:

Interviewee B: ... “of course, if one of them is like my new colleague, of course, their behavior has been good with me so far, for example, well, most of the days they go for a drink out, if I do not join them once, twice or three times, they may think that I don’t like them. Some people may misunderstand this, or say, this person doesn’t like us, while the reason is completely something else... but well, they treat you 100% more seriously. You made a small mistake, they saw it quickly, and this small mistake causes the relationship to break down completely, and the trust is lost, but well, when you go out with them, for example, and drink wine and have fun, this small mistake will not be seen.”

Cultural identity of Finnish organizations requires performing the norms and customs as every Finnish person may commit. Respondent B sub-consciously expects that his Finnish colleagues should not do according to their norms and cultures and not invite him for a drink out of work. Thus, personal qualities may create obstacles for his identity work. On the other hand, the comments reveal that he can enhance his identity work if he could sacrifice some of his self-aspect of his identity to make their relationship more potent. However, he emphasized that not accompanying his Finnish colleagues does not mean he does not like them. What he means from this quote “the reason is completely something else” may venture the idea that due to his personal values, he cannot join their Finnish counterparts. From another perspective, the same statement may connote that his Finnish colleagues also expect him to join them in outside work leisure activities. However, the expectations of the respondents are more than what their Finnish colleagues may expect. This is also clear that if the respondent cannot sacrifice his personal values, it will negatively impact his acculturation and inclusion.

The respondent D by conducting identity work brought the issue of racism in the workplace, but the way he commenced his narrations is different from the way he ended it. He stated that:

Interviewee C: ...”in terms of attitudes, for example, people are different, some may really be racists, or maybe we think they are racist, then the same question arise, which is what the definition of being a racist is? I should tell with conscience and tell the truth. Well, maybe that person is not a racist, and we think he is a racist, just don't care you, and maybe is not racist, and just maybe he is not comfortable with you... But some of them are also racists; for example, they ask, where are you from? For example, why did you come here? They ask you clearly.”

Having a distinct race is one of the most obvious reasons for the happening of identity work. Through racial identity and ethnic group, the respondent could distinguish between their personal identity and working identity. The essential point here is placed on the word ‘racist’. He admits that people are different, and whoever deals with immigrants with a different or even cold attitude does not mean that person is racist. In the end, he concluded that some are racist because “they ask where you are from?” or “why did you come here?”. It is not clear the grounds for him why when a person asks him about his nationality, he thinks he might be racist whether it is related to his assumptions or some other issues. However, to expect someone not to ask such a personal question or to behave some certain way is an expectation that occurs through identity work.

Such expectations from Finnish colleagues comply with other statements of respondents. A prerequisite for support can be viewed as another expectation which respondents posited in their reflections. For instance, the respondent D stated that:

Interviewee D: “to Finn as long as you do not say directly to come and help you in one issue at work, they wouldn’t come even if they see you need...but to a foreigner, for example, a Russian person who sees you need help to move something, they would come quickly without saying. But this doesn’t mean a Finn wouldn’t come to help you, but you have to tell him or her (in order to help you).”

What is quite explicit is that the respondent has a particular type of expectations from their Finnish counterparts, such as expectations to be supported without asking. This type of statement seems to be more related to the culture and personal characteristics of Finnish people, which can be called expectation from Finnish colleagues to treat in a certain way or even to behave according to the norm and personal characteristics of the immigrants. On the other hand, it may be concluded that the immigrants’ knowledge of Finnish culture and people is not yet comprehensive. As another example by the same respondent is:

Interviewee D: “No, never, never. With Finns I was also interested in talking more...also because of language which if I say something, they could correct my mistakes, but they wouldn’t say a word, for examples in the coffee break times, suddenly you notice your Finnish colleague has looked at his watch and went for a coffee, and he does not say you ‘hey it’s the coffee time and let’s go’, but when a Russian colleague came from the factory hall, they would inform you by saying ‘hey friend (kaveri) let’s go.’”

The expectations of the respondent manifest themselves from different more angles. He stated that he was interested in talking more with his Finnish colleagues to improve his Finnish language skills. Dialogues and conversations can be used as a channel for identity work as it impacts the acculturation and inclusion process of the respondents because, through conversations, individuals can reinforce their desired identities. He also continues by providing examples such as informing the coffee times from his Finnish colleagues. Such expectations may assert that the respondents conduct identity work through their established personal identity. Thus, the knowledge of Finnish culture and Finnish people requires more time for the respondents in order to reconstruct their identities. A similar type of statement also mentioned by the respondent H in which she asserts:

Interviewee H: “For example, we do greetings a lot... I am the only one who enters the school and says hello, how are you? How is it going? ...they always like my energy, but sometimes the manager answers me with a cold reply which means that do not continue it. It gives you the feeling that yes, there are differences.”

It seems that the roots of the personal identity of Interviewee H are attached to her home country. Thus, identity work is conducted through some of those characteristics. The differences, like the previous example, are more related to cultural differences. It seems that she has expectations from their Finnish colleagues or manager to be like her and also

behave like her in certain ways, such as greetings. This example may prevail that the individual utilizes greetings as an identity work tactic for her need for the agency. The range of expectations from their Finnish colleagues is different and can be discussed through an analytical perspective. The same respondent also continued with one more type of expectations. First, she stated that:

Interviewee H: “They assess us with what they see and hear from Televisions, while we are not like this, we give our food to our neighbors...if we are in the shortage of potato, we knock at the door of our neighbors and ask for it, then the next day he may come and ask something from us.”

The impact of social context in reconstructing her identity and how it impacts on her identity work is derived from the statement. There are two sorts of expectations in her statement. First, she expected Finnish people not to assess the immigrants from what they see and hear from the media. The second is regarding the cultural, behavioral expectation that she expects their Finnish neighbors to be somehow similar to the neighbors of her home country. In this example, identity work was conducted through the act of storytelling. The respondent attempted to express her views to make sense of who the immigrants are and what sort of cultural identity they have. Such expectations, additionally, impact the acculturation and inclusion process within both organizations and society. However, to accelerate acculturation and inclusion of the refugees, cultural knowledge of Finnish people required to be learned through experience or to be taught to them.

4.2.3. The Process of Identity Changes of Refugees

The process of identity changes of refugees is constantly happening in Finnish organizations and society. Since the nature of this study is to understand the process of identity reconstruction of refugees in Finland, two major questions were asked from the interviewees. Refugees were asked to describe some of their characteristics that their Finnish colleagues see. Besides, they were also asked to describe their personal identities. Interviewees described their personal characteristics as “very social, calm, happy, conscience persons, hardworking”. However, their description of personal identity was very different. Some of the collective quotes regarding whom refugees think they are and what kind of personality their Finnish colleagues think they have quoted as below:

Interviewee A: “I’m an extrovert person. I like to be intimate with people. I see people’s problems more than mine. I like to solve their problems. On the other hand, sometimes I’m an introvert person. But I’m an extrovert and sociable in the social work field. Also, I have

certain values through which I like to live... positive, which means I gave them positive energy. Regardless of my personal problems, I tried to be another person at work by showing them my positive sides. I feel that they saw me as a positive person. I tried to be intimate with others and make them happy.

Interviewee B: I have always seen myself as a hardworking person who tries to learn. And I always want my employer and everyone to be satisfied.

Interviewee C: Because I know my manners and I analyze the situation around, that makes me to get along easily (with others).

Interviewee E: I have a very calm personality, kind (ystävällinen), I am compatible with everyone...when I go to work, I show my happiness, but when I return home, I have my own problems, this is the reason why all may think that I do not have any problem because I go to work happily and return happily, always they have told to me come to us again... I am very happy to go to work...I love to work, and I am very happy with kids.”

Interviewee G: I love my job, sometimes my husband even tells me (as a joke) to get your bed and sleep there (in school).”

The point for collecting all these personal characteristics of the respondents is to get to know what kind of personalities refugees possess and which part of their personalities can influence the identity work they conduct. The way a person knows and sees him/herself might be completely different from what others may perceive. On the other hand, the quality a person shows in the workplace is not all parts of his or her personality. Therefore, by conducting identity work, interviewees attempted to display their positive and energetical aspects of their personal self-aspect of identity at work. As a specific example, interviewee E stated that “all may think that I do not have any problem”. This may be pertaining to role-based identity that this informant conducts through identity work. Therefore, the interviewees consciously engage in identity work by showing positive aspects of their personalities in an employee’s role. On the other hand, these positive aspects can positively impact the acculturation and inclusion of the respondents.

The quality of smiling and laughing is another shared aspect of the refugees’ personality. Through them, they build work-related self-meanings in organizations. However, not always smiles or laughs means happiness for the refugees as a clear explanation of what laugh means was stated by the respondent C:

Interviewee C: “The Finns, for example, have a characteristic that they all read the news... All the news, big or small, one colleague came and said that in Finland there was a rape, it is early in the morning, and you have a thousand problems, but for example, my school just finished, and you want to prove yourself, and satisfy everyone, and you want to compensate your weaknesses in language by hardworking. Both it in terms of conscience and reality you want to get the job, foreigners, and Afghans really work hard and do double, they want to make up for many other things... In this state, you go to work in the morning, those who listened to the news on the radio or on the Internet, read rapes somewhere, for example, immigrants...and maybe I think many other Afghans and other immigrants are the same when you are under the influence, and we have nothing to say, we laugh, maybe many people will think how happy you are, and you always laugh with yourself, for example, we had an American colleague that said we see you from afar, do you always laugh with yourself? I was saying in my heart, no dude, I laugh when I am under the influence of others. Well, that

person directly says that person does (rape) that, that person does that, but the reaction is nothing except laughing. Again, that person comes in the coffee time and starts the same discussion.... you should also know that the working class is something else; for example, most young immigrants say women, old women and educated people (Finnish) are different, but the working class is hard, really hard.”

The quotes above can be analyzed through various angles. First, Finnish social identity and external influencers out of the organizational environment can highly impact the identity reconstruction of refugees, such as the role of media. If a piece of news is related to immigrants, there is a (low) possibility that some Finns may reflect them inside the working environments. As in the above example, the respondent discusses one of the news stories that had an influence on the interviewee. Third, the interaction of the informant to that sad news was nothing except laughing. The reason was explained by himself stating that “I laugh when I am under the influence of others”. Laughing may happen as an identity work tactic for the respondent to repair his desired identity and to decrease the tensions. As a result, identity work is conducted through personal identity, which is impacted by external influencers. Thus, it certainly impacts on the acculturation and inclusion of the respondent.

The prominent factor in changing refugees’ personalities or reforming the perception of refugees towards the working organizations has occurred gradually. For instance, the respondent D stated:

Interviewee D: “yes I am so different now, before entering to Finnish works, I thought if you do more work, and faster, or assigning more time.. what is its problem?..but these things are not good at all, just go and leave the work on time, if you do a task more than what was given to you, not only they won’t thank you, but they also say why did you do it.”

The way that the perception of interviewee D was changed can be discussed from two perspectives. First, he had a perception of working hard as a tool to create meanings for his identity work. However, his opinion was changed after noticing that his attempts were not positively reacted to. Secondly, tacitly he may emphasize that what is important at work is to do the work according to the norms and schedules, and there is no need to sacrifice more. The reason that the respondent did not face a positive reaction as he says “not only they thank you, but they also say why did you do it?” might be due to avoiding the emergence of expectations on the employees by the Finnish leadership team. Therefore, doing more and sacrificing as part of personal identity may be rejected as a tactic for identity work. Besides, they may hinder the acculturation and inclusion process of the respondents.

In order to answer the question of identity, all the respondents’ replies were quite different from each other. At first, some considered identity as national identity, but other issues also were brought up by the continuation of the interviews. Since the structure of this

study is placed on the reconstruction of refugees' identities in Finland, it would be beneficial to get through all the interviewees' responses. Beginning from interviewee A that he stated:

Interviewee A: "When I was dealing with the Finnish people in the workplace... I noticed some of my traits made me say that I am close to being a Finn, but generally, no. In general, if we look at this precisely, I do not consider myself a Finn nor Afghan. Now, I think I'm from this world."

Interviewer: Belonging to the world?

Interviewee A: Yes.

Interviewer: Does the country matter now?

Interviewee A: no, it doesn't. The country doesn't make my identity. Ideology does, and for the values I have here."

The respondent clearly describes himself as not a Finn nor Afghan. What was essential for him was his ideologies. However, he also stated that sometimes in the Finnish organizations, he felt himself close to Finns that could positively impact his acculturation and inclusion. The second respondent replied as:

Interviewee B: "no. I don't know which country I am from because there are some values found in both Finland and Afghanistan, or maybe they are not found in either of them."

Interviewer: so, it can be said that you're from anywhere. Is that right?

Interviewee B: that's right. I've always believed that if there is a good thing anywhere, learn it. And don't learn the thing you don't like. There are a lot of things in Finland that are very important. The first thing is to work honestly, to do your work until the end, to be on time, and to respect the laws. I found them in Finland and learned them. However, I didn't need to learn some things like culture and so on."

As unequivocally explained, the respondent considers himself from the world. However, when he was asked to explain what makes his identity, he replied as "my identity is made by my religion, culture, family, and definitely this environment. And this studying has absolutely changed the identity a little". Therefore, the components of identity for this respondent mean a combination of religion, culture, family, social environment, and even education is included by his perspective.

There might be plenty of reasons why some respondents do not refer to their home countries as their national identity. Although some types of replies are reflected as the rationale behind it by, for instance, Interviewee C, and D. The respondent C stated that:

Interviewee C: "The fact is that in terms of identity, you like to be a Finn and who says that I do not like to be, you are legally identified. But there is one thing in the custom of the Finnish society in which it does not accept you...Now when you are going to most of the offices, and even though you show your Finnish ID card, they start talking to you in English."

This clarification is based on two facts. First, it manifests his eagerness to be a Finn, which legally can be approved. However, for him, not everything can be considered under legal states. Therefore, he brought up the issue of custom in his statements. He may indicate that

within the Finnish custom, immigrants may not be considered as a Finn. He stated that if an immigrant goes to a Finnish office and shows a Finn identification card, they will start the dialogue in English before saying anything. A proximate response is also stated by the respondent D:

Interviewee D: "I am exactly the very identity crisis. I have always thought about this (identity) before. ...I was saying to myself that if one day I will use a country's flag, it would be Finland because ,under this flag, I have reached a bit of comfort and convenience. This is true that Afghanistan is our country, and I was born, and I am from there, but I haven't seen any good things from there...But from here we see good things at least...after gaining citizenship (kansalaisuus), for example, suppose even the same thing (using Finnish flag at home). If I do it for Finland, again, a Finn may say how stupid he is. You are kind of embarrassed because no matter what you do, they do not consider you and your nationality to be real Finn. Legally correct, but if a Finn himself comes and sees the Finnish flag in your house, he will be surprised, he will not say well-done, you love Finland very much. Because of this, I get confused...for example, a Finn may say 'look at his black head' and say, 'hey, look, he is here for a couple of years and think he is the owner of the country'. I am still ashamed of it, and it is very difficult for me."

This interviewee called himself a person who holds an identity crisis. He loves to be seen as a Finn because he is grateful for the support of the Finnish government and appreciates it. However, his Finnish passport cannot assert his identity as a Finn. He might have some assumptions or prejudgments of Finnish people who may not consider him as a Finn. It is not explicit how he could reach this conclusion in which he says "a Finn may say look at his black head" whether it is through experience he thinks Finns would react like that or it is related to the psychological aspect of his personality.

Another point is that the respondent is grateful to Finland rather than his home country, where he did not face good things. This is also because the same respondent stated somewhere else that "I am totally confused, in contrast to Afghanistan, this (Finland) did great works for me, and I will do my best for this country. This is because I received something from here at least, but if I see my belongingness to here to be one hundred percent, but they don't see it". The desire of this person to be labeled as Finn is salient. However, not all the respondents called themselves a mix of different countries or rejected their home countries. For instance, Interviewee E, called Afghanistan as her main country and did not go deep into the detail. The respondent F was the only respondent to be proud of her home country and stated:

Interviewee F: Afghan. I am proud to be Afghan. Our country, no matter what the problem or problem is, we cannot change one's personal identity. For example, there are some that when they step into Europe, feel that whether or not this is life, we have this life, we no longer care about where we are from."

This respondent understood identity as national identity. However, she is proud of her home country and critically argued about other immigrants who forgot their home countries. The interviewee G referred to her home country as one dimension of her identity, and by utilizing a different word for describing identity as 'humanitarian', she stated:

Interviewee G: "I do not accept nationality at all. In fact, I accept humanitarian, since I am from three countries, I know myself from Afghanistan, and also Iran because I was born there, and also from Finland because I grew up here and living here and possess here's (Finnish) passport...I tried to take the positive things of Afghanistan, the positive things of Iran, and the positive things of Finland, for example, in our culture there are many things that are wrong, I accept that it is wrong because my intellect and logic say they are wrong, then I cannot accept them."

The remarks of this respondent reveal two notions of first receiving the good aspects of every society. Second, tacitly she alluded that all the countries are imperfect. She approves of combining all the good qualities of three different countries to apply life. The interviewees declared this approach nearly under different contexts.

The last interviewee (H) also stated that she lost her identity by saying that 'I lost my identity (laughs) Well, for the children and because my children do not get confused in this country, and indeed, many of our children here have lost their identities. So, I tried to say that you feel that you are an Iranian-Finnish". She also continued her justification for her children that should identify themselves as Iranian-Finnish. She expressed that "because none of our children are our children, they are the children of society". Therefore, since the second generation of immigrants in Finland are being educated and culturally adapted, so she thinks that they are not only the children of their parents but also the society. The role of advice among immigrants, or at least among Afghan and Iranian people, is influential. These characteristics of giving advice were explicit during the conversations with interviewee G in which she stated:

Interviewee H: "Put aside the feeling that I am a foreigner, if we put aside this, we will be very successful. But if we always think yes, we are foreigners, as I taught my children from a young age that if we consider ourselves a separate subject from this society, then we won't be successful. You should always move forward with a positive outlook. Yes, of course, you should always keep this sentence in mind if they (Finns) didn't want to be friends with us, and if they didn't want to get along with us, why did they bring us here. Even if you think this is not right, always keep it in mind that they provide us good facilities and even the passport they gave us is the same as their own passport. Thus, always keep this in your mind that we are a part of this society."

Even though she had expressed her identity loss in her previous statement, she also firmly believed that immigrants should not think about the negative aspects but should be grateful and feel that they are a part of this society.

4.3. Intensification of Challenges and Obstacles

The motifs and themes discussed in the previous chapters could also arguably be considered as the challenges and obstacles refugees face in the Finnish organizations. Therefore, one may argue that those themes could also be included in this chapter. However, in the previous chapter, some personal, organizational, and cultural aspects of identity were discussed, which could impact the identity reconstruction of refugees. On the other hand, the themes created in this chapter have clearly expressed challenges and obstacles of refugees which they experienced in Finnish organizations and society. These challenges and barriers could lead to intensifying identity work. From another aspect, they can also be seen as the fundamental barriers in the process of inclusion and acculturation of refugees.

The main challenges and obstacles of refugees occur under three different vantage categories. The first category is regarding the name and the label of ‘refugee’ which is a self-conscious awareness of the refugees’ status in Finnish organizations. The label of ‘refugee’ puts the refugees under pressure, forcing them to engage in identity work to cope with identity-based agitations that may cause them to tolerate heavy burdens. The second category is about inequality that the respondents experienced by conducting identity work and were narrated by five of them. The inequality shared by the refugees was regarding first imposing unequal division of work, second refugees are the culprits at the time of raising a problem, and third resistance can be seen and analyzed as a problem within working environments.

The last category is related to the structural and social challenges that directly or indirectly impact on the reconstruction of refugees’ identities and affect the acculturation and inclusion of the respondents. The main social challenge is regarding the distinction between law and custom. In a concise format, the main challenges and obstacles are presented in diagram 11.

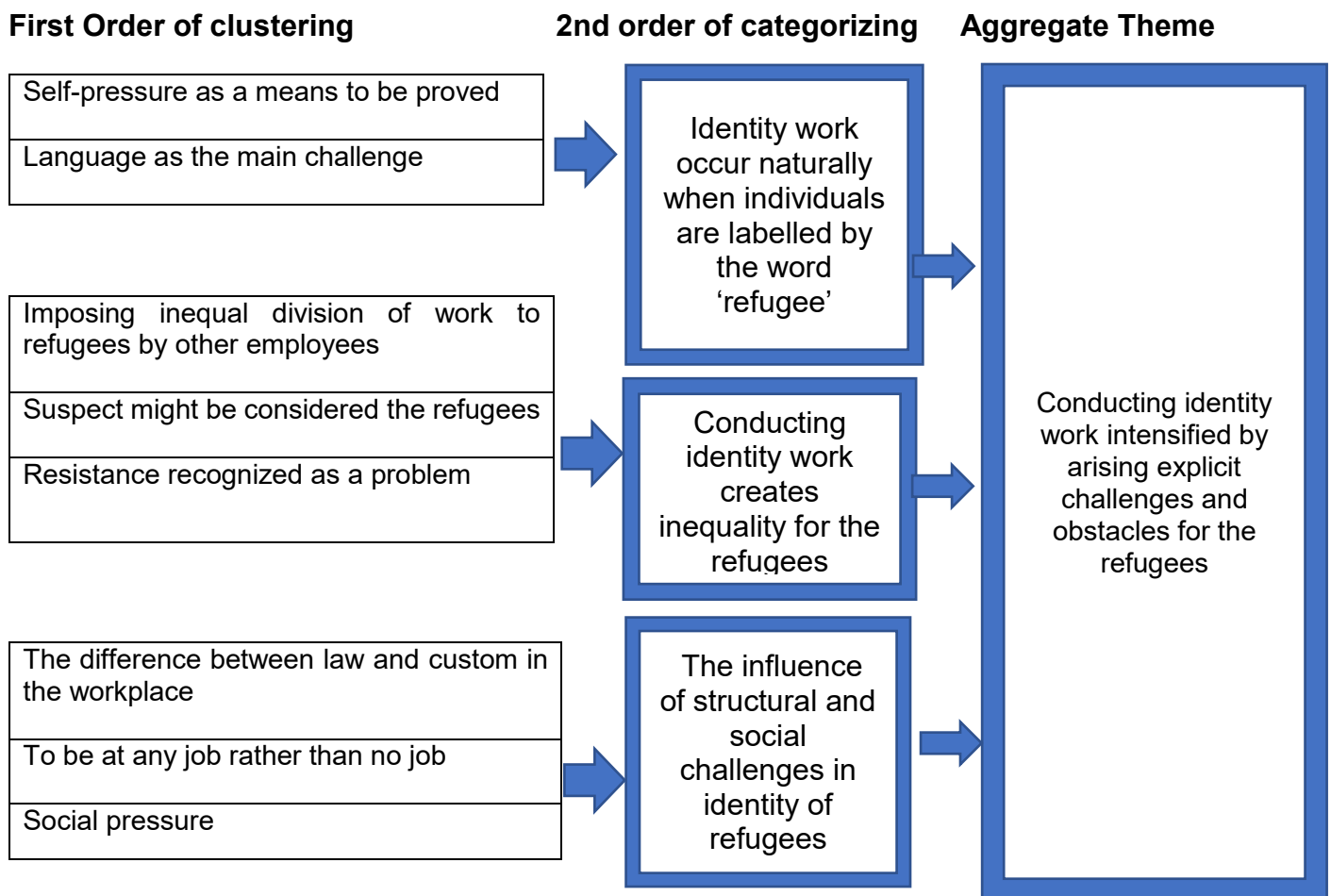


Figure 11. Data Structure: related to the third aggregate theme

4.3.1. The Role of Refugee Label in Identity Work

The role of the label of 'refugee' or 'immigrant' paves the way for inevitable conducting identity work. Therefore, the role-based identity of a refugee can be investigated and analyzed in three distinct ways:

1. It mainly occurs for those who are not fluent in the Finnish language. Language skills cannot play its significant role in reconstructing their identity at work when individuals are not fluent in the Finnish language.
2. When they cannot convey their meaning through language, there is a possibility that their colleagues would underestimate them. Therefore, conducting identity work through other channels and tactics seems a 'Must' for refugees.
3. The third is the pressure that refugees experienced in the working environments due to the lack of language skills.

However, not all the refugees encountered language problems; because four of the respondents had primary educations, high schools, and vocational school in the Finnish language. Among them, three had university degrees in the Finnish language. Therefore, not all the respondents reflected on the Finnish language as a problem.

Some of the respondents described themselves in the role of an immigrant which caused her to be more patient in the time of conflicts in the workplace. For instance, the respondent F stated that:

Interviewee F: "There are different people in every part of every society. There are good and bad people. We can't say all are bad, or all are good... because we are a foreigner. We have to be more patient..., by making all your efforts, but we cannot do as much as a Finn, and they see you as a foreigner and look down on you. Such talks and ironic speeches are certainly problems at work."

The phrase "because we are a foreigner" indicates that personal identity has a vital role in shaping foreigners' identity at work. It seems the label of 'refugee' could lead to tolerating ironic speeches and exclusionary behavior of their colleagues. This can negatively impact on her acculturation and inclusion at work. However, it is not yet clear whether it is only the label of 'refugee' or some other grounds. She also continued by reflecting on the first days of her work as the most difficult times of her job. She stated that:

Interviewee F: "It has a very negative effect. It has a very negative effect. When I just started last year, I cried many times a day, and I said to myself that I could not stand it anymore. I cannot work. But I thought I could not be unemployed. We have to, we are foreigners. We are an alien that we have to tolerate. We have to endure. It is our duty to tolerate."

The respondent did not detail what has happened to her that caused her to weep many times. She stated that she was forced to tolerate all those first days of her work. She also stated somewhere else that the reason for her tolerance is due to her personal characteristics that do not let her resist. She stated that "I cannot resist at all, I withdraw myself from confrontation".

By following the threads of the dialogue with respondent F, another crucial element tacitly describes how the working situations had changed for her after being on sick leave. So, returning to work could manifest her if one employee may treat her unequally and put her under heavy pressure, but others may embrace her and miss her. She stated that:

Interviewee F: "Usually, there are good and bad people everywhere. People who are friendly and make no difference between nationality and race, they are good people. When in Corona time, I was on sick leave because of my husband who was sick, so I could not go to work. I was at home, and after I went to work, my colleagues welcomed me very happily and took me in their arms, (they said) it was good that you came back, and we miss you very much."

There are changing views of the respondent after her Finnish colleagues warmly welcomed her. The point that is not clear here is how long it took since she had started the job until she returned to work from sick leave. This is because it is not clear what kind of identity work tactics she employed, in which others could feel her shortage at work and behave intimately by hugging her. Therefore, acculturation and inclusion could be endangered at the early stages of her job, but after the passage of time, the sense of acculturation and inclusion could positively occur when she returned to work.

The Finnish language is seen as one of the biggest challenges for refugees who are not fluent in the Finnish language. Conversations at work are a conduit for identity work, and thus if talks do not happen properly, it may escalate the tensions by identity work. So, this may leave severe pressure on refugees' personal identity that cannot transfer their ideas straightforward. Respondent C stated that:

Interviewee C: "We must consume energy. Sometimes you do both physical and mental work. While you are equal to a Finnish colleague you work with, he just gets physically tired, right?...how much we are under the influence of them and how much we are ashamed to speak wrong in front of them. Many times, I realized myself that I had spoken wrongly, and I said that ooh, I should have said this, right? Every time you are underdog, well, these all take your energy, and you get annoyed."

He discusses two sorts of pressure that take place because of both physical and mental work. His explanation for mental work is the Finnish language that takes his energy and puts him under pressure. He continued and mentioned that:

Interviewee C: "Well, you can't convey your idea...you do not speak; the perception that other people have is to see you as a child, right? For example, consider yourself while we are, we can talk professionally about many issues. Now, if you want to talk with a Finn about a very tiny thing, you cannot convey your words. And that person (Finn) underestimates you, your age shows something, and your language ruins it."

The respondent has an assumption that due to deficiency in the Finnish language, other people may see him as a child and underestimate his capabilities. Due to the lack of language skills, the respondent cannot utilize identity talk to strengthen the desired identity. He also continued by explaining the differences between the language learned in Finnish institutes and the language is spoken in the working environment. He mentioned that:

Interviewee C: "I do not know if it's true or not, some women, teachers, old women, kind people who like to help immigrants in the first years of their life in Finland, they speak very slowly in Finnish such as (Minä haluan)... work-life has its own atmosphere... they come to work, and they have their own personal problems, and they do not care if you understand 100% or not. Then it is not their fault, and well, it is not our fault either. People are different, one character from another character; some people are kind, some people are smiling, some

people are social, right? ...some may say that I earn this much money an hour and I am not your language teacher to teach you the language. Because maybe he has a thousand personal problems, right?"

This respondent clearly distinguishes between the slang language spoken in the working environment and the language spoken in Finnish language courses. He also asserted that his colleagues are ethically not responsible for correcting his mistakes in language. It is not only language as a challenge and barrier but also emotional discomforts that create mental efforts to interpret his personal identity. Another respondent (D) reflected on the reasons why work is hard for the immigrants with language problems. He explained that:

Interviewee D: "Work is always harder for us; do you know why? Because if a task was given to a Finn, even by saying on the phone, he goes and does it. But we don't understand and even do more than what was said, and it is getting hard for us while the task is one thing, he (manager) sees he (Finnish colleague) did the task and left, but while you didn't do that, he may ask why you didn't do or are you getting lazy? he doesn't know that you didn't get what he said (because of language)."

The lack of Finnish language skills affects the interactions between the immigrants and Finnish colleagues. Thus, it may lead to misunderstandings of Finnish managers in evaluating the productivity of their immigrants' employees. This is in the case of the immigrants who are not fluent in the Finnish language. Even the fluent ones may not convey all their thoughts and feelings fully. For instance, the respondent E explained that:

Interviewee E: "Anyway, here is not our country, nor our culture. And we are not very fluent in the language..., we are all human beings, everyone makes mistakes, I also made a mistake...if it would be our language, we could explain (selittää) more as Finnish says, but there are always some small things that you cannot explain."

Proficiency in the Finnish language increases immigrants' confidence to communicate with their Finnish colleagues and to manage their occupational identity. However, psychologically, the self-pressure they burden as immigrants or refugees can be mainly because of their self-conception of their conditions in Finnish society. Therefore, not only language barriers can hinder their acculturation and inclusion but also their self-conception as an immigrant can significantly impact the process of acculturation and inclusion.

4.3.2. Experience of Inequality

The existence of inequality in Finnish organizations was experienced by five refugees explicitly or subliminally. Inequality can cause identity work to occur, and it can be caused due to conducting identity work. The reason is that inequality occurs when the respondents negotiate and transfer meanings attached to their personal identity. On the other hand, inequality naturally increases the tensions either among individuals or at least in the refugees' minds through self-questioning and subconscious sensemaking. Therefore, it is considered as a major sub-theme in this chapter that thoroughly impacts the reconstruction of refugees' identities and negatively influences their acculturation and inclusion process. Inequality emerges and is viewed through various layers of angles and critical thinking. Each of the immigrants' perspectives towards the concept of inequality was at variance with the others. Some referred to inequality concerning behaviors and actions, and some refer to structural inequality. In the previous sub-chapter, the significance of the Finnish language was discussed. It would be beneficial to commence how the deficiency in the Finnish language may even generate inequality behaviors and actions from one of the respondent perspectives. He stated that:

Interviewee C: "There is an issue like this, you did not do something, a mistake was made, but because you do not have the right to defend and you cannot explain (due to the language), it turns to be you (as the cause of the mistake) ..., for example, a misspelling occurs, and they say this is clear whose language is weak. But I really did not write because I do not have the password of this particular computer... but you entered to a group that everyone knows you do not know the language well...in happy times when everyone is like a nightingale and happy. When there is an emergency, and a problem found, everyone wants to look for one (to blame). Here, you are also on a lot of eyes, it is so obvious, isn't it?"

This respondent mention that this type of inequality happened due to considering him as the first suspect of occurring language mistakes. He also asserted that he automatically would be counted as the suspect when other colleagues are aware of his deficiency in language. The way others perceive him could lead to revising and rebuilding his self-aspects of his personal identity.

It seems that for the jobs which do not require high-professional skills, inequality might be more salient. The same respondent reckons the reasons by stating:

Interviewee C: "in many places, they do a lot of things, and someone who is Finnish, with whom they argue or answer. But because of our situations or the law tells you that, for example, you have these rights. Do you have it? There is something to be written, and it is in the law, and there is something in practice and custom that the immigrants understand and maybe the Finns will never understand these things... many of our rights were violated (home

country), Our right to life and property were violated (home country) for example, those big things, the big ones, for example, it affects our feelings, such small things (hurting feelings) are not important among immigrants (For example, in Finland, you saw a small child, for example, who wants food, and if he does not like it, he says, "Why did you not ask my opinion?" But for us, for example, just put something in front of you and eat... now it is also at work, and I am sure if it would be Finnish or other Europeans, they may get very emotional about them, and their feelings are very hurt (because of some actions), but customarily it is placed in our minds that we Afghans or immigrants should let it go and do not take these things seriously. For example, these have become normal, and how can you not be affected? They spoil you or even make fun of you, I have seen rarely, but they really do these things."

In this respect, the respondent A stated that:

Interviewee A: "For example, in this warehouse that we're working, Fridays we could go home sooner. The Finnish employees are allowed to go sooner, but not me! I have been asking for two weeks to let me go home sooner on Fridays, but they say the Finnish employees have asked before. Then I ask for next week, but they don't accept and tell me to stay!... The other ones were the same. I had the same feeling of inequality there (other places). This is not because of the manager but the network made by the employees.

Interviewer: According to this pressure they put on you from outside, and the inequality you have seen in groups, and you felt it, have you ever told yourself to stand against these things and claim your rights? Or even complain to them or protest? Or you say why me?

Interviewee A: Remember I told you about Halal and forbidden meat? At that time, we had a meeting with the manager. I told them, "If you don't give them Halal meat and lie to them that this is Halal (but it's not), it's like you tell a vegetarian that this beef is veg (Kasvis)... I mean, the group (those who made a band) was silent and didn't say anything there. Although they didn't say anything, I heard they said something after the meeting in secrete, so it made me work less.

Interviewer: Less working, you mean you were fired from that work, or they didn't extend your contract?

Interviewee A: When you do some part-time jobs here, that is (in Finnish keikkalainen) they only call you or they give you this job for one month. But that made me work less, and they didn't call me again."

This respondent had faced two types of inequality, first from the job in the warehouse and from the manager. However, the second type of inequality happened because of the organization's customers who requested Halal meat (Halal meat is a kind of meat in which Muslims, due to their values, are only allowed to eat). The informant mentioned these two examples that were linked to the identity work he conducted. As a result, conducting identity work can cause inequality, and facing inequality changes the identity work tactics through, for instance, resistance.

The reaction of immigrants towards inequality is different. Many may not stand against inequality and prefer to tolerate or ignore it. Respondent A stood for their client's rights, and inequality did not take place on him. However, his resistance might be a reason for not inviting him to work. He also stated somewhere else that the manager treated equally when he or she figured out existence of such inequality. He stated that "but the manager was a good manager. During the last days of my working there, I heard that they provided for the youth what they required". It is sufficiently explicit that standing against inequality by

conducting identity work could successfully reach a positive outcome. However, the outcome for the respondent may not be considered as a positive consequence. Thus, resistance led to less invitation to work. The story of the next respondent regarding facing inequality is multilayered. However, this person had experienced both inequalities for herself and other immigrants in the labor work division. She explicitly mentioned that:

Interviewee G: "Because we work in a nursing home, most of them are immigrants who work, and very few are Finn. Then you clearly understand how they divide the work for you... we had a representative who was very racist, some of us had a fight with her, then we fought a lot (means strong verbal arguments), then she always interfered in your work, she forced others to do her works, for example on the shoulder of poor Africans."

The issues exemplified through identity work are first related to the place of work; second, concerning to type of inequality; third, the reaction towards inequality; fourth, the characteristic used for describing the source of inequality; and finally, on whom the inequality has occurred. She continued by adding more explanations and expressed that:

Interviewee G: "No, I cannot be silent at all, but I am a fighter, a warrior (laughs) Of course against oppression, then because these stories have happened a lot in the workplace of the nursery home. Now maybe you go to work in other places, you just go to work, and do the job, the only thing that matters is that you are on time. Or you say a word or two with your co-workers, you talk, you show good manners, then it's over. But working with the elderly has a lot of stories, meaning that Finnish (people) understands this, generally, maybe the government of Finland may have noticed."

She explained that the reason for her reaction arises from her personal characteristics. Thus, resistance can be analyzed as an identity work tactic that she employed to manage her own sense of agency. She tacitly compares the work in a nursery home with working in other places. She implicitly may justify the reason for inequality in the nursery working environment which arises from a place of work with many stories. If all the stories would be narrated, most probably the reasons behind the inequality would be revealed.

Not all the respondents experienced inequality; for instance, interviewee E expressed that "In my opinion which I am working now, everything is the same for everyone, everything goes based on the same rules...I still didn't feel such a thing at work". Inequality can be considered as the fundamental obstacle towards the acculturation and inclusion of immigrants. Immigrants by seeing inequality in the workplace, their sense of acculturation and inclusion may diminish dramatically. Immigrants may feel that all their personal efforts in order to be included and acculturated by seeing inequality can fade away.

4.3.3. Structural and Social Challenges

Refugees in narrations of their experiences regarding Finnish organizations sometimes refer to structural and social challenges that directly or indirectly impact on their identity reconstructions. Refugees evolve and reconstruct their identity by experiencing various challenges in Finnish working environments and within Finnish society. Two of the respondents critically described the integration programs run by the Finnish government. Their critical point of view emerged after experiencing the Finnish working environment. One of the respondents explains how immigrants encounter during the integration process in different situations, and the ways they respond to those circumstances are reflected. He stated that:

Interviewee C: “for example, in social services or the integration you have in your own mind, many immigrants feel lack of something in themselves, and say, “Oh, this (Finland) is such a place... and you as a foreigner should adapt yourself with the culture of these people. It means that you try too hard to be very positive and very motivated, and it means that you become more Finnish than the Finns themselves, or more European than the Europeans themselves.”

This respondent reflected on how the integration process and social aspects of Finnish society may impact refugees’ identities. His point of view reveals two significant elements regarding the integration programs. First, he assumed that because immigrants feel a lack of something in themselves, they do their best to be integrated positively. Therefore, they highly attempt to be integrated positively; in his opinion, they somehow can be more Finnish than the Finns themselves. The question that arises here is what is wrong if a person is highly motivated and endeavored to be precisely like a Finnish person or even more? The answer might, to some extent tacitly replied by the respondent. He mentioned in his comment that “try too hard to be very positive” it didn’t mean whether their attempts could successfully reach positive outcomes or not. What if their attempts cannot be recognized as accomplishment and success? The same respondent expressed the reason for the success of some immigrants that may mean their attempts could reach success. He continued by stating:

Interviewee C: “Immigrants are often like this, they work hard, but over time, some of the tensions that arise, I think people change their ways, they get frustrated, maybe you have interviewed many people, they found out themselves or not. And this is what I think if you go from the beginning with pure and sincere intentions...or you go to good environments that you can show yourself. For example, it has been said that some Immigrants have made a lot of progress because I said that we are motivated many times more than the Finns. He knows that, for example, I have little chance of working in Finland. They work hard; they spend their free time working, because they think there is a lack of language and many other things.”

The explanations he stated are apparent concerning the possible reasons for the success of some immigrants. However, he did not explain why some of the refugees may change their ways when seeing tensions. On the other hand, somewhere else in his interview, he might tacitly cover the reasons of those whose attempts were not successful. He stated that:

Interviewee C: “you go from one class to another class. When you get rid of one course, you go to another. While, for example, I now understand, and of course, I am still not sure, I did not have to go to vocational school (Ammattikoulu). Somehow it was situated among immigrants that you must go to a vocational school. This is not the fault of anyone; maybe we haven’t been informed correctly... systematically, it has been planned for you... who said that I should study this if I want to work in a factory. Who said I must study in a vocational school (ammattii)? It’s in us that you have to read something, right? Those who studied in vocational school are less in the positions that correspond with their certificates...now they are individuals (immigrants) we see today after twenty years, thirty years, they don’t have a steady job, why? Because they have gone our ways, isn’t it?”

His explanations are regarding the structural and social plans for the immigrants as part of integration policies and objectives. He critically discusses that immigrants may not have to study vocational school. His justification is mainly for the adults of immigrants who do not seek professional working environments. He also provides grounds by assuming that the jobs of many immigrants do not match with their vocational certificates. The importance of this example was to the point that immigrants might not be aware of the Finnish integration system and therefore consider the policies of the Finnish integration system as what must be followed. However, his points at least reveal how immigrants’ understandings towards Finnish structures and cultures evolve after living for many years and modify after working for some years.

These cultural and structural challenges emerge after working and being in Finnish organizations. From the previous sub-chapter of inequality, respondent D stated two examples of inequality, and here he explains why he did not resist. His explanations were due to structural challenges and obstacles imposed on him from outside of the work. The structural challenges he narrated were from two main governmental offices of Kela and Te-toimisto. He narrated that:

Interviewee D: “the case here is that if you have worked a lot somewhere, once you apply for the next job, it is written in the CV of a person, he calls to the number of the previous employer, but if you answer and defend yourself, he will probably write that this worker was bad... It should be written badly in your backgrounds files or there was a possibility that he would tell, we do not want this person at all...from the other side you have the contract with the Finnish employment agency (Te-toimisto), you should inform them when you go to work, right? Both Finnish employment agency and Kela know that you are going to work, even one week, or one day before the end of contract, if you terminate the work, the employment

agency grabs your collar that why didn't you work, from the other side, Kela office says indirectly that do you want to get money without work, or they won't give any money for two months as punishment for not working. They won't come and examine that they behaved very badly that he had to leave the job, this is why you scare to resist... these things happened twice for me."

This respondent illustrates his reasons not to resist that otherwise can put himself under intense pressure by the Finnish governmental agencies, and his chances decrease from future working applications. Therefore, Finnish governmental agencies have a role in reconstructing immigrants' identity through the ways immigrants can undergo the sense of inclusion and acculturation in the Finnish organizations and Finnish society.

5. DISCUSSION

This study aimed to analyze the process of identity reconstruction of refugees within Finnish organizations through identity work and based on acculturation and inclusion criteria. The argument that emerged in different layers of this study was to understand why it has been significant to analyze the reconstruction of the identity of immigrants and what was the objective of such studies. One reason is that exploring the interplay between and within various levels of identity construction can afford a richer understanding of identity dilemmas, conflicts, and processes (Kreiner et al., 2006a). The second reason is that the significance of understanding how refugees' identities are reconstructed through identity work can function as a bridge for analyzing under what circumstances refugees can be acculturated and included within Finnish organizations and in Finnish society. Therefore, studying on the boundaries of identity provides a multifaceted way to report identity and identity change throughout levels of analysis (Kreiner et al., 2006a). This research also objectively contributes to the personal, organizational and social identity literature and identity work by integrating multiple aspects of studying identity. The respondents actively involved in identity work through different strategies and tactics by narrating their 'self' and others' views of themselves, as also emphasized by Atewologun et al. (2016).

This chapter and the next two sub-chapters will bring together the theoretical lenses from Chapter 2 and empirical findings from Chapter 4. The objective is to seek to answer the research questions under diverse permutations from empirical findings. Both the theoretical chapters and the empirical findings allowed me to contemplate on the three main contributions to the process of identity reconstructions of refugees. The complexity that appeared from the personal, organizational, and social identity could lead to three major themes concerning conducting identity work of the refugees. The first theme revealed that conducting identity work could lead to negotiation in identity hierarchy and early-adopting identity work tactics in Finnish organizations. The second theme revealed that conducting identity work could lead to tensions between self-aspects of refugees' identities and other actors in Finnish organizations. Finally, the last theme revealed that conducting identity work could be intensified while refugees encountered explicit challenges and obstacles within Finnish organizations. The last theme identifies those challenges and obstacles that directly influence the identity reconstructions of refugees. Therefore, personal qualities, organizational and social life have a direct impact on refugees' identity reconstruction. In addition, these impacted elements on the identity reconstruction of refugees could reveal the acculturation and inclusion of refugees in Finnish organizations.

In the data analysis section, the three created significant themes were discussed in detail by providing many examples and illustrations. Besides, the following two chapters will present the answers to research questions through different layers. However, through the major themes, I identified one central motif that refugees constantly negotiate to construct their sense of 'selves' within themselves and their environment. I define it as 'inner self-border identity'. Therefore, the following sub-chapter is regarding the implication of identity work and 'inner self-border identity', and its relationship to the theoretical section and empirical results will be discussed. The second sub-chapter is devoted to all the created themes of data analysis that will be discussed from the aspect of acculturation and inclusion. Finally, suggestions for future research will be presented.

5.1. Implications of Identity Work and Inner Self-Border Identity

Prior research concerning identity work has empirically applied for many diverse groups of individuals in organizations. In this study, identity work applied for ethnic minority refugees in which individuals had all the distinct characteristics to be considered as the best potential candidate for conducting identity work. The reason is that refugees possess various qualities such as distinct race, language, values, ideologies, and mindset, which are visible and perceptible in any work they conduct. In this study, identity work happened for the refugees through 'Musts' and 'Nots' that mostly emanated from their identity-based characteristics; however, through psychological-based characteristics, they consciously or unconsciously conducted identity work within their working environments.

The first research question was, "how do refugees working in Finnish organizations construct and reconstruct their identities (personal, social, organizational) through identity work?". The answer to this question is stretched out under diverse layers in empirical findings and this chapter. However, in a nutshell, refugees attempted to reconstruct their identities through identity work by implementing many types of activities in order to meet the needs of their core aspects of identity (arising from inner self-border and through 'Musts' and 'Nots') and strived to find out ways to balance them with organizational requirements.

As mentioned, identity can be attached to anything (Alvesson et al., 2008), and therefore whatever an individual commits can be considered a part of his or her identity. In the prior research about identity work, nearly many actions people committed in organizations could be attached to the identity work they conduct. For instance, as the most recent definition of identity work, Caza et al. (2018, p. 895) mention that "Identity work in

occupations and organizations consists of the cognitive, discursive, physical, and behavioral activities that individuals undertake with the goal of forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, revising, or rejecting collective, role, and personal self-meanings within the boundaries of their social contexts". This new definition can reveal why studies related to identity work are very rich but concurrently is so fragmented and applied nearly for any employee in organizations. Therefore, there is a requirement to reconceptualize identity work and create strict boundaries within it. On the other hand, the findings of the prior research in identity work had mixed the psychological aspects of human beings with identity-based characteristics. Therefore, researchers mainly attached personal aspects of identity to psychological aspects of individuals because distinguishing between them is challenging for scholars.

The incorporating identity work suggested by Atewologun et al. (2016) applied in this study as previously illustrated. However, it is an analytical definition approach towards the study of incorporated identity work and may not be considered as a pure definition of identity work. Through the empirical findings, conducting identity work by the refugees could reveal that the definition of Snow and Anderson (1987) is one of the most appropriate definitions from a personal perspective and not organizational, in which consist of the features visible in the identity work of the refugees. Snow and Anderson (1987, p. 1348) define identity work as "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept". Through this definition, refugees engaged in many activities to create, present, and sustain personal identities that sought to find congruency with and supportive of the self-concept. In addition, within the context of organizations, refugees attempted not only to find congruency with and supportive of the self-concept but also supportive of the requirements of organizational-concept. Therefore, refugees conducted many types of activities to balance their core aspect of identity with organizational requirements.

In this study, the informants created borders between their obligations arising from their core aspects of personal identity (such as values, ideologies, gender, role, and even ethical issues) and their external influencers arising from organizations or society. Therefore, through empirical data, the central motif ('inner self-border identity') emerged in which refugees constantly negotiate to reconstruct their sense of 'selves' within the core aspect of their identity and the environment surrounding them, such as organizations. This motif could reveal what kinds of 'Musts' and 'Nots' individuals have within the central aspects of their identities. In this study, because the informants held and executed multiple 'Musts' and

'Nots', identity work intensified, which naturally increased the tensions among various actors in organizations.

In order to have a nuanced comprehension of how identity work was implemented in this study, table 3 was produced. Within table 3, four major issues were explained in connection to the second cluster of empirical data. It was explained, first, how identity work tactics employed by the refugees; second, how did refugees engage in identity work; three, what inspired refugees to conduct identity work; and four, the source of identity work, whether it arises from psychological characteristics or identity-based (inner-self border identity) through 'Musts' and 'Nots'.

Table 3. The relationship between the 2nd order of clusters and implementation of identity work by the refugees.

2 nd order of clustering	Identity work tactics	How did refugees engage in identity work?	What inspired refugees to conduct identity work?	The source of identity work whether psychological-based or through 'Musts' and 'Nots'
The influence of leadership team on conducting identity work by the refugees	Adoption and acceptance of identity hierarchy	By adjusting themselves to the leadership style, and situating themselves in leaders' positions	1. Organizational consistency	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots' E.g., Due to subordinate identity, must find ways to cope with others
Behavioral identity work	Managing self that may arise from loneliness at work	By repairing, reforming and rebuilding personal identity	1. Confronting discrimination at work, 2. Maintaining and reflecting on the identity of 'ethical worker' 3. Create meaning and legitimacy	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots' E.g., Must find ways to deal with loneliness
Adoption and integration as	Early-adoption of identity work and discursive tactics	By adjusting his or her identity to a collective	1. Negotiating personal aspect of identity 2. Attempting to remove the borders 3. Sameness	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots' E.g., Due to distinct race, must accelerate integration to be accepted by others; must find ways to remove cultural borders

Congruency of refugees' personal values with Finnish organizational values	Rejecting and avoiding tactics due to inner 'Nots'	By changing self to a collective role, By maintaining and managing self-aspects of personal identity	1. Personal values, and ideologies 2. Keeping organizational norms	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots' E.g., Must follow inner values such as personal values and ethical values
The role of mutual expectations in conducting identity work	Adopting to organizational norms and culture	By negotiating subconscious desires, By tacit expectations	1. Need for agency 2. Inclusion	Psychological-based
The process of identity changes of the refugees	Compensation by working hard, laughing and smiling, sacrificing	By showing positive aspects of self, Through role-based identity, By repairing personal identity, By working hard	1. Decreasing tensions in the workplace 2. Identity crisis	Both psychological-based and Through 'Musts' and 'Nots'
Identity work occur naturally when individuals are labelled by the word 'refugee'	Self-restraint	By easing identity-based agitations,	1. Need for agency 2. Lack of the Finnish language proficiency 3. Managing occupational identity 4. Others' views of them	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots', E.g., Due to Lack of the Finnish language proficiency and the 'refugee' role must find ways to manage work-related issues and keeping self-esteem
Conducting identity work creates inequality for the refugees	Reasoning through self-questioning and subconscious sensemaking, Resistance	By revising and rebuilding self-aspects of identity, By resisting	1. Facing inequality 2. Standing for the customers' rights	Through 'Musts' and 'Nots', E.g., Due to inner values force themselves to stand for rights, and resist

Caza et al. (2018, p. 894) state that "identity work round organizations is not always straightforward". However, through 'Musts' and 'Nots', to some extent, identity work around organizations may find its path towards novel directions. As discussed in table 4, the 'Must and 'Nots' of the refugees could emanate from many factors such as distinct race, language, values, and ideologies. In the prior research, for instance, as mentioned earlier in the theoretical section of identity work, Watson (2008, p. 122) stated that managers "have to act as the voice..., must be seen as..., must present themselves to others". Therefore, such 'Musts' make the identity work inevitable for managers apart from their psychological aspects. The reason is that psychological aspects of individuals may change by the passage

of time, while ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’ of individuals are attached to the identity they hold. As in the example, managers hold some kinds of ‘Musts’ that emanate from the role they maintain. In addition, the source of ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’ varies significantly among individuals and can emanate, for example, from the occupational roles, ethnicity, gender, and personal values.

In order to have a better understanding of ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’ of individuals, some examples from the empirical data were created in table 4. I attempted not to refer to psychological aspects of personal identity but only refer to identity-based characteristics through implications of ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’.

Table 4. The relationship between interviewees’ quotes and ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’

Direct quotes from the interviewees	Implications of ‘Musts’ and ‘Nots’
A: ‘At the workplace nobody wants to have problems with each other, and everyone likes to support each other. So, in this case, a worker like me is not important at all’	When this individual thinks he is not important, thus he must conduct identity work in order to find ways to do his working tasks and managing self-identity
F: “This is where I work now. There are a few people who are very anti-foreign persons. Many times, we have faced problems. My tolerance was extremely high”	This individual must find different identity work tactics in order to get along with anti-foreign people at work
C: “I noticed that everything I said could be spread.”	This individual thinks that having a different race and being a refugee could be a reason for gossips; thus he must apply self-managing techniques through identity work
A: “There is a band, a working band that I have seen in any job. Most of them tend to rumor about you and look at you differently, and it can put you in trouble”	This individual also must apply different identity work tactics in order to cope with working bands
B: “You have to be alone”	When this individual “have to” be alone, then he must employ identity work tactics to cope with loneliness (in the organization)- mainly arise from having a different personal identity
B: “It doesn’t mean that your work is right or wrong. The others may do the wrong work, but you have to be like them and get along with them.” H: ‘But these (Finnish people) are not the ones who should get along with us because we are in the minority. We have to deal with it’	These individuals also used “have to”, which he must find ways to get along with others- by applying different identity work tactics that mainly arise from a different racial identity

E: "I have my own culture in my mind, my dress, my scarf. But I follow all the rules"	The 'Musts' of this individual arise from inner values that are a must for her to comply with even within the organization
H: "we have some conflicts we have hugging of children. Now I try to do this with children who are Afghan or Iranian and Persian speakers, but I try not to do it with Finnish children"	This individual must cope with cultural differences in order to manage work-related issues and being in harmony with other employees
B: "They told me that they went to drink wine, but I didn't go. This caused a space between us"	This individual by holding 'Nots' which arise from inner values could not accompany colleagues, and thus must apply different identity work tactics to decrease the space
D: "No one says anything to me for an hour, but what is my conscience"	This individual due to having inner values, must satisfy his inner needs
C: "You want to compensate your weaknesses in language by hardworking"	This individual due to the language weaknesses, must compensate through other channels
F: "Because we are a foreigner. We have to be more patient" F: "We have to, we are foreigners. We are an alien that we have to tolerate"	This individual used "have to" which means due to having a different racial identity must be more patient. Patience may be considered as an identity work tactic that individual applied due to decreasing the tensions at workplace
C: "We must consume energy. Sometimes you do both physical and mental work"	This individual used "must" for consuming energy at work. Physical work is related to his occupational tasks and mental work is related to lack of language skills. Therefore, he must consume energy to be perceived by others as a valuable employee.

It can be inferred from the empirical data that 'Musts' and 'Nots' of the individuals emerged from different racial identities, personal values, and cultural differences. Therefore, due to identity-based differences, individuals must negotiate, perform, adapt, avoid, revise, manage and rebuild their desire identity through different identity work tactics at the workplace in order to be able to harmonize their identity-based characteristics with work-related issues. Identity work can also be conducted for other types of employees that their "Musts' and 'Nots' can emerge through, for instance, occupational role or gender. Therefore, whatever emerges from 'Musts' and 'Nots' of individuals, such as occupational role and

gender, can cause identity work to occur. Therefore, it can be more meaningful if identity work can be studied for the individuals who hold 'inner self-border identity and execute through 'Musts' and 'Nots', because their reflection in the workplace is unavoidable according to identity-based differences and not psychological differences.

At this stage, it may not be evident (by only this study) whether this boundary creation can solve some confusion in research about identity work. However, it is perceptible that 'Musts' and 'Nots' of individuals can cause identity work to occur, and they can be caused due to conducting identity work. From another aspect, this study might have played a somewhat significant role in distinguishing and creating a border between psychological aspects of personal characteristics and identity-based qualities through the terms 'Musts' and 'Nots'. Accordingly, by combining these novel terms, research around identity work in organizations may be further developed.

5.2. The Process of Acculturation and Inclusion of Refugees

The second research question was 'how do their (refugees) identities impact their acculturation and inclusion in Finnish organizations?'. Before answering this question, the main factors that significantly impact the reconstruction of refugees' identities should be understood. Through the analysis of empirical data, refugees' identities are reconstructed by the influence of challenges they encounter under three various contexts:

1. They face challenges and difficulties imposed by their personal qualities arising from the tacit expectations of their Finnish colleagues.
2. The difficulties and challenges imposed from organizational characteristics emerged from their colleagues.
3. The challenges imposed by refugees' mindset towards different aspects of identity such as national identity and cultural identity, as a result, lead to identity crisis.

Therefore, each of the challenges impacts the acculturation and inclusion of refugees, and it will be discussed under diverse layers throughout this chapter. Consequently, those challenges were assessed through the first cluster of empirical data in table 5 in detail.

The empirical findings of this research also affirm the study of Van Laer and Janssens (2017) that ethnic minority employees' agency is loading up with tensions and contradictions in which individuals encounter struggles in trade-offs between identity, career, and social life. However, this study went beyond the struggles in identity, career, and social life. This

study also investigated how acculturation and inclusion of refugees were impacted by the identity work they conducted through the influencers of organizational and social life.

Identity cannot be analyzed based on any model or in a simplistic version of positive identity or negative identity. This is because understanding the criteria in which identity can be described or analyzed is not possible. The identity formation of an individual is constantly under the process of development that is a response to the social milieu a person lives in, and acculturation is a major factor within it (Abdulahad, Delaney & Brownlee, 2009), and inclusion framework. Therefore, according to the criteria of acculturation and inclusion, the components of the three main themes could be analyzed.

To do so, table 5 shows the incorporation of all the aggregate themes and their clusters of data analysis. The interrelation between acculturation and inclusion has its own complexity. However, as mentioned earlier in the theoretical chapter, inclusion will be discussed based on the removal of barriers to the full participation (Robertson, 2006). On the other side, acculturation may occur through various adaptations, which by and large can lead to socio-cultural and socio-psychological adaptations because of its link to identity change, as mentioned in the theoretical section (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Socio-cultural adaptation talks about practical and behavioral aspects that individuals on a daily basis can navigate the culture effectively. In contrast, socio-psychological adaptation refers to how glad and convenient a person feels in regard to being in a new culture or worried and uneasy (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). Therefore, in table 5, individuals under the first order of clusters were counted as positive if they could adapt themselves either through socio-cultural or socio-psychological aspects or negative if adaptation was difficult for them.

On the other hand, the inclusion framework that has emanated from diversity literature and diversity literature has its roots in social identity theory could support in understanding whether refugees' identities have the potential capabilities for inclusion. Prior research and conceptualization of inclusion suggest diverse contextual elements such as inclusive climate, inclusive leadership, and inclusive practices (Shore et al., 2011). Since each of the contextual factors has different categories on how to study inclusion, thus, it is not possible to analyze the empirical results of inclusion based on the contextual elements suggested by Shore et al. (2011).

However, the 'inclusive climate' could be adapted in clarifying the obstacles refugees faced during their inclusion process. Shore et al. (2011, p. 1276-77) suggested that future research can focus on "specific components of climate, such as those involved in justice-related events, in opportunity and interpersonal integration, or in organization's racial identity, as they related specifically to employees' perceptions of inclusion". Therefore, the

focus of the inclusive climate is on the employees' perception of inclusion that was at the center of this study. Therefore, in table 5, the capability of inclusion was evaluated under the inclusive climate and described as positive with a high orientation towards removing obstacles and negative with a low orientation. Accordingly, the study results were summarized in table 5 below based on the relationship between the first order of clusters and the concepts of acculturation and inclusion.

Table 5. The relationship between the first order of clusters of data analysis and the concept of acculturation and inclusion

2nd order of clustering	1st order of clustering	The connection of first order clustering with Acculturation	The connection of 2nd order of clustering with inclusion
The influence of leadership team on conducting identity work by the refugees	The existence of no hierarchy in Finnish organizations	Positive (increase the sense of resemblance)	Positive (increase the sense of equality)
	Ethical dialogue and modesty of leaders in Finnish organizations	Positive (improve the sense of support)	Positive (strengthen the sense of negotiation for inclusion)
	Confer credits to Finnish employees by Finnish leaders	Positive (understandable for refugees), Negative (sub-consciously may refer to 'I am not the same')	Negative (seen as a barrier for inclusion)
Behavioral identity work	Finnish Individualistic characteristics	Positive (reduce verbal argumentations)	Positive (less interfere), Negative (in the case of spreading gossip)
	Contradictory perceptions towards refugees	Negative (being in center of attention because of otherness)	Negative (lead to loneliness)
	The role of group and banding among Finnish employees	Negative (not feeling happy and not the same)	Negative (reduce the sense of inclusion)
Adoption and integration as identity work tactic	Difference between integration at work and in society	Positive (treated equally as being an employee means to work) Negative (border creation)	Positive (analysis for inclusion if the individual can adopt him or herself)
Congruency of refugees' personal values with Finnish-organizational values	Compliance of refugees' personal values with organizational values	Positive (following all the organizational values without concern of the incongruency of their personal values)	Positive (if the personal values are not seen as a threat) Negative (if personal values are seen as barrier)

	Values and ideologies of refugees are seen as a reason to be mis-judged	Negative (not participating in out of work activates, assuming a radical Muslim)	Negative (lead to creation border between individuals)
The role of mutual expectations in conducting identity work	Personal values as an internal border for refugees	Negative (increase more formal dialogues)	Negative (emerging misunderstanding of their values)
	Finnish employees' expectations from refugees	Negative (not joining for a drink, judged as do not like their Finnish colleagues)	Negative (reduce the sense of inclusion)
	Cultural expectations of refugees from Finnish employees	Negative (Expect Finns to behave like them)	Negative (a barrier for an accurate understanding of Finnish culture)
The process of identity changes of the refugees	Some of the collective characteristic of refugees	Positive (intimate, positive attitudes, problems solver)	Positive (increase the sense of inclusion) Negative (too much of some of the qualities are not good to show such as intimacy)
	Refugees' contradictory perception of identity.	Positive (are ready to receive good things from Finnish identities) Negative (cannot receive all Finnish characteristics)	Positive (can be included even if there are differences) Negative (identity crisis can lead to exclusion)
	Learning how to behave and act for refugees requires a lot of time	Positive (reconstructing their perception of identity) Negative (decreasing and increasing of motivation by changing situations)	Positive (may learn and find ways to be included) Negative (lose the opportunity for inclusion negotiations)
Identity work occur naturally when individuals are labelled by the word 'refugee'	Self-pressure as means to be proved	Positive (work hard to feel glad that they are not less than others) Negative (if they feel that they cannot bear anymore)	Positive (do their best and increase their chances for inclusion) Negative (if their personal efforts are not encouraged)
	Language as the main challenge	Positive (contribute less to hot and challenging discussions) Negative (reduce the necessary work communication, losing good feelings)	Positive (increase the chances of inclusion) Negative (Fluent in Finnish may lead to talk more about personal values which effect the inclusion)
Conducting identity work creates inequality for the refugees	Imposing inequal division of work by other employees	Negative (losing good feelings)	Negative (reduce the sense of inclusion)
	Suspect might be considered the refugees	Negative (emotionally hurt)	Negative (decrease the sense of inclusion)

	Resistance recognized as a problem	Negative (increases the challenges and decreasing the good feelings)	Negative (reduce substantially the sense of inclusion)
The influence of structural and social challenges in identity of refugees	The difference between law and custom in the workplace	Positive (good feelings during integration programs before starting work). Negative (contradiction between law and custom that lead to less satisfaction in the working environment)	Positive (include themselves in all the integration programs before entering to Finnish working environments). Negative (systematically may lead to exclusionary behavior of refugees)
	To be at any job rather than no job	Positive (more eager to accelerate integration programs and are comfortable to start work very fast)	Positive (inclusion may mean here to be included in any job, rather than inclusion in one specific job)
	Social pressure	Negative (increase external pressure on refugees that lead to lose of self-confidence and as a result good feeling)	Negative (Force inclusion by external authorities that may lead to misjudgment of refugees that is only imposed to them)

Employment has been considered as the single most essential element for successful acculturation in a new country (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). This statement might be critically discussed. However, analyzing acculturation at work determines different results. Therefore, simply being at work does not mean acculturation can happen successfully and still requires a variety of work-related analyses to be planned and implemented. As the complexity of examining and identifying whether an individual could be acculturated or included is perceptible from table 5. The socio-cultural and socio-psychological types of adaptation under the concept of acculturation were emphasized to be analyzed independently (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). However, the resources and nature of this study did not allow to cover the two major adaptations separately.

This model of study is somewhat similar to some other previous studies that see the links among significant constructs, ranging from personal needs to situational elements and from cultural effects to intrapsychic challenges (Kreiner et al., 2006b). Therefore, all the ranges of positive and negative elements within the acculturation and inclusion in table 5 are significant, and under various permutations can be assessed. However, the two factors that seem highly noteworthy for the acculturation and inclusion of refugees are the expectations of refugees from their Finnish colleagues and Finnish employees from their

refugees' co-workers. If refugees can decrease the level of their expectations from their Finnish colleagues regarding cultural behavior, behavioral characteristics, and social characteristics, then it certainly will facilitate their acculturation and inclusion process not only in Finnish organizations but also in society. On the contrary, if also Finnish employees can reduce the level of their expectations from their immigrants' co-workers, it would also positively impact the acculturation and inclusion process of immigrants.

Consequently, identity work strategies can be trained and shared (Kreiner et al., 2006b). Under the context of identity work and within the lenses of acculturation and inclusion, one suggestion is that refugees should see education concerning the Finnish organizational culture, cultural differences, behavioral differences, and social structures. On the other hand, Finnish employees also require education about their immigrants' colleagues in relation to the various personal characteristics, cultural differences, values, and religious ideologies. Lack of these sorts of knowledge negatively impacts the inter-relationship between immigrants and Finnish employees and thus negatively impacts their acculturation and inclusion process.

Education can facilitate and accelerate the acculturation and inclusion process of immigrants. Moreover, it can create a sense of 'acceptance' by both parties of immigrants and Finnish employees. Acceptance means that immigrants or Finnish employees would be able to "accept" the way their counterparts behave or act and thus can lead to 'acceptance' of each other. Consequently, education can pave the way for the elimination of presumptions and pre-judgments. Interestingly, it could tacitly be understood from the empirical results that discrimination in the workplace often occurred due to a lack of knowledge about refugees and immigrants which by education can be decreased.

There are a variety of elements within the results of table 5 that can be researched just in one particular subject, such as the role of inequality, discrimination, resistance, language, values, ideologies in Finnish organizations. However, this research aimed not to bring all those issues but naturally, through the interviews, those issues emerged and have a massive influence on the identity reconstruction of refugees. The analysis of interviews recognized that refugees possess a high analytical mindset with a sense of conscience. These two individual aspects of refugees can highly influence their analysis from their working environments by distinguishing among people and constantly interpret and change their views.

One significant factor about the personal characteristics of refugees that varies among individuals is the role of resistance. For instance, at the societal level, in a study that was done by Abdulahad, Delaney, Brownlee (2009), the resistance of Iraqi refugees in

Canada was not considered as resistance to Canadian acculturation but attached to traditional values with a strong personal, social and cultural identities. Refugees resist for various reasons, and in this study, resistance took place because of work-related matters and not due to personal values or ideologies. The resistance of refugees should not be seen as an exclusionary behavior or negative element in refugees' character but as attempts for inclusion. During the interviews, very few refugees had the resistance characteristics; however, those who explained their stories impliedly emphasized their attempts for inclusion in the organizations by showing resistance.

All and all, this master's thesis could incorporate different theoretical lenses and emphasize on the identity work, acculturation, and inclusion frameworks. Individuals in this study cognitively and constantly reconstruct their identity through internal self-dialogue by evaluating their own identity with the identity of others. Thus, they utilized ethnicity role, cultural perception, behavioral characteristics, and personal values as the main challenges in order to reconstruct their identities based on the acculturation and inclusion criteria within Finnish organizations. On the other hand, the sense of acculturation and inclusion for refugees is not stable and, within various circumstances, changes. Moreover, it requires a considerable amount of working experience from the perspective of their personal characteristics, such as reducing expectations. However, on the contrary, Finnish organizations also have a considerable role in the acculturation and inclusion process of their immigrants' employees. The reason is that immigrants have no role in that part and acculturation and inclusion may be affected if there are structural and organizational obstacles.

5.3. Suggestions for Future Research

This master's thesis could reveal many avenues for the researchers to further develop this study through theoretical approaches and empirical studies. Therefore, suggestions for future research are divided into first utilizing theories and second empirical works. Identity work as the central theoretical concept of this study had a significant role in identifying slightly novel approaches to studying identity work by combining various lenses.

From theoretical aspects, future research can combine two or three theories through multidisciplinary studies in order to have more comprehensive results. The same approach in applying theories in this study can be applied for future studies. However, identity work

as the leading theory can be studied as a tool for discovering acculturation and inclusion of individuals within organizations. Acculturation and inclusion can act as means to understand immigrants' barriers in reconstructing their identities or act as objectives to understand whether conducting identity work can lead to acculturation and inclusion of refugees.

Regarding future empirical research, the same approach applied in this study for humanitarian-based immigrants can also be studied for other types of immigrants, such as employment-based immigrants and second-generation immigrants. Therefore, it would be meaningful to compare how the identity of other types of immigrants are reconstructed in Finnish society through conducting identity work in Finnish organizations. Therefore, a comparison among various studies can reveal the different major elements of acculturation and inclusion of various types of immigrants in Finnish organizations. However, through longitudinal studies, the same approach can be applied to the refugees working in one specific sector. The reason is that in this study, the informants had diverse jobs that certainly influenced the result of the study.

From another perspective, this study can be the stepping-stone for entering immigrants' studies about understanding identity reconstruction of immigrants through organizational lifestyle. Thus, future research also can focus on how immigrants reconstruct their identities through other influencers. It was mentioned in the introduction section that media has a substantial impact on immigrants' identity reconstruction in Finland. Thus, researchers can investigate the role of Finnish media on the identity reconstruction of immigrants and how it impacts the acculturation and inclusion of immigrants in the long run. In addition, researchers can focus on the structural elements such as governmental agencies and shifting governments by the elections to analyze their impacts on the identity reconstruction of the immigrants and how it affects the acculturation and inclusion of immigrants in Finnish organizations and society.

Finally, in regard to Finnish people, it would be relevant if the researchers can also focus on Finnish people by studying the impacts of immigrants on the identity reconstruction of Finnish people either in organizations or society. Since identity is always under construction, the last question asked from the respondents was whether they would be inclined to conduct another interview after five years to examine how their identities change. Interestingly, all the informants agreed happily to conduct another interview after five years. As a result, there is a possibility to continue this research in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

“First of all, tell me about yourself. I don’t need your name or family name. Just about how long you have been living in Finland and about your backgrounds such as duration of life in Finland, years of working experiences, education, and the rest just this background question in short.”

The first set of questions regarding understanding the relationship between individuals and Finnish organizations

1. How would you describe your relationship with the working environment? Including managers, employees and other people in Finnish organizations
2. How would you describe your relationship with your co-workers?
3. How do your co-workers support you?
4. What would happen if you made a mistake at work?
5. How do you interact with your co-workers outside of work? Could you make any friends from all the jobs you have had?
6. How does your employer support you and your career?
7. If you have any suggestions, can you provide feedback? Or have you ever been asked about your ideas in your working environments?
8. Do you feel that your values match with the organizational values and the other employees’ values in your current and previous works?
9. What kinds of cultural challenges and obstacles do you encounter in your daily working environment?
10. Do you think you are being treated equally? If No, why do you think so?
11. Under what circumstances you feel that your emotions are hurt in your working environments?
12. To what degree can you be self-determined and able to resist the possible external pressure at your working place?
13. In general, how do you describe shaping the sense of belonging at work?
14. Under what situations you think about promotion or changing jobs?
15. What is your idea about leadership and management style in Finnish organizations?
16. What kinds of perception you had before starting any jobs? And how your ideas changed after being at work for a while?

The second category of questions was regarding the informants’ identities

17. How do you describe your identity? And who were you before coming to Finland and who are you now?
18. What are the main changes that have happened to you?
19. How do you think other employees see you at the working place?
20. If you want to describe your nationality, how would you describe it now?
21. How do you evaluate your own identity while interacting with Finnish people in Finnish organizations?

The third category of questions regarding cultural and personal characteristics of individuals

22. How much do you know yourself? Or how much knowledge do you have about your personal characteristics?
23. To what degree do you show your culture at work? And how?
24. To what degree do you show a tendency in making a relationship with Finnish people in Finnish organizations?
25. To what degree do you attempt to remove the cultural barrier you encounter at work?