

The Integration of Russian immigrants into the Finnish labour market and Society

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The study describes the integration attempts of Russian immigrants to the Finnish labour market and to the Finnish society. The aim is to describe and examine the immigration and integration as a process, investigating the possible obstacles, difficulties and challenges on integration. The results of the study will show what kind of difficulties the integration process has as well as the demands of the Finnish labour market when Russian immigrants are seeking employment.

Even though the integration process of Russian immigrants is under investigation, the research has a presumption. The research concentrates into the integration process from the perspective of Russian immigrants. The presumption is that there can be discrimination against the Russian immigrants both in Finnish society and Finnish labour market. Integration to the society is approached from the perspective of individual experience. Integration to the labour market is simply measured by getting employed.

The method of the study is *instrumental case study*. The Russian minority is used as a case instrument to investigate the behaviour of Finnish labour market and society. The case group is 11 Russian immigrants. Data of the research is collected by using qualitative, theme interviews. The written interviews were the best qualitative way to describe the individual experience of migration and integration; how respondents find their options, possibilities and difficulties when trying to find a job and their place in Finnish society. When analysing the interviews, I will use Narrative Theme Analysis since the questionnaire is build on themes and the data collected is narrative. In addition to collected data, I will use secondary data and descriptive statistics.

The first priority of the research is to describe the overall view of the integration of the Russian immigrants to the Finnish labour market and to the society. The second priority is to describe the experienced discrimination in that process. In addition, research describes subjective perception of Russian immigrants in being part of the Finnish society.

As a result of the investigation, I found out that the discrimination exist more strongly in the labour market than in society. The case group has experienced difficulties in the application process when seeking employment. At the end of the research, I will discuss the possible solutions for the future problems of labour migration and integration of foreigners in Finland.

Keywords: Immigration, immigrant, labour market, foreign labour force, integration, discrimination, Russian minority

Table of contents:

1. Introduction.....	4
2. Theoretical concepts	6
2.1 Immigrants in Finland.....	6
2.2 Foreigners in Finnish Labour market.....	8
2.3 Migration and demography in Europe	15
2.4 Russians in Finland	18
2.5 Integration	24
2.6 How the discrimination manifests itself.....	28
3. Methods & Data.....	33
3.1 Instrumental Case Study Approach.....	33
3.1.1 Generalisation	35
3.2 Collecting Data	35
3.3 Thematic, Narrative Analysis	36
4. Analysis.....	38
4.1 Entry to Finland	38
4.2 Integration to the labour market.....	39
4.3 Experiences of discrimination in Finnish labour market and society	42
4.4 Being part of the society	45
4.5 Summarising	46
5. Discussion and policy recommendations	50
5.1 Are we still afraid of Russians?	51
References.....	53
Figures and Tables	57
Questionnaire (English translated version).....	58

1. Introduction

The research investigates the integration of Russian immigrants in to the Finnish society and labour market. Russians are the largest minority in Finland and the amount of people who speaks Russian as their native language is one percent of the population. In addition, Finland and Russia share an interesting history between them. The amount of Russians has been increasing consistently since Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

The process of the research started in the year 2008, when I realised that Russians are struggling to get employed in Finland. I wondered if the old conflict with Russians still effects on the behaviour of Finnish labour market and society. I started studying more precisely the migration and labour migration in Europe. I compared Finland to some other European Welfare States, using indicators provided by OECD and UN. The lack of the use of foreign labour force in Finnish labour market became a relevant question. As a second question was the position of the Russian minority in Finnish society.

The Russian minority which has been personally close to me suffered and still suffers from high unemployment rate in Finland. In 2009, I worked as a researcher in a research centre in Trento, Italy, where I participated in an international research. My contribution was gathering data concerning the movements of Russians to Finland and other Western European countries. When comparing the movements of Russians, there seemed to be some difficulties when integrating especially to Finland. During my work, I studied the history of the movements between these countries in the 20th century. In my research, I wanted to know how the integration process to Finnish society and labour market looks at the perspective of Russian immigrants. I chose Russians as my case group because of my close relationship to Russia. The second factor was that Russians seemed to face relatively difficult situations when integrating into Finland. The unemployment rate of the Russian minority in Finland is approximately 30 per cent, even though the educational level of Russians is even higher than among Finns. The level of the education among the Russians as well their unemployment level was one of the factors which made me to investigate their integration.

The focus of the research goes from wide to narrow. First I will draw a holistic picture around the phenomenon by introducing all the factors which are relevant to this research.

I will introduce the concept of immigration in Finland as well as some of the figures from the use of foreign labour force in Finnish labour market. In this concept Finland can be considered an interesting case. Foreign labour force constitutes approximately 2 per cent out of the whole labour force in Finland. Finland has the smallest percentage of immigrants compared with population among European countries. I will introduce earlier researches and results which can be considered important to this study and discussion around the integration of foreigners to Finnish society and labour market. Despite of the integration process of Russian immigrants is the main focus of the investigation and the integration is the main theoretical concept, the research has a presumption. The research concentrates in the integration process from the perspective of Russian immigrants. From the beginning of the process, it has been acknowledged that there can be discrimination against the Russian immigrants both in Finnish society and Finnish labour market. Integration to the society is approached from the perspective of individual experience since the data is qualitative. Research reveals the integration process from the perspective of a Russian person. Integration to the labour market is simply measured by getting employed.

The instrumental case study is the overall method and approach for the whole study. When analysing the interviews, I will use Narrative Theme Analysis since the questionnaire is build on themes and the data collected is narrative. In addition to collected data, I will use secondary data and descriptive statistics. The Russian minority is used as a case instrument to investigate the behaviour of Finnish labour market and society. Throughout the qualitative data, I will investigate the Finnish labour market and society and focus my investigation on integration. In the last chapter, I will discuss the whole phenomenon and introduce some suggestions to improve the integration of Russian immigrants to the Finnish labour market.

2. Theoretical concepts

2.1 Immigrants in Finland

An Immigrant means a person who has migrated to Finland on a permanent basis (Foreign Ministry). At the end of the year 2007, there were 132 708 immigrants living permanently in Finland. It forms 2.5 per cent of the whole population of the country. (Arajärvi 2009, 15.) At the end of the year 2008 it was 143 000. The amount of immigrants in Finland has increased linearly since 1990. Interesting fact concerning immigrants living in Finland can be found in the age distribution. When comparing the age distribution among the Finns and among the immigrant population, the age distribution of immigrants is remarkably different in comparison with Finnish population. Comparing the statistics of 2007, the per cent of working age (15-64) of immigrants is remarkably high, 79 per cent. The same percentage in Finnish population is 66 per cent. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Centre of Finland). Based on this statistical fact, we could assume that the employment rate of immigrants in Finland should be high among the immigrants. If immigrants would reach out the same level of labour participation in Finland, the labour force would increase of 15 000 people. (Arajärvi 2009, 18.)

The amount of immigrants in Finland has increased linearly. For the comparison, the amount of immigrants in Finland in the year 1990 was 26 255. Here are the statistics from 2000 until the year 2007 (Tilastokeskus);

Table 1. The number of Immigrants in Finland 2000- 2007.

Year	Immigrants in Finland
2000	91 074
2001	98 577
2002	103 682
2003	107 003
2004	108 346
2005	113 852
2006	121 739
2007	132 708

Source: Tilastokeskus

Here are the biggest minorities in Finland. Statistics are from the year 2007. Statistics show the amount of citizens of certain nationalities, living in Finland:

Russia: 26 211

Estonia: 20 006

Sweden: 8 349

Somalia: 4 852

China: 3 978

The next figure presents the regional distribution of immigrants in Finland. Immigrants are primarily concentrated in larger cities in the south. From all the immigrants in Finland, 75 per cent lives in southern area. As the capital city, Helsinki has the largest amount of immigrants, 27 per cent of all immigrants in Finland. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 45.)

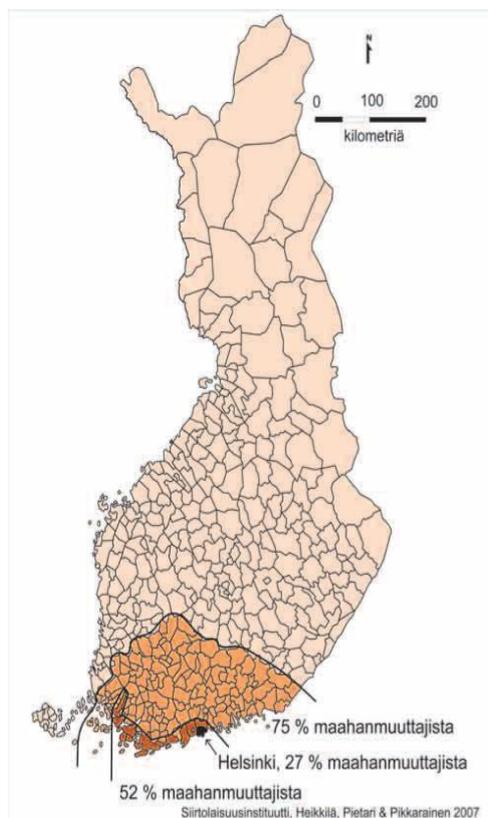


Figure 1. The regional distribution of immigrants in 2007

Source: Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007

The level of education varies remarkably among foreigners. High level of education among foreigners does not always correlate with employment, especially in case of Russians. The level of education among the Russian immigrants in Finland is remarkably high: almost 40 per cent of Russian immigrants have graduated from the university or polytechnic, whereas the corresponding number of the whole Finnish population is 30 per cent (Niemi 2007, 2). Despite this fact, unemployment among Russian immigrants is multiple in comparison with Finns.

Language skills seem to make a difference. Estonians have succeeded in integrating relatively well to the Finnish labour market. Estonian is in the same language group as Finnish, which means that learning the Finnish language is easier for Estonians than others.

2.2 Foreigners in Finnish Labour market

There is a common phenomenon in Western European Welfare states related to immigrants and their employment. Immigrants are over- represented in so called 3D professions (dirty, dangerous, and degrading) (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 61). Employment areas where foreign labour force is needed are often the ones where locals refuse to work. The common hypothesis of several scholars has been that wealthy capital states welcome foreign labour for the low skilled and low paid work. The use of cheaper foreign labour force increased during the past few years also in Finland. Generally, the use of foreign labour force in Finland is focused on relatively low skilled and paid work and professions where it is easy for employers to hire foreign labour force. Some labour market specialists are worried that in future, there will be professions where there are only immigrants working. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 134.) This phenomenon is already visible in Mediterranean countries, as example African farm workers in Spain and Ukrainian housekeepers in Italy.

Next figure presents the percentage of foreign labour force use from the whole national labour force in 2005. All bars are divided into three parts. The left part represents the employed migrants coming from EU-15 countries, part in the middle presents those from

EU- 10 countries and the right part of the bar presents the labour force coming from outside of EU.

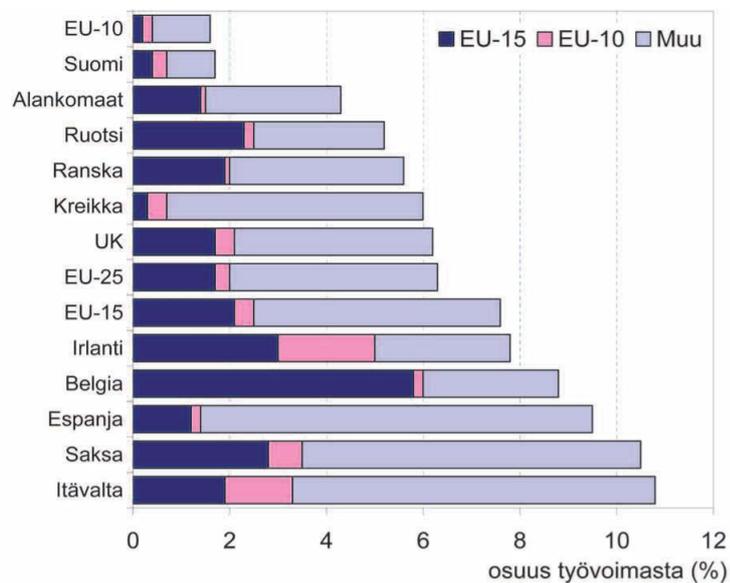


Figure 2: The percentage of the use of foreign labour force from national labour force in 2005 in European Union countries. Source: Commission of the European Communities

Based on OECD statistics, the percentage of foreign labour force in Finland is 2.6 percent, while in Sweden is 13.3 percent. (OECD 2006, 49–50).

There can be several reasons for the small use of foreign labour force in the Finnish labour market. Even though we are examining the integration of Russian immigrants to the labour market, some characteristics of the Finnish labour market are important to add to the discussion:

- The use of labour is relatively expensive in Finland. Costs of the salaries itself do not only make it expensive, there are significant externalised costs for the employer. In addition, employing is relatively bureaucratic process for the employer.
- Important factor to be considered is the 3D labour market. The 3D labour market is relatively small in Finland. Cheap labour force does not exist in Finland the same level it might exist in more liberal states. One of the main reasons can be found investigating the difference between the social benefits and low paid work. Simply saying, the difference in income between low paid work and social benefits is not

significant. Immigrants are employed more often than natives to the 3D labour market. I will discuss more of the phenomenon later on.

- It is logical to assume that recession has made the situation even more difficult for the foreigners in the labour market. The competition for the vacancies is higher since the unemployed rate has increased. As an example of the increased competition, research of “Työpoliittinen Tutkimus” (2006) describes how the Finnish employers prefer to employ preferably natives in times of recession.
- In case of Russians, I argue that Finnish media have distorted the picture of Russia and Russians. In addition, people do not have information or experience about Russia or Russians. General presumption is based on the picture given by Finnish media. In addition, the old fears connected to Russians still exist at some level in Finnish society. There are several researches describing the same phenomenon.
- Finland stayed as a 'Nation State' relatively long. Sweden for example implemented international politics and policy already in 1970's. By 'Nation State' I mean bounded society, where economic, political and cultural domains map neatly onto to each other (Walby 2003, 530). Finnish state, society and the labour market were strongly self-supportive until the late 1990's. Finland had relatively deep recession in the early 1990's. “Borders” started to open in the recovery process in many ways. Finland joined European Union in 1995 and in 1998 became the member of EMU.

Unemployment Rate

At the end of the year 2007, the average employment rate of foreigners in Finland was 50 per cent. The average unemployment rate was 21.6 per cent (changes over the years can be seen in the table 2). However, the unemployment rate differs radically among immigrant groups.

Table 2: The average unemployment rate among immigrants in Finland 1994- 2007.

Year	Unemployment Rate
1994	49.2 %
1995	46.2 %
1999	36.7 %
2000	31.8 %
2006	24.3 %
2007	21.6 %

Source: Tilastokeskus

In general, the unemployment level shows positive tendency. We can assume that free labour movement legislation and policies implemented by EU have decreased the unemployment rate in Finland (Arajärvi 2009). EU citizens do not need a working permit in Finland. Governments' policy has been focused on facilitation of the labour movements inside the EU area during the last decade.

Table 3: Top and lowest 3 unemployment rates among immigrant groups in Finland.

Top 3 highest	Top 3 lowest
Irak 61.8 %	Germany 5.4 %
Afganistan 53.4 %	Canada 6.0 %
Sudan 59.3 %	Poland 6.1 %

Source: Tilastokeskus

The nationalities, which have the highest unemployed rate, are asylum seekers. When comparing the unemployment rates among nationalities, there are few facts which have to be acknowledged. The legislation for the residence permit in Finland is different for asylum seekers than it is for other immigrants (KELA/ Social Insurance Institution of Finland web source). Asylum seekers are migrating because of the unstable and dangerous situation in their countries. The decisive matter for migration is safety. The migration and labour market policies do not consider them as a possible labour force. The policies are humanitarian oriented. When an asylum seeker is granted the permit to stay in the country, the permit for social rights is granted simultaneously (Ministry of Interior & KELA web sources). Practically this means the access to social benefits. I believe that

the fact that asylum seekers do not have to work or seek to work to get access to social benefits have reduced their possible attempts to integrate into the labour market and eventually to the whole society. Experiences from Sweden and Denmark support this. The cultural and religious background of asylum seekers have been 'over- understood' and they have been left out from obligatory ALMP (Active Labour Market Policy) actions. (Palola 2003, 50.) In recent years, government has made improvements by providing services focused precisely on the labour market integration of asylum seekers. Downside is still the slow implementation, especially in the capital city area. An asylum seeker can wait up to one year before meeting employment office authorities.

Another influencing factor for high unemployment rate among the asylum seekers can be the Islam family tradition. The asylum seeking women are in the weakest position because Islam family traditions tie women to home and women often have the low qualifications and education. (Palola 2003 & Arajärvi 2009.) This could explain partially the high unemployment rate. The gender roles in Finland are very different comparing to so call 'masculine societies'. Finland is considered being 'feminine society'. As an example of cultural conflicts, immigrants from Islam countries have struggled to integrate into the labour market where they might have to be working for female superiors. (Huang 2010, 86.)

When comparing EU citizen, an asylum seeker and the citizen of Russia, the migration legislation is different in every case. The legislation supports remarkably more EU citizens in comparison to Russians. EU citizens have free access to the country as a 'job seeker'. (KELA/ Social Insurance Institution of Finland web source.) Russians, have to apply for visa and the residence permit based on the working permit. This precise permit is difficult to get, because the person needs to have the job contract already before entering the country and apply the permit from their home countries. Obviously, it is easier to find a job if you can search it while staying in the country.

I will introduce the first research relevant to the discussion which is made by Pentti Arajärvi.

Research	Target	Data	Results
Pentti Arajärvi, 2/2009. Employment obstacles and inactivity traps faced by immigrants	Employment obstacles of Immigrants. Unemployment, employing immigrant, welfare.	Policies, Statistics, Legislation	Facts on the current situation of labour market. Suggestions for improve the level of employment among immigrants.

Research describes and investigates the situation of immigrants in the labour market holistically. I will shortly introduce some important facts and interesting suggestions for the future improvements which are described in the conclusions of the research.

Age distribution of immigrants in Finland should support higher level of employment. If immigrants would reach out the same level of labour participation, the labour would increase of 15 000 persons. The unemployment rate of immigrants is approximately 3 times higher than Finnish. (Arajärvi 2009, 18.) Language requirements make the employment highly challenging for the immigrants. Organising Finnish language education for all immigrants is crucial for improving the employment rate. The state, ministries and municipalities need to take the major responsibility for organising and funding the education. The same goes for the internships which are in many cases important stage in the integration process. (Arajärvi 2009, 87.) Research highlights the importance of apprenticeship when educating immigrants to the needs of the Finnish labour market.

Every immigrant should have a right for individual integration plan, which is implemented in co- operation with the immigration and employment services. Co- operation between all instances responsible for integration is highlighted in the research as the most important factor in fast implementation of the integration plan. (Arajärvi 2009, 100.) The integration services need to be more efficient to be able to decrease the unemployment rate. However as Arajärvi mentions, the services are lacking new resources. Research introduces the Danish model, which has gained a lot of success on integrating foreigners into the labour market. The key principle of the Danish integration plan is the fast implementation after immigrant's arrival. (Arajärvi 2009, 82.) Secondly

the integration plan is also an agreement which immigrant is obliged to follow in supervision of immigration authorities. Research criticises the slow implementation of Finnish integration policies. The implementation of active labour market policies or even the contact from authorities takes from three months till one year depending on the city. The integration services are overloaded in the capital city area where most of the immigrants live. Slow implementation of active labour market actions obviously passivate immigrants arrived. (Arajärvi 2009, 92.)

Table 4: Top 10 occupations of immigrants in Finland 2005

Occupational group categories	Amount of people working
Hospital and care assistants, cleaners	5 309
Restaurant workers	4 781
Unknown	2 606
Sale	2 277
Daycare and homecare	2 190
Primary level education	1 977
Drivers	1 772
Marketing and financing specialists	1 710
Architects and technical specialists	1 463
Construction workers	1 373

Source: Tilastokeskus

The most common work (see table 4) among the female immigrants in 2004 was cleaning and among men the restaurant work (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 7). Men's work can be explained by a large number of fast food restaurants which immigrants have started in Finland. Approximately 60 per cent of Turkish immigrants work in restaurants. The most common profession among the immigrants from other welfare countries was education related. However immigrants who come outside of USA and EU are most often working in restaurants and as cleaners. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 7.) These facts support the phenomenon of cheap labour force in Finland. In general we could argue that remarkable numbers of women are working in positions which Finns refuse to work and men are producing food with price which Finns are incapable to produce. In addition, immigrants work as a self- employed remarkably more often in comparison to Finns. In 2005, 16 percent of immigrants from the whole labour force worked as entrepreneurs. The same number among Finns was less than ten percent. (Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2006, 63). Many scholars relate this fact to the dissatisfaction towards the employment

opportunities provided by the Finnish labour market. (example: Työpoliittinen Tutkimus 2006, 9.)

Arajärvi brings up very important factor about employment in Finland. There are something called “income traps” in the Finnish welfare system. The income trap is a situation described earlier which means a situation where there is no significant difference between the incomes of employment compared with the social benefits granted by the state. (Arajärvi 2009, 110.) In the worst case, the impact can be even negative. This is the main reason on the individual level why low salary employment does not exist in larger form in the Finnish labour market. If a person is entitled to the social benefits it is often not worth of applying a job which does not increase considerably the person’s income level.

2.3 Migration and demography in Europe

The question of integration and labour migration has been one of the hot topics in the EU in the first decade of the millennium. I want to introduce this discussion by presenting the work made by Elina Palola (2003).

Research	Target	Data	Results
Elina Palola (2003) The effective integration of immigrants to the labour market in EU	How to integrate immigrants in to the EU labour market more efficiently?	EU commission policies, agendas and articles. Reflections from several EU conferences.	Several grievances and suggestions to correct them.

Elina Palola has followed the work of EU Commission dealing the issue of labour migration. It is interesting to follow the agendas from the beginning of the decade and discuss if there has been any improvement.

- Migration in Europe exists in its largest form since the Second World War. The population in EU has tripled in 40 years from 1960 to 2004. This has also created

serious conflicts in some largest cities of Europe as an example in Paris and Athens. These cities are over- populated and created ethnical ghettos.

- The working age population will decrease 25 million people until the year 2030. Labour migration should be the first priority to fulfil the increasing gap in the labour force.
- How is it possible to use the large resources of migration as effective as possible? The employment rate among the native population in European Union is 64.4% and among immigrants 52.7%. The lowest employment rate exists among immigrant women. Immigrants are also over- represented in the 3D sector as discussed earlier.
- Common decision making is getting more challenging since the expansion of the European Union. The EU conference of Sevilla in 2002 was focused on finding common agendas to combat illegal immigration and integration policies. I believe that common agendas in EU would not serve the need of the countries. Common policies should be under suspicion since the expansion of the Union. As an example, in Finland the priority is to integrate immigrants to the labour market and Italy combats the illegal migration.
- EU has set the directives for ethnical discrimination. My question is ‘how these directives are implemented and controlled inside EU’?
- EU Commission: What kind of ALMP should be offered for the immigrants and should they be obligatory? This is also relevant question in Finland.
- EU Commission proposes the consistency and ‘very effective’ local co-operation to be the key ingredients to the successful labour market integration. As an example country the Denmark, where the fast implementation of ALMP has prevented the long term unemployment among natives and immigrants. The question is “How to create ‘very effective’ ALMP policies and local co- operation to the countries where the public sector is inoperative?”

Based on the Finnish Government’s program of migration policy, the goal is to increase the labour movements especially from European Union countries. For example, the co-operation between Estonia and Poland is mentioned in the program. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 166.) This policy can be controversial. Labour circulation from new member states can be harmful in a larger picture. The old age dependency ratio will be even more difficult in the new member states than most of the older ones. Instead of

labour migrating, these countries would need their own capacity to be able to develop and secure the future of their country. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 182.) On the other hand, labour circulation is a global phenomenon which is important financially for many families in emigrating countries, as an example India. Blotevogel (1997) argues that demographic changes and processes are mainly results of national traditions, values, social conditions and politics. He raises two main reasons for this: the inertia of demographic processes compared with economic processes and the importance of national population policy and national migration policy. (Blotevogel 1997,4.)

Europe has had an alarming fertility decline for several decades. This obviously creates a threatening future of the labour shortage. Persistent trend of the increasing life expectancy combined with decline in fertility rates creates a different age structure of population, which is called ageing. (Blotevogel 1997,4.) As mentioned earlier, this phenomenon based on the demographic estimations will be rapid and relatively large in Finland. On the other hand, sustained unemployment, increased immigration rates and persistent immigration pressure from Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa seem to evoke just the opposite impression. (Blotevogel 1997, 4.) The solution for future lack of labour force in Finland could be at least partially found from using the Russian labour. Russia has remarkable labour capacity compared with the needs of Finland. I think that finding skilled labour from Russia suitable for the needs of the Finnish labour market would not create problems for the Russian labour market. In addition, it needs to be acknowledged that remarkable amount of unemployed foreigners already exists in Finland. There is remarkable number of migration researches are case studies which focus on differences of migrant nationalities when seeking the integration to the labour market of the receiving country. The differences are often found in cultural backgrounds, however the occupation backgrounds and characteristics should be also noted. Occupational backgrounds and characteristics and the economic and immigration policies of destination country have large impact on the integration. (King 1997, 108.)

2.4 Russians in Finland

The border between eastern Finland and western Russia has been regionally and historically a subject of political turmoil. Finland and Western Russia had strong connection in trade and labour exchanges before the independence of Finland in 1917. As an example, there was a remarkable amount of Finnish construction men working on large projects on St. Petersburg. Bilateral movement for different purposes was relatively easy and there was continuously a labour exchange between the countries. Independence narrowed the bilateral movement and economic connections. In the year 1910, there were still 12 307 Russians living permanently in Finland, 6352 of them were living in Helsinki. After Russian revolution 1917, only Russians who had acquired Finnish citizenship could stay in Finland. At that time, there were 5000 of them. After Finland gained independency 1918, the “Russian hate” was very strong. The nation wanted to get rid of “the old World”. (Shenshin 2008.)

Later on in the Second World War the border moved towards West. One of the reasons for war between Finland and Soviet Union was that the old border was very close to the capital of Soviet Union at that time, St. Petersburg (former Leningrad). Winter war 1939-1940, as well as the continuing conflict in the Second World War increased the hate of Finnish people against Russians.

Next I will introduce the movement during last decade. The number shows the amount of Russians living in Finland. For the comparison, the amount of immigrants from the Soviet Union was only 4181 persons in 1990. However, it has to be considered that emigration from the Soviet Union became possible in normal measure only after it collapsed in 1991.

Table 5: The Amount of Russians in Finland 2000- 2007

Year	Amount of Russians in Finland
2000	20 552
2001	22 724
2002	24 336
2003	24 998
2004	24 626
2005	24 621
2006	25 326
2007	26 211

Source: Tilastokeskus

Russians are the largest immigration group or minority in Finland. In the year 2006, 61 per cent of Russian immigrants in Finland were women. The most common reason for the residence permit is marriage and family ties. When considering all marriages between foreigners and Finns, the most common form of marriage is contracted between a Russian woman and a Finnish man. In the year 2003, there were 3500 marriages between Russian women and Finnish men, whereas only 300 Finnish women were married with Russian men. (Niemi 2007.)

Russians are the second biggest group of foreign degree students after Chinese in Finnish Universities. Finland provides the largest number of international degree programs in English language in Europe after Great Britain. University education for foreigners is free of charge in Finland (in comparison to high tuition fees in Great Britain). However students who study in the degree programs do not necessarily study the Finnish language at all. Unable to find a job most of them continue their careers in the global labour market after receiving an international degree. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 94.) This can be considered a waste of resources, because their skills and knowledge are not used in the Finnish labour market, however the State money has been spent. Several specialists criticise this fact and suggest building an efficient employment channel for foreign degree students. The opportunity for efficient Finnish language studies should also be provided for international degree students. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 94.)

Russia has remarkable amount of academic emigration which is also called “brain drain”. There is a remarkably high percentage of academic emigration from Moscow and St. Petersburg to all Western European countries. Russians also emigrate to study a degree as mentioned above. Negative developments of Russian economy have influenced strongly on academic and scientific development. Science is no longer in demand in Russian society. The causes of academic emigration are closely linked to the general crisis of science in Russia, primarily a response to the dramatic reduction of scientific investment. Based on the specialists the share of state funding in scientific development should not fall below 2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) without that important area of public life beginning to decline. In 2003 Russian state funding for science made up 0.31 percent of the GDP, whereas in times of the Soviet Union the value of that indicator had been one of the highest in the world. (Naumova 2005, 80.) Considering these facts, Finland should attract emigrating Russians to the Finnish labour market. Unfortunately it seems that situation is almost vice versa.

Interesting fact about emigration of Russians is their location: in Finland, they primarily concentrate into the capital area. Possible reason for this could be that Russians tempt to protect their Diaspora by living close to each other. The second reason could be that there are more international labour market possibilities in the capital city area.

Immigrants who come from the former Soviet countries have following occupational distribution: education, marketing and sales are the biggest groups, next comes cleaning. The distribution among the occupations has stayed similar between 1995 and 2004. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 76.) In education related occupations, most of the Russians and migrants from the former Soviet countries teach their native language. In marketing and sales profession employment is focused on bilateral trade companies. In theory, the level of education is assumed to be increasing the employment rate. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 77) However, this seems to be not fully applicable to the Russian immigrants. The higher level of education does not necessarily guarantee a place in the labour market. It seems that Russians are not competing with Finns in the labour market. They are employed in professions and positions where they can perform something which Finns can not or do not want to do themselves. Based on the research made by EU MIDIS the Finnish language skills among the Russian immigrants are relatively high, 74% percent of Russians can speak Finnish fluently. This can be considered an interesting

detail since the lack of language skills is the most common reason for unemployment. In addition, comparing the employment competition between Estonian and Russian doctors, Estonians have better chances to be employed. Estonians have potential to learn the Finnish language easier since languages belong to the same linguistic group. Also, all Estonian doctor licenses are valid in Finland. Russian doctors have to complement their degrees in Finland and apply the permission to perform as a doctor after complementation. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 44.) Complementing Russian doctor's licence in Finland requires six months of internship and three major examinations (Ombudsman 2010, 18). In addition, there is a remarkable amount of degrees and professional education in Russia which Finnish labour market and legislation do not recognize. In practice this means re-education or studying the same degree in Finland from the very beginning. (Ombudsman 2010, 18.)

Next I will introduce some researches about the life of Russians in Finland.

Table 6: Researches about the integration and life of Russians in Finland

Research	Target	Data	Results
Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti, Karmela Liebkind, 2000. Predictors of the actual degree of acculturation of Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland.	Integration of Russians to Finnish society. Focus on family values of young adults.	360 people were studied: 170 Russian-speaking immigrants and 190 native Finns.	Young Russians have problems in Finnish society.
Niemi, Heli (2007) Russian Immigrants in Finnish Society.	The integration of Russian immigrants in Finland. Comparisons between Russians and other groups in Finland.	Several sources.	Russian immigrants have not been successful in finding their place in the labour market despite their high level of education.
Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti, Karmela Liebkind, Riku Perhoniemi. (2007) Perceived ethnic discrimination at work and well-being of immigrants in Finland.	Impact of unemployment and perceived discrimination in working life.	A nation-wide probability sample consisted of 1783 immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Russia and Estonia living in Finland.	Immigrant respondents (44%) reported ethnical discriminated. Immigrants reported 1 or 2 discriminatory experiences in one work discrimination (applying for a job, getting promoted, being fired and being harassed).

Source: Several Sources mentioned on the table

Research made by Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind (2000) concentrates on cultural differences between Finnish and Russian identity. “Who are we?” seems to be troubling question among young Russian immigrants in Finland. The results of the research show that despite of the integration process to the Finnish society, Russians show different socialization outcomes compared with native Finns. The prevailing family values in modern Finnish society emphasize individual independence and self-reliance in child development. Research argues that in contrast, the socialization values that are stressed in the Russian culture assume greater dependence on and orientation towards adult norms than is generally the case in Finland. (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind 2000.)

An interesting point which comes out in the research is that the high degree of immigrant’s acculturation was associated with the low degree of their Finnish identity as well as with their separation attitudes. This result supports the expectation about the specific nature of the Finnish identity of Russian immigrant adolescents in the terms of their traditional family values. Their “Finnish identity” seems to differ from the natives. (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind 2000.) Research argues that the integration or acculturation attitudes differ between Finns and Russian. Russian identity relates more to the separation and the Finnish identity more to the assimilation attitudes. (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind 2000.) Here might stand the main ingredient of the conflict. Russians want to protect their nationality, language, culture, religion and traditions. Russians highly value their own cultural norms and values. In other words, they expect to live in a multicultural society rather than to assimilate to the Finnish one. Russians might expect Finnish society to be more multicultural to accept different cultures inside one society. Meanwhile Finnish society and the labour market are more assimilation oriented, e.g. better an immigrant assimilates in the Finnish society by language, traditions, education and culture more accepted he or she will become.

Research made by Niemi (2007) estimates that the status of Russian-speaking people is weak in the labour market. Racism and discrimination against Russian-speaking people, language requirements, as well as difficulties in supplementing their studies and confirming degrees taken in their former home country were seen as obstacles to employment. Russian-speaking people do not have enough possibilities in practice to have education and information in their native language, even despite the fact that legislation requires these opportunities to be provided for them. Thirdly, Niemi claims

that the attitudes of Finns towards Russian-speaking people are still negative. There is remarkable prejudice and discrimination directed towards Russian immigrants by the Finns. (Niemi 2007, 3.) Arguments are partially based on the report “The Working Group of the Finnish Advisory Board of Ethnic Relations”. The group published a report clarifying the status of the Russian-speaking population in 2002. The report shows that there were still many faults in society concerning Russian-speaking population.

Table 7: The average unemployment rate of Russian immigrants in Finland
2002- 2009

Year	Unemployment Rate
2002	38,0
2003	38,2
2004	41,3
2005	40,2
2006	36,4
2007	33,3
2008	27,3
2009	31,0

Source: Tilastokeskus

When considering the integration of Russian immigrants to the Finnish labour market, it is visible that the Russian immigrants have not been very successful in finding their place in the labour market. However, the level of education among the Russian immigrants in Finland is fairly high: almost 40% of them have graduated from the university or polytechnic, whereas the corresponding number of the whole Finnish population is 30%. Despite this fact, unemployment among Russian immigrants is three times higher in comparison with Finnish citizens. (Niemi 2007, 2).

Next I will discuss research, made by Jasinskaja-Lahti, Karmela Liebkind and Perhoniemi. (2007). Research describes that the integration of Russian and Estonian-speaking immigrants into Finnish society has been far from smooth. Immigrants, especially Russians have suffered from a considerably high unemployment rate, despite their high educational level. In the research, ethnic discrimination in the work

environment was measured by the Work Discrimination Index. Almost every second of the immigrant respondents (44%) reported being discriminated at work because of their foreign background. On average, the immigrants reported 1 or 2 discriminatory experiences in one of four possible areas of work discrimination (applying for a job, getting promoted, being fired and being harassed). Ten percent (10.2%) reported that they had experienced ethnic discrimination more than twice in some particular domain of working life or at least once in every domain of working life. (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind Perhoniemi, 2007.)

The research also describes the psychological effect of unemployment and discrimination for immigrants: “When a person believes he can find employment and maintain a job if only possessing the skills required for Finnish working life, but nevertheless has not been employed despite a high proficiency in Finnish, there is a conflict between these perceptions that results in increased vulnerability to the detrimental consequences of perceived discrimination.” (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Perhoniemi 2007.) In contrast, immigrants who are unemployed and have low group-level control seem to be least affected by perceived discrimination in the labour market, as there is coherence between their own employment status and their perception of immigrants’ general control over their employment situation. (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Perhoniemi 2007.)

The results of this study indicate that there is a complex relationship between perceived discrimination, unemployment, group-level control beliefs and well-being among immigrants. I will continue discussion of this concept later on.

2.5 Integration

The concept of integration will be the cornerstone of the analysis. Since the data is collected based on individual experiences of integration into the labour market and society, the individual experience of integration plays the major role in analysis. For measuring the labour market integration, I will use the simple definition of employment. In other words, the person who has been employed has been integrated into the labour market.

What is integration and how to measure it? The differences of measuring integration in societal level can be found by reflecting the national policy goals and range from next-to-assimilation to multiculturalism (Bartolomeo 2007, 3). Although “the term integration” means joining parts (in) to an entity, the practical interpretation and social connection may vary considerably. As an example, there are national differences in the integration policies for immigrants.

Di Bartolomeo divides integration into two types: *assimilation* and *multiculturalism*. Both of them can be considered descriptions of successful integration. (Bartolomeo 2007, 3.) However there is remarkable distinction between them. Assimilation means, that integration process will be completed, when an immigrant is assimilated in the society of the destination country. Assimilation means individual adaptation of the local culture, language and lifestyle. On the other side, multicultural society means larger approval from the society towards other cultures and national identities inside one society. As we see, both of the concepts concern the integration from the societal perspective. In addition, we can assume that requirements for successful assimilation are much more demanding to meet than requirements for multicultural coexistence. Multicultural society can assume to be more flexible and accepting.

Based on Bustamante (2002), successful integration requires from receiving country tolerance and multicultural values. Emigration sets up the immigrant on a vulnerable situation, where the person is not able to continue the life the same way as in home country. The traditions and religions can be in conflict in receiving country. Basically, situation requires acceptance and tolerance from the receiving country and integration efforts from the immigrant. Here, the multicultural values in receiving society can be considered valuable for the arriving immigrant. There is a common opinion among scholars that more distant country the immigrant comes from, more difficult the integration will be. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 28.) As an example the immigrants from Islam countries have had difficulties in being orientated to Finnish working culture. Gender roles are very different and they are important to internalize apart from the ethnical backgrounds in order function in the labour market (Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2008, 317). Men can have difficulties in working for female supervisors since in Islam culture men do not even shake hands with women. Islam culture often ties women to

home. Women migrating with status of an asylum seeker are considered having the weakest status in labour market. (Huang 2010, 86.)

Based on the calculations of OECD and UN, Finland will have a labour shortage in the future. Ageing is relatively fast in Finland compared with other OECD countries and the next generation is unable to fulfil the needs of the labour market, lacks of labour force will occur in all professions. Finland is recommended to create and improve the channel for foreign labour force. In these terms international organizations have also highlighted the importance of informing the native population for reasons to invite foreigners to the labour market. If native population is aware of the reasons for the changes in immigration policies, it can prevent conflicts between native population and foreigners. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 132.) Problems and conflicts might also increase if native and foreign population has to compete of same resources, as jobs or social services (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 28). In some countries, this has led into a situation where the labour market is partially divided: this phenomenon is called the secondary labour market.

Despite the positive tendency of employment rate among immigrants, the integration seems to be a long lasting project. Based on the research of Perhoniemi& Jasinskaja-Lahti (2006), the labour market integration can last more than four years. Martikainen and Tiilikainen (2008) also consider the integration as a long lasting linear process. The long integration time is highly connected to the language. (Työpoliittinen tutkimus 2006, 7.) In many societies, the most crucial factor for integration is the knowledge of the language in the receiving country. This is can be seen a challenging factor in Finland, especially in labour market requirements. The Finnish language is considered as one of the most difficult languages in the world.

Emigration to Finland from outside of European Union just as a job-seeker is practically impossible. Only EU citizens can stay freely in the destination country for seeking a job. (Toivanen 2009.) This sets up difficulties to the employment of the Russian immigrants. When applying the residence permit based on work, person needs to apply the working permit. The permit can be granted if a person has a job to start when applying. (Finnish Immigration Service) In addition, the graduated students are eligible for six months visa for seeking the employment.

Based on remarkable amount of researches and immigration policies, there are several basic dimensions of integration to be found and measured. Dimensions concern the social, economic and cultural role migrants play in their new environment. As regards studying integration from legislative aspects there are five main fields researchers agree on: labour market, family reunion, residence, naturalization, discrimination. (Geddes and Niessen 2005 & MIPEX & Bartolomeo 2007.) In the research, I will keep special focus on the dimension of integration to the labour market and discrimination. Choosing these two dimensions which are closely connected to each other, I can focus more precisely to the investigation on access to the labour market.

Next I will introduce statistical data of MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index). MIPEX evaluates various aspects of integration in all European Union countries. The following diamond picture demonstrates evaluations of both labour market access and anti-discrimination; the explanation of its' meaning is given by MIPEX. I will also introduce an example of Sweden: the comparison between Sweden and Finland will suggest a better perspective on the given numbers.

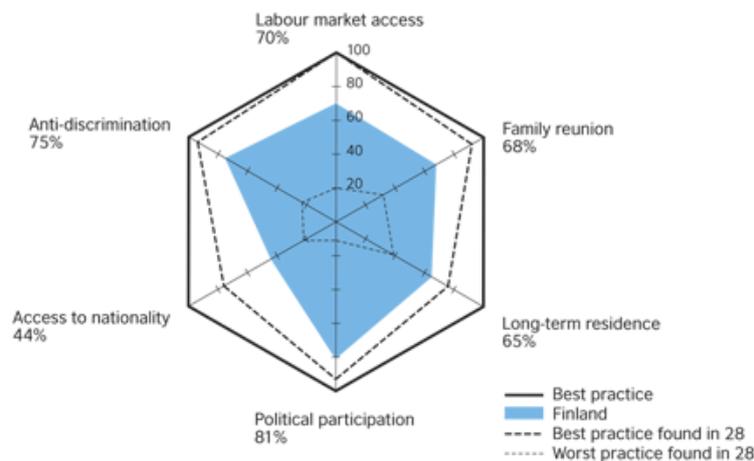


Figure 3: MIPEX Diamond of Finland

“Labour market access gains a favourable score overall. However, it includes two dimensions of best practice combined with slightly unfavourable eligibility provisions. For instance, migrant workers’ skills are recognised under different procedures than for EEA nationals. Third-country migrants do not have equal access as EU nationals to remarkable amount of jobs. In addition, migrant entrepreneurs must prove more than a viable business plan to open their businesses. Labour market integration measures are only partially favourable because migrant

workers do not enjoy the same access as EU citizens to vocational training and study grants”. (MIPEX)

Reflecting given information, it can be assumed that the labour market access policies seriously favour EU citizens over the third-country nationals, as, for example Russians are.

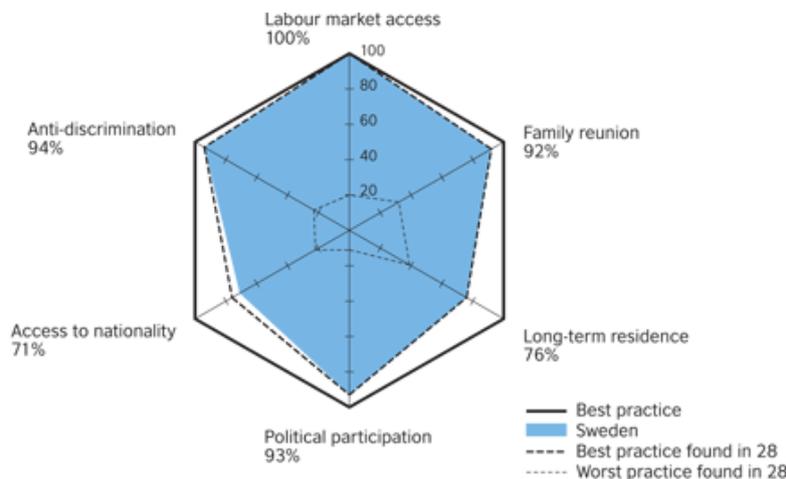


Figure 4 MIPEX Diamond of Sweden

When we compare the diamonds between Finland and Sweden, it is visible how much Finland lacks in its integration policies. Still MIPEX evaluates Finland as relatively good country to migrate into. One question which remains after investigating these diamonds is why if labour market access is considered relatively favourable in Finland, the use of foreign labour in Finland remains so dramatically low?

2.6 How the discrimination manifests itself

The research has a hypothesis that there can be hidden discrimination towards foreigners in the Finnish labour market. This means that the discrimination would not manifest itself by straight rejection or racism. It manifests itself by rules, policies and practices which are discriminating foreigners and at the same time favouring Finns. Finland has relatively strict law against discrimination in the labour market which was implemented at the beginning of the year 2004. The purpose of the law is to increase the equality in society and in the labour market. Law punishes discrimination in the society and in the labour market based on ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, gender and physical condition.

(Laki vähemmistövaltuutetusta ja syrjintälautakunnasta 22/2004). This can be the reason why discrimination would manifest itself in a 'hidden way'. It has to be noted that hidden discrimination is difficult to prove.

Integration difficulties and discrimination are not new problems in Europe. Several Western countries have invited foreign labour force and accepted asylum seekers with severe results. Bradley and van Hoof (2005) introduce example cases of high level of discrimination towards certain immigration groups in Germany and UK. These countries have relatively large amount of immigrants. Larger number of foreigners does not necessarily have a straight correlation with discrimination and conflicts. Although it has to be acknowledged that large amount of foreigners sets up challenges for integration, as well as to the relationship between native population and foreigners. It is also worth of mentioning, that during the current decade, the number of right wing nationalistic parties has gained popularity in Europe. Immigration has generated problems with native population in many countries, for example in Denmark, Italy and Austria.

Table 8: Discrimination oriented investigations in Finland

Research	Target	Data	Results
Heikki Ervasti (2004) "Attitudes Towards Foreign-born Settlers: Finland in a Comparative Perspective"	Finnish attitudinal climate towards foreign-born settlers, i.e. immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers.	European Social Survey (ESS) on Finland and 18 other countries	Finns hold comparatively negative attitudes towards increasing the number of immigrants.
Työpoliittinen Tutkimus (2006) Immigrants in Turku	The situation of immigrants in Turku, both as entrepreneurs and as wage earners. How do employers perceive immigrants as workers?	Interviews of immigrant entrepreneurs in Turku. Questionnaires of enterprises in Turku are. Questionnaires for foreign employees.	Severe experiences of difficulties in the integration process to the Finnish labour market.
EU-MIDIS (European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey) Main Results Report 2009. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights	The Discrimination survey of Russian immigrants. Comparison between Russians in Finland, Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania.	Large range of survey. In Finland 562 Russians participated.	Finland has the highest proportion of discrimination among the four Member States surveyed; Finland, Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania.

Source: Several sources mentioned on the table

Heikki Ervasti writes in his article “Attitudes Towards Foreign-born Settlers: Finland in a Comparative Perspective” about the Finnish attitudinal climate towards foreign-born settlers, i.e. immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in a comparative perspective. Article compares the level of negative attitudes among native population. In addition it also discusses where the discrimination comes from. Ervasti argues that people all over the world relate foreigners to increasing crime rates, drug problems, AIDS, and the fear of losing traditional elements of the national culture, work ethic, religion etc. (Ervasti 2004, 29.) Based on the research of Ervasti, these fears are relatively strong in Finland, which is quite surprising fact since Finland is a country with an exceptionally low number of HIV positive persons, practically non-existent organized crime and a comparatively modest level of drug problems. (Ervasti 2004,29.)

One of the fears leading to the discrimination is the perceived economic threat. During the international economic crisis in the early 1990s, the Finnish unemployment rate soared more than six-fold within a few years (Ervasti 2004, 27). National surveys made during the years of recession displayed that the attitudes of Finns turned more intolerant. When the economy started to grow again, Finns adopted more positive attitudes towards immigrants. (Ervasti 2004, 27.) Based on the socio-economical approach explaining the discrimination people with a low-scale social and economic background tend to be more prone to fear foreigners and expressing xenophobic sentiments than persons with a high socio-economic status. (Ervasti 2004, 29.) All above-mentioned brings us to the interesting paradox: the proportion of those native Finns worrying that immigrants take their jobs, does not correlate with the actual level of unemployment, not to even mention the unemployment level of immigrants. (Ervasti 2004, 36.)

Työpoliittinen Tutkimus (2006) research “Immigrants in Turku” focuses on the position of immigrants in the labour market. There are interesting descriptions and experiences of integration attempts of immigrants. Research investigates the position of the immigrants in the Finnish labour market as employers and employees. Research has several narrative descriptions, which are relevant to this research. I will introduce some important experiences described:

- Foreigners have difficulties in having their education recognised by Finnish employers. Even with high and internationally recognised education, immigrant can be considered as a low skilled person. (Työpoliittinen Tutkimus 2006, 25.)
- Respondents assessed that Finnish employers have remarkable pre-assumptions against foreigners as Finnish employers would be scared to employ a foreigner. The ethnical background plays the main role in employment, not education and skills. (Työpoliittinen Tutkimus 2006, 26.)
- Foreigners start their own business more often than Finns. Most of the foreigners interviewed for the research described the reasons for setting up their own enterprise are the difficult access to the Finnish labour market.
- Foreigners receive less salary than Finns. There is also difference between gender and ethnical background among immigrants. When comparing native and foreign workers, most of the foreign employers estimated the foreign workers to be more industrious even despite they receive less salary. (Työpoliittinen Tutkimus 2006, 63-64.)
- When hiring a foreign worker, Finnish employers prefer immigrants from Western countries. (Työpoliittinen Tutkimus 2006, 93.)
- There were remarkable differences between the experiences of integration when asked from Finnish employers and foreign employees in the same enterprise.
- As mentioned earlier, the integration is time consuming process. Immigrants are in very challenging position since they have to prove their skills and competence to be enough to be employed. Native employees have this trust automatically. These researches as well as many others estimate that one of the main reasons for the difficulty to be employed is the presumptions of Finnish employers. Finnish employers can use excessive requirements, which favour the natives and discriminate the foreign persons. (Työvoimapolitiittinen tutkimus 2006 & Kangasharju 2003, 20–21 & Forsander 2002, 239-240 & Salmenhaara 2002, 8.)

EU-Midis (European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey) research performed 2009 is a large range of studies where certain minorities were investigated. The Russian community represents a significant proportion of the population in a number of EU Member States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. The research was focused on the

experiences of discrimination among the Russian immigrants. I will introduce the main research findings:

- One quarter of Russians in Finland felt discriminated in the past 12 months because of their ethnic Russian background (27%). The same number among Russians in Finland for five years was already 47%. This was the highest proportion among the four Member States surveyed. (EU- MIDIS 2009, 176.)
- Russians in Finland were also the most likely to become victims of racial related crime, with one in four being victimised during the past 12 months (27%). (EU- MIDIS 2009, 177.) For Russians in Finland, more than half of the assaults or threats (57%) and seven out of 10 serious harassments (72%) in the past 12 months were considered being ‘racially’ motivated. When reporting assaults or threat incidents, there was remarkable lack of confidence that the police would be able to do anything. (EU- MIDIS 2009, 177.)
- The Russian minority was not fully aware of the anti- discrimination laws as well as the authorities which protect their rights. There were remarkable doubts focused on the efficiency of anti-discrimination authorities in Finland.
- When comparing the discrimination of the Russian minority in these four member states, the discrimination in the labour market occurred strongest in Finland.

When examining the data collected in this research, I will use the ILO’s (International Labour Organisation) definition of discrimination in the labour market: ”When an immigrant is excluded from the selection process without his skills being evaluated” (ILO Team 2004, 63).

3. Methods & Data

The overall method for the whole research is instrumental case study. The instrumental case study has been an approach from the beginning of the research, which is used to investigate the whole phenomenon. It is an angle which is used to expose the demands and ingredients of integration as well as the possible characteristics of discrimination. For analysing the collected data, I will use the narrative analysis, called 'Thematic analysis'. The questionnaire used in the research is build on themes, so thematic analyse will suite precisely for the purposes.

Stake (1995) suggests guidelines for qualitative researchers: "All case study / qualitative researchers have privilege and obligation. There is privilege to pay attention to what considered worth of attention and on the other hand, the obligation to make conclusions drawn from those choices". (Stake 1995, 49.) The triangulation of the study is based on the experience of the researcher, theoretical concepts, earlier studies, progressive observation of the case and concept and thematic analysis made from material collect from respondents. All these part will strengthen the reliability of the research. (Laine, Bamberg & Jokinen 2007, 23.)

Stake describes the nature of the process of Case Study (1995): "Case study data gathering starts when you make commitment to your study". Stake (1995) recommends the case study to start from the problem, which needs to be practical, not theoretical. Later on in the process of the research, matching tools for the problem solving will be found. The process of the research started in the year 2008 as mentioned earlier. I was following the integration attempts of Russian immigrants to the Finnish labour market and came in to conclusion that there can be excessive demands and some obstacles set by the Finnish labour market. The Russian minority, which is personally close to me has suffered and still suffers from high unemployment rate in Finland.

3.1 Instrumental Case Study Approach

The method of the research is called instrumental case study. Instrumental case study method has slightly different meaning and focus than common case study method which

is called intrinsic case study. Intrinsic case study is interested only about the case itself and keeps the focus on describing the holistic perspective of the case. (Stake 1995, 3.) Instrumental case study on the other hand is not only interested in the case or cases itself as intrinsic case study. Instrumental case study uses the cases as an instrument to investigate and understand some larger phenomenon. Instrumental case study is trying to accomplish something more than just the case itself. (Stake 1995.) The more the case study is an intrinsic one; the more attention needs to be paid to the context (Stake 1995, 64). In instrumental case studies, where the case serves to help to understand phenomenon, the need for categorical data and measurements are greater. In this research, the instrumental case study gives us a perspective and an angle to approach the behaviour of Finnish labour market as well as the society. The instrumental use of a case group to investigate the “target” can be considered common way to use case study method (Laine, Bamberg & Jokinen 2007, 10-11).

The strong side of case study is in its way to achieve a holistic picture of the case and concept. Traditional research is trying to achieve universal information and generalisation. However the strength of the case study is in its way to be able to approach phenomena from the different angle. As in this research as well as many others, there is a possibility to give a voice to minority group to be heard and introduce perspective, which would not be heard or seen otherwise. (Laine, Bamberg & Jokinen 2007, 125.) Silverman describes: “The strength of the qualitative research is the ability to access directly to what is happening in the world. In case of people, the strength is the ability to reach out what and how people are actually living their lives”. (Silverman 2006, 113.)

In every case study, it is important to acknowledge the concept, where the phenomenon takes place. Flyvberg (2006) and Stake (1995) highlights the importance of case study research when examining the problems in society. The research should be focused on holistic understanding of the case and its’ surroundings. Because of the character of generalisation, the environment is very important to be acknowledged. (Laine, Bamberg & Jokinen 2007, 45.) In the research, the target is to achieve understanding not only about integration of the Russian minority in Finland. Throughout the instrumental method, we can also concentrate on revealing the characteristics and behaviour of Finnish society and Finnish labour market.

3.1.1 Generalisation

There is more than enough critics pointed out towards case study method of its' incapacity to create general results. However, based on Stake "the real business of case study is particularisation, not generalization" (Stake 1995, 8). First of all, the holistic understanding of the case itself must be achieved. Successful case study can create a base for generalisation. In that matter, the success of the overall vision in analysis is crucial. The results can be transferred in certain extent if the analysis is successful. However, that is not the main purpose of the method, either the research as discussed already earlier. (Snow&Trom 2002). There is no need to obsessively distinguish the line between generalisation and unique case.

Based on the Stake (1995), one of the most important questions of case study is "what we can learn from this case"? Single cases are not as strong base for the generalization to a population of cases as other research designs. But people can learn much that is general from single cases. (Stake 1995, 85.)

3.2 Collecting Data

For collecting the data for the research, I ended up using open, written interviews. I wanted respondents to be able to express their experiences and feelings in their native language. I considered that using a translator in active interview communication was not the best way to get people to express themselves. Instead of that, I decided to rely on written expression. In this way, respondents had more time to consider how to express what they have experienced in their mother tongue. The questionnaire was formed to be open, using four main questions, one of each themes of the concept. To each question asked, respondents were asked to describe their experiences in their own words as openly as possible. The themes of the analysis are:

- Entry to Finland
- Integration to the Finnish labour market
- Possible experiences of discrimination in Finnish labour market and society
- Personal experience of being part of the Finnish society

Each theme has been set out purposely to enable the respondents to describe and follow the migrating and integration process systematically when answering the questionnaire. Each theme is analysed by the data collected and through out the theoretical concepts and hypothesis introduced earlier. Since the theoretical assumptions and pre- set themes, the analysis of the data has an aspect which can be called qualitative content analyse. Qualitative content analysis is most cases inductive, grounding the examination on themes, as well as the inferences drawn from them, in the data. (Zhang & Wildemuth 2007, 1.) In this case, there are both inductive and deductive aspects. Research investigates the integration of Russians, seeking new aspects to reveal. On the other hand research have hypothesis on 'hidden discrimination' against Russians when seeking the integration to the Finnish labour market. Qualitative content analysis sets the focus on unique themes which illustrates the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts (Zhang & Wildemuth 2007, 2).

3.3 Thematic, Narrative Analysis

“Thematic narrative analyse” will guide the analysis of collected data, since the data is collected by narrative descriptions. Thematic analysis is a technique for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke 2006, 79). Thematic analysis is widely used technique. However, there are no clear agreements about what thematic analysis is or isn't. The same goes on the implementation of the technique. Important ground rule when using thematic analysis is that the theoretical framework and methods match to the knowledge which researcher wants to know or find out. (Braun & Clarke 2006, 80.) Thematic analysis in this research is used as a realistic technique, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants of the research (Braun & Clarke 2006, 81).

When analysing and investigating narrative data, researcher needs to be acknowledged that respondents describe their experiences and feelings in a subjective way before making conclusions. Stories and descriptions reflect the reality; however the responsibility of objective analysis and conclusion relies on a researcher. The

responsibility of the researcher is to see behind the subjective experience and seek the more holistic and objective understanding.

The difference from the traditional narrative analysis is on the focus of the analysis. Narrative analysis is interested in how the story is told and how narratives and roles of storyteller are created (Riley & Hawe 2005, 227). Narrative analysis focuses on “the ways in which people make and use stories to interpret the world”. People produce accounts which are ‘storied’. The social world itself is always ‘storied’. Narrative analysis views narratives as interpretive devices through which people represent themselves and their worlds to themselves and to others. (Criffin 2002.) In thematic analysis, the emphasis is on the content of a text. “What” is said is more important than “how” it is said, the “told” rather than the “telling”. A philosophy of language underpins the approach; language is a direct and unambiguous route to meaning. (Kohler Riessman 2003, 2.)

Research uses the thematic approach for theorising across a number of cases. The analysis will follow the thematic interviews, trying to find common thematic elements across respondents and common experiences described in the integration process. A typology can be constructed to elaborate a developing theory. Because interest lies in the content of speech, the analysis focuses on interpreting what is said by focusing on the meaning that any competent user of the language would find in the story. (Kohler Riessman 2003, 3.)

Narratives are considered useful in qualitative research precisely because respondents interpret the past rather than reproduce it as it was. The “truths” of narrative accounts are not in their faithful representations of a past world, but in the shifting connections they forge among past, present, and the future. (Kohler Riessman 2003, 6.) Based on C. Wright Mills, narrative analysis can forge connections between personal biography and social structure – the personal and the political (Kohler Riessman 2003, 6).

4. Analysis

The analysis follows the four themes of the interviews. In this part, each theme will be investigated. All respondents are numbered, because of the anonymity. The data collected is written interviews of 12 Russian persons, who have migrated to Finland for various reasons. The respondents consist of 5 men and 7 women. The age range is from 20 to 61 years old. Five of the respondents are married, two of them have divorced and five are single. Variation inside the case group was actually hoped to exist before starting the research. I believe that common experiences inside diverse group make the investigation more reliable. This excludes simple explaining factor as age, sex, education or time of migration. Analytical conclusions will be formed after we process throughout each theme.

4.1 Entry to Finland

The reason for migration to Finland was not in the top priority of the research. However, it is truly interesting to know the reasons for migration. What are the push and pull factors to migrate from Russia to Finland? Statistic shows that the most common reason for Russians to migrate to Finland is family reasons, reunion ext. (mm. Arajärvi 2009). Three of the respondents had migrated to Finland because of marrying a Finnish person. Four others migrated because of family reunion. Three persons came for studies and one escaped the war in Chechnya to Finland. One of the respondents migrated when the returnee policy of Ingrian returnees was implemented in early 1990's.

An interesting point when describing the migration is that none of the respondents migrated primarily because of the employment. In the descriptions of migrating, employment was not the decisive factor for migrating to Finland. However, when describing the decision of emigrating from Russia to Finland, majority of respondents described their positive expectations concerning employment opportunities in Finland. Generally, the expectations of Finland were positive before migrating. Finland was described having a good reputation. Migrating Russians were expecting to arrive at safer environment and society where they would have more opportunities in education as well as in employment.

When I moved to Finland, I was full of optimism and targeted at finding job fast. (Respondent 4)

Finland seemed to me like a great country, everything was new to me, culture, language, way of thinking...I was excited. (Respondent 10)

We came with my mother with an expectation of safer environment, better living conditions and chances for education and future employment. (Respondent 8)

The time of migration and the age of the respondents vary remarkably. The years of migration vary between 1988 and 2008. However the general experiences of migrating do not differ between those 20 years. Generally the case group had positive expectations about Finland but the migration and integration process had started fairly difficult.

My results have some similarity with the earlier researches: the main reason for migration from Russia to Finland is marriage between Finnish and a Russian person (Ombudsman 2010, 12). As employment is not the first priority of the migration it might have an effect on the intensity of the job search as well as the actual level of employment. We can assume that groups which migrate due the employment prospects are more likely to succeed on it.

4.2 Integration to the labour market

Labour market integration, e.g. finding employment is the main theme of the research. Only one of the respondents had a job in Finland when migrating. The rest of the group has complemented their studies and developed Finnish language skills to improve their chances at employment. Generally, respondents describe the employment in Finland to be very difficult for a Russian person. Even though we are interested in the integration process, the experiences of discrimination come out strongly in any descriptions related to labour market access. Eventually, they seem to be linked in this research.

The participating case group is well educated and active in their integration attempts. The valuation of work is high among the participants. The level of education and qualifications are higher than generally among Finns. In addition, the activity in finding employment on descriptions seems remarkable among the respondents. Education and

proactive behaviour however did not help in finding employment. Respondents are generally dissatisfied to Finnish employers. Even though none of the respondents described facing pure racism, when applying for the vacancy, most of the respondents had not received any reply from employers. This could be explained though that employers are not obliged to respond to applicants. However the amounts of applications send, as well as prevalence and universality of the rejection when applying among respondents can not be neglected.

To get a job for a Russian man or woman in Finland is practically impossible. Their applications are not even regarded. Somehow their knowledge, experience and education are considered not as good as it truly is and that is a big mistake. Even if a firm is selling equipment in Russia or Ukraine and they are looking for an engineer with knowledge of Russian language, they will finally employ a Finnish native not speaking Russian. (Respondent 7)

Description supports the earlier theories and researches where the qualifications of foreigners are not fully considered. This obviously creates frustration among respondents. The next description follows similar experience.

There are a lack of trust from Finnish employers, concerning your qualifications and responsibility for the given job. For engineering or other qualified job they are looking for specialists, who have experience in exact narrow field. Meanwhile, Finnish employers do not take into consideration fact, that foreign specialists, for example those who received their training in Russia (Soviet Union), have wider professional basis rather than those in Finland. (Respondent 3)

One respondent who has been looking for the job from Finland for remarkable time got frustrated from the rejections. Person is already looking forward on other European countries for employment opportunities. This is an example of a Russian ‘brain drain’ discussed earlier, which the Finnish labour market fails to use.

At the moment I am still actively searching for the job, but already in other cities, London, other European cities, even Moscow, because I want to realize my professional ambitions and if Finland does not need them, I'll be searching it in other places. (Respondent 10)

One of the respondents criticizes Finnish employers and points out the 3D phenomenon we discussed earlier. She describes that she has been offered only 3D jobs which Finns do not want to perform, despite of her academic education.

Yes, it is possible to get a cleaners job, but I don't want to wash floors having good education (Master degree). Finns don't take these jobs, that's why they HAVE to employ foreigners. I have a feeling that Finnish employers will always skip foreigners if there is any possibility to hire Finn, regardless the fact that foreigner has better qualifications, experience etc. (Respondent 9)

The research of Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Perhoniemi (2007) discusses the individual harm of rejection in the employment selection process. The majority of the respondents is frustrated and feels discriminated.

One of our respondents has an integration process, which I decided to introduce. This person describes to be very active in her integration attempts. She immigrated and approached positively the Finnish labour market as well as the society. Yet, she has been rejected in several instances. She describes the path of migrating and finding a job from Finland in the following way:

When I moved to Finland, I was full of optimism and targeted at finding job fast, at least in a year. I couldn't even imagine about all those huge differences between Russia-Ukraine and Finland. First what I realized was the necessity of studying Finnish language and improving my English. After finalizing of the course I passed state examination of Finnish language and received Yleinen kielitutkinto (state examination of Finnish language). I have constantly been looking for a job, but without any result. (Respondent 4)

After completing two internships funded by KELA (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland), she still got rejected from getting even a temporary job. State funded internship was the only possible way to get employed.

I did similar job to the rest of Finns, however they were receiving salary (min 2500e), I received a state benefit of 600e. This was very humiliating, especially for the person, who has reached already some status and good position in a home country.

As in the example introduced earlier, the unequal treatment in selection processes affects on a personal level. She continues:

Despite of my good results, which I demonstrated in the company and managing several projects independently – I didn't get a paid job from the company. After all that I decided to open my own business, because I realized that job of my level

and my education I will never get. Because I am Russian! I underwent the training for young entrepreneurs and on 1.3.2010 registered my own firm.

Comparing the percentage of foreign and native entrepreneurs in Finland shows that foreigners start their own business more often than Finns. In 2005, 16 percent of immigrants from the whole labour force worked as entrepreneurs. The same number among Finns was less than ten percent. (Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2006, 63). As it was said earlier, immigrants who come outside of USA and EU are most often working in restaurants and cleaners. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 7.) Women are working in positions which Finns refuse to work (as example cleaners) and men are producing food with price which Finns are incapable to produce. Common reason for this is that immigrants do not find jobs from labour market and start their own business (Työvoimapolitiittinen tutkimus 2006).

The question why do Finnish employers do not trust in Russian labour force rises up when investigating experiences of respondents. The education, working experience and other qualifications as well as activeness have not resulted in the employment. Respondents describe that discrimination in the hiring process is obvious but it is difficult to prove. Hence, prevalence and universality of the experiences as well as the similarity with researches that have been done on the same topic give us certain background to suspect discriminative attitudes from the Finnish employers. (Finnish Ombudsman 2010 & Työvoimapolitiittinen tutkimus 2006). As discussed in the research of Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Perhoniemi (2007), rejection when actively seeking integration creates frustration and the feeling of injustice. This has obviously affected in descriptions.

4.3 Experiences of discrimination in Finnish labour market and society

Experiences of discrimination were remarkably stronger and common than I expected. When building up the questionnaire of the research, I was looking for more information about labour market access and 'key ingredients' in that process. I was expecting some common aspects of getting employed. However because of the wide- ranging experiences of discrimination and rejection on employment, the integration and discrimination are strongly connected to each other. The hypothesis of discrimination eventually came out stronger than I expected. I will introduce some additional descriptions and experiences in

this chapter even though the experiences of discrimination have mainly revealed themselves in the previous chapter.

The experiences of discrimination in the labour market are wide-ranging. Respondents described that the discrimination exists widely in the labour market, especially in the application and selection process. This was already visible in last theme. The most common case is the rejection in the selection process: respondents claim not having received even an answer rather than invitations to interviews. As I mentioned earlier this could be resulting from the fact that employers do not have to answer applicants if they are not selected in the hiring process. However similarity and wideness of discrimination in respondents' experiences can not be ignored.

I have send dozens of applications. I am a professional driver, I graduated from TAKK (Adult education centre of Tampere). I have all necessary "license" and still I haven't received a single answer during whole year. Discrimination exists in camouflage form. (Respondent 1)

My works are well-known in the world but I am unable to get any engineering job in Finland. To my deepest regret I was born in Moscow. That's it. Discrimination in Finland exists in a great scale and my friends cannot help me, they are all honest Finnish people and not bosses. I used to work in different countries and never met such bad attitude when trying to get a job as in Finland. (Respondent 7)

Most of the respondents came into the conclusion that they have been rejected based on their nationality. This is obviously only a subjective conclusion, because it can not be proved directly. However, the conclusion of ethnical discrimination is logical since most of the respondents have great qualifications. They think that they are not valued based on their qualifications in selection process, but they are rejected based on their nationality.

In the case of employment, many respondents claimed to have received lower salary than Finns. Earlier researches have found similar results when interviewing foreign workers. One reason for this can be that employers themselves have the right to evaluate the employee's previous working experience. Earlier researches (Arajärvi 2009, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008) have shown that many cases Finnish employers do not count the working experience performed outside of Finland, so the foreigner will be paid a minimum salary of the occupation.

I always had salary lower than Finnish engineers, despite of doing the same job. (Respondent 3)

My salary in the Finnish firm, where I worked almost upon arrival, was remarkably lower than Finns', even though working on similar positions. (Respondent 5)

Interesting detail occurs when moving from the labour market perceptions to the society: the discrimination experiences decrease remarkably. Several of respondents described that they don't feel discriminated in the society, only in the labour market.

In society generally I don't feel myself discriminated. However in the job search I do feel. (Respondent 9)

In general, in society, I didn't feel myself discriminated. (Respondent 3)

One of the respondents describes and analyses the Finnish society and labour market.

When living every day life, talking to people in the streets, banks, kindergarten, school, shops, bars, one can rarely meet bad attitude. Normal Finnish population is good, open-hearted and kind. But when you are looking for a job you can feel that it is not only discrimination but you live in a racist country. It is my opinion and the opinion of all my friends from the former Soviet Union. During last 3 years I wrote 345 applications to various job openings in Finland, the answer was always negative. (Respondent 7)

The most important finding is the difference of the experiences between the labour market and society. Researches (Arajärvi 2009, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, Finnish Ombudsman 2010 ext.) came into similar conclusion. The positive fact that Russians do not face discrimination in their regular life in Finnish society is important. However, why do the tolerance and multicultural attitudes stop when we are moving from everyday life to the labour market? Assuming that these experiences would represent some general atmosphere in Finland, there is interesting question remaining: what is the place of a Russian person in Finnish society?

4.4 Being part of the society

In the last theme, the respondents were asked to describe their personal perception as being part of Finnish society. Generally, we can sum up that those respondents, who have patiently and intensively been seeking the integration in the labour market and society, had succeeded in it. However personal efforts made for that seems to have been remarkable. This is the only theme, where the experiences between respondents vary remarkably. The explaining factor for the difference between personal experiences is in the employment. Just to sum up, those respondents who have eventually found the access to the labour market feel themselves more integrated into the whole society.

I don't feel myself being a part of Finnish society, because I don't have an opportunity to work (Respondent 2)

A person who doesn't have a job place cannot feel himself integrated into society. Completely other system of foreigner integration is needed. (Respondent 1)

At the moment I already feel myself as a part of Finnish society, when I have my business, job, knowledge of Finnish language. (Respondent 4)

Employment seems to be the most crucial factor in personal experience of integration and being part of the society. I will analyse the sociological aspect more precisely in the next chapter throughout the concepts introduced earlier: assimilation and multicultural society.

I have lived here in Finland for 17 years, but I am still a person of a second class. Do we speak about integration or pure discrimination? I am only looking for any engineering job, average salary and I guarantee the solution for all technical problems that exist at the enterprise. With such attitude to foreigners in general and to Russian working labour force in particular, the country is losing great potential and the basis of future development and success. (Respondent 7)

As the research of Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Perhoniemi (2007) describes, the individual harm of rejection in the hiring process creates frustration and feeling of being discriminated. These experiences can be harmful for the individual and depress the integration attempts. If there are conflicts appearing between the minorities and natives, they might create larger problems and confrontation as they have in many European countries, example Greece, Italy and France.

In the end, I will introduce experience of a young graduating Master degree respondent, who describes the experience of integration from several angles. This young graduated respondent describes the problems of integration in various ways:

I cannot feel myself fully as a part of Finnish society with such a job situation. However I like Finland, I feel myself very comfortable here. I appreciate the job culture very much: how Finns are approaching their jobs, with a high responsibility.

However, I am not eligible for participating in the integration program for foreigners from the Employment Office. Still I don't understand why. Integration programs for foreigners tend to be existing only in the paper or for selected groups, like asylum seekers.

I think Finland should help young foreign graduates in transition from University to working life. It will be good for both, for ex-students and for country, because students receive education from Finland and state can directly benefit from graduates' skills. Now people are leaving, because getting job is so hard. They get the education here, which I consider being on a very high level, and then bring their knowledge somewhere else, where they feel themselves needed.

I think this is a state-level problem. From the first sight Finland seems to be encouraging foreigners to come, all official programs look nice, but in real life they don't exist. (Respondent 9)

Obviously the young respondent had expected a better integration channel from University to the labour market. There is a good point since Russians are the second largest group of foreigners after Chinese studying a degree in Finnish Universities. If Russians are educated in Finland but they move to other country to work, the potential is lost.

4.5 Summarising

Migration to Finland has happened for several reasons. As it was said earlier, employment has not been the first priority to migrate. Most of the respondents describe their positive hopes and expectations about employment when entering the country. In the time of migrating, Finland was seen as a safe and consistent society. Finland was described as a country where everyday life would be easier in comparison to Russia. The majority of the respondents describe their disappointments upon arriving and especially

when trying to integrate into the labour market. They claim to have experienced discrimination based on their ethnic background.

Based on the experiences of the respondents, it seems to be that the discrimination exists more strongly in the labour market than it exists in everyday life in society. Interviewed respondents think that they are treated differently than Finns in the labour market. Based on the interviews in the research, the most common experience was that employers have not replied anything to their application. They think that applications have been rejected because of the applicants' ethnical background. Meanwhile, based on the law, employers are not obliged to reply to the applicants if they are not selected. Still, due to common the intensity in the job search attempts described and the universality of the rejection experiences, there are questions which can be raised towards Finnish employers. In addition, qualifications of some of the respondents are so impressive, that rejection for getting even in an interview when applying a lower level vacancy seems discriminative.

As discussed earlier there are some obstacles when finding a job as a foreigner in Finland. One obstacle can be the education performed in home country. Based on the researches (Arajärvi 2009, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008) Finnish labour market seems to strongly favour education performed in Finland. There are examples introduced in earlier researches where education performed abroad is not recognised by Finnish employers. The same applies to working experience performed abroad. On the other hand, there are a certificate system and laws in Finland for the education performed abroad. The certificate system gives an option and way to complement your studies to get the diploma recognised in majority of cases. Niemi (2007) claims the system to be discriminative against Russians since the education performed inside EU is recognised without complementation. Some argue that education and working experience can be also a way for employers to outcast the foreign applicants (Arajärvi 2009, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, Finnish Ombudsman 2010). However this kind of argument is difficult to prove. Despite having an international education and qualifications which are internationally appreciated, respondents faced doubts of their professional experience. In some cases, the respondent has been asked to fulfil their education on Finnish education institution, even though it could have been proved that the education of the respondent is wider than it is possible to achieve in Finland.

Integration of a Russian person to the Finnish society seems challenging. Based on the experiences of the case group, person needs to be very tolerant for the possible discrimination and prejudices. Consistency and perseverance in integration achievements are crucial for the Russian immigrants to “earn their place and trust” in the Finnish labour market. Some respondents have integrated into the society and labour market after years of hard work. However there is an important point to bring up to the discussion. Immigrants’ socio- occupational backgrounds effects remarkably to the employment (King, 1997, 108). Russians whose occupational characteristics and human capital are better than average migrants are competing for ‘better jobs’ with natives. The competition can assume to be relatively hard since the past recession which influenced strongly on employment situation. Another point is that employment in liberal societies as Russia can be easier to achieve. We can not be sure if the respondents are aware of the fact that to achieve a position in well paid job in Finland is relatively challenging. In addition, the foreigners without fluent native language skills are easily set aside of priority candidates even their occupational skills would be impressive.

Some of the respondents are suffering the psychological effects of unemployment and discrimination as it is described in the research of Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Perhoniemi (2007). This comes up as emotional narratives when describing the life in Finland. Several of respondents describe their disappointment towards Finnish employers. As a result of the disappointments, some of the respondents have given up the integration effort to the Finnish labour market. Because of the numerous rejections, they have started to focus on migrating to other countries where foreign labour force is more appreciated.

When approaching the integration throughout the sociological theories for example Di Bartolomeo’s, Finland can not be considered as a multicultural society. Multicultural values can exist on some level in society, for example in Universities, however not in the labour market. Labour market demands fluent Finnish language skills and certain assimilation to the Finnish society. The fact that the foreign researchers are one of the most well employed professional groups supports this. The common case is a PHD student, who will be employed by the Finnish university after finishing the degree.

Based on this research as well as some earlier ones, integration to the Finnish labour market needs a certain level of assimilation. Pål Kolsto (2005) in his work “The New Russian Diaspora and Russian Identity in Finland” describes this phenomenon from the perspective of the Russian minority. Russians are in conflict with Finnish society, since the assimilation requirements of Finnish side are so demanding that person has to let go of own identity to be able to feel integrated and part of the society. It seems that Finnish society does not support the culture of ethnic minorities, especially in the labour market. Instead, it supports their assimilation to a Finnish one. If an immigrant accepts the Finnish culture, even the identity, acquires fluent language skills and “earn the trust of society”, person can have a chance to be part of Finnish society.

5. Discussion and policy recommendations

Labour migration is and will be an important topic in public discussion and policy making in Finland. I believe that one reason for the public conflict concerning foreigners and immigration policy is the lack of information and explanation given by government. The research of Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008, 132) also supports this. I think government has failed to inform the need for labour migration and the use of foreign labour force to the public. I believe that if the economical side of the international labour migration and its necessity in order to cover the future “pension crisis” would be explained to public, there would be less conflict.

Based on the calculations of United Nations, European Union needs multiple amount of foreign labour force to keep the old age dependency ratio in the level as it is now. UN has calculated that between 2003 and 2050 Europe needs at least 175 million foreigners to be able to maintain the ‘old age dependency ratio’ (UN Population Division). Finland has the worst prophecy. The ageing of population is remarkably fast and the Finnish labour market has very little foreign workers as well as experience of using foreign labour force. Based on the calculations of OECD, Finland will have the most difficult old age dependency ratio of industrial countries in 2035. (OECD & Pinomaa 2001). The amount of people over 65 years will be 25 per cent in the year 2030. For these reasons, the future of Finnish Welfare State has been called in some public debates as “pension crisis” (Olsson 2009).

Finnish government as well as many other Western Welfare States is looking the solution from labour migration. Finnish government introduced a new program in 2006 to increase the labour migration in the Finnish labour market as one of the solutions for fulfilling the future labour gap. The government wants to improve the possibilities for labour migration. Based on the researches made, the percentage of labour migration is relatively low in Finland, less than 10 percent (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 6). This means that less than 10 percent of the migration is work related.

The inevitable fact is that Finland will be forced into taking foreign labour force sooner or later. The national ALMP even when intensified will not be able to fulfil the future

gap. In order to avoid future problems in labour market integration of foreigners we should create well working labour migration and integration channels right now.

The Finnish Ombudsman office for minorities published 9.8.2010 an interesting research concerning the employment and discrimination of the Russian minority in Finland. The results of the research are similar to the ones of this research. The research of Ombudsman has interesting policy recommendations for the future improvement for the Russian minority in Finland. I will introduce the most important ones which I would recommend:

- The first part of the job searching process should be done anonymously. People would apply based on their qualifications, excluding the ethnical background, name and gender. This would improve the chances of Russians to access to the interviews. I think the existence of this policy recommendation already proves the discrimination existing in the job searching process.
- Language requirements need to be more flexible. However when hiring a foreign worker, there can be agreement that employee commits him or herself to continue language training.
- Immigrants need to be more informed of the anti-discrimination legislation. There is also a larger need for control of the legislation.
- Expand the use of the English language in the labour market when possible.

5.1 Are we still afraid of Russians?

We have well educated Russian minority in Finland which is willing to integrate into the labour market. Why not to use it? We have international experts in Finland, who are treated as second class citizens because of their ethnic backgrounds. This can be seen as a remarkable economic loss for Finland as well as to the development of the labour market. Relying only to Finnish education and expertise slows down the future development. I believe that the lack of future labour force should be covered in larger form from Russian labour force. The level of education in Russia is high and there is a clear 'brain drain' of experts. In addition, the future need for the labour force in Finland compared with Russian population is so minor, that it will not create large problems on the Russian side.

First of all we should create an integration path for the Russians already living in Finland, which might be developed for the future on a larger scale. Secondly there could be a policy change in obligatory Swedish language. Swedish language skills are obligatory in most of the jobs in the public sector. I think that the policy should be changed so that there is an option between Russian and Swedish language. The same policy could be implemented in schools when choosing the second foreign language.

In addition, I want to criticise the Finnish media. Finnish media has created a negative picture of Russia as well as Russians. As we are all acknowledged, the impact on media to people's opinions is remarkable. There is no reason to base presumptions and discrimination to the ideas which have lived 70 years ago. It is time to turn a new page in the book of history.

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Figures and Tables

Figure 1. The regional distribution of immigrants in 2007. (Heikkilä, E. & Pikkarainen, M. (2008) Väestön ja työvoiman kansainvälistyminen nyt ja tulevaisuudessa. ESR. Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, Turku, Finland. 2008.)

Figure 2. The percentage of the use of foreign labour force from national labour force in 2005 in European Union countries. (Commission of the European Communities)

Figure 3. MIPEX Diamond of Finland.
(<http://www.integrationindex.eu/integrationindex/2356.html>)

Figure 4. MIPEX Diamond of Sweden.
(<http://www.integrationindex.eu/integrationindex/2357.html>)

Table 1: The number of Immigrants in Finland 2000- 2007. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 2: The average unemployment rate among immigrants in Finland 1994- 2007. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 3: Top and lowest 3 unemployment rates among immigrant groups in Finland. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 4: Top 10 occupations of immigrants in Finland 2005. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 5: The Amount of Russians in Finland 2000- 2007. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 6: Researches about the life of Russians in Finland. Several Sources mentioned on the table

Table 7: Unemployment rate of Russian immigrants in Finland. (Tilastokeskus/ National Statistical Center of Finland)

Table 8: Discrimination oriented investigations in Finland. Several sources mentioned on the table

Questionnaire (English translated version)

Sex?

How old are you?

When did you move to Finland?

Your relationship status?

Entry to Finland

Please, describe your experience of migration and entry to Finland? What were the reasons of your moving?

Labour market

Please, describe your experience on finding a job in Finland?

Discrimination

Have you felt yourself discriminated in a job search process or in general, in the society?

Please, describe your experience.

Integration

Do you feel yourself as a part of Finnish society?