

Discovering Keys to the Integration of Immigrants
– From Human Capital towards Social Capital

Marjaana Korhonen
Master's Thesis
Department of Regional Studies
The University of Tampere
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The University of Tampere
Department of Regional Studies

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In many respects, a successful integration of immigrants has been understood by the entrance and status of immigrants in the labour market in Finland. Also, the policy discourse on immigrant integration has mainly focused on the role of human capital, which has not solved all the challenges posed by integration and diversity. Therefore, the concept of social capital was a needed complement to the integration of immigrants. In this study, contacts between immigrants and native-born people were in special focus. The aim of this study was to clarify the role of social capital in a two-way adaptation process of immigrants in Tampere city region by exploring Multicultural Training and Recruitment Project, MORO! with different social capital studies.

Even though there were plenty of studies where social capital theories were applied to the immigrant research, a study which would have explored the suitability of different social capital studies for the integration studies, was lacking. One target of this study was to find out which social capital studies were the most appropriate for clarifying the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants. This study was also intended to point out with the help of MORO! case study different outlooks around the social capital concept connected to integration research and to disentangle how social capital facilitates the way towards intercultural environments.

The interviews of the MORO! project partakers functioned as research material in this qualitative case study. 14 theme interviews were gathered during summer 2004. The studies of the most often mentioned and renowned social capital scholars, whose research suited the research subject, were chosen for deeper examination. Next, the intercultural contacts within the MORO! project were analysed with the social capital studies especially suitable for studying the two-way integration process. The integration obstacles and promoters were searched as well and the intercultural relations were categorised and further analysed with the social capital studies and finally a synthesis was formed out of them.

Based on the chosen social capital studies applied to the MORO! context, those with a structural emphasis explained the reasons for the lack of social capital between immigrants and native-born people. Instead, the studies with a relational emphasis showed how the social capital between the two groups could be strengthened. Also, the different types of social capital attached to the project partakers were found. The types were either culturally homogenous or heterogeneous. From these types, a path towards multicultural environments could be outlined, as the culturally congruent

groups worked as a foundation for the multicultural groups. During the process, the cognitive dimension of social capital was changing as the relations between immigrants and native-born people became closer.

The division of different social capital dimensions and types opened up new scenes for integration related social capital research. In addition, the results of this study strengthened the sense of unimpeded social relations in promoting the social capital between immigrants and native-born people. Over all, the integration of immigrants is a wide macro-level societal learning process. To open up the process, the micro-level factors would have to be studied distinctively before wider conclusions of the integration process could be made. The aim in the background of this study was to gather and analyse data from the aptitude of the social capital concept for integration studies that decision-makers could use for more sustainable social development of the city. Besides public promotion, the emergence of social capital between immigrants and native-born people requires individuals who lead the way in a multicultural society.

Key Words: Immigrants, Integration and Social Capital

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Suomessa maahanmuuttajien onnistuneen integraation on katsottu olevan paljolti kiinni maahanmuuttajien työllistymisestä ja asemasta työmarkkinoilla. Myös maahanmuuttopolitiikka on keskittynyt lähinnä maahanmuuttajien inhimillisen pääoman kartuttamiseen, joka ei ole ratkaissut kaikkia integraation ja moninaisuuden tuomia haasteita. Sosiaalisen pääoman käsite onkin tervetullut lisä keskusteluun maahanmuuttajien integraatiosta. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan erityisesti maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välisiä suhteita. Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on selvittää sosiaalisen pääoman roolia kaksisuuntaisessa monikulttuurisessa sopeutumisprosessissa Tampereen kaupunkiseudulla tutkimalla Monikulttuurinen Rekrytointi ja Oppiminen, MORO! -projektia erilaisten sosiaalisen pääoman teorioiden kautta.

Vaikka sosiaalisen pääoman teorioita on sovellettu laajalti maahanmuuttajia koskevassa tutkimuksessa, puuttui tutkimus, joka arvioisi erilaisten sosiaalisen pääoman teorioiden soveltuvuutta integraatiotutkimukseen. Yksi tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteista oli tutkia sitä, mitkä sosiaalisen pääoman teorioista soveltuisivat parhaiten selventämään sosiaalisen pääoman roolia maahanmuuttajien integraatiossa. Tarkoitus oli myös osoittaa erilaiset sosiaalisen pääoman tutkimukseen liittyvät näkemykset MORO! -tapaus tutkimuksen avulla sekä jäsentää sitä, kuinka sosiaalinen pääoma edistää kulttuurienvälisen vuorovaikutuksen syntymistä.

MORO! -projektin osallistujien haastattelut toimivat tämän kvalitatiivisen tapaus tutkimuksen tutkimusmateriaalina. Kesän 2004 aikana tehtiin 14 teemahaastattelua. Merkittävät sosiaalisen pääoman tutkimukset, jotka sopivat tutkimusaiheeseen parhaiten, valittiin syvempään tarkasteluun. Monikulttuurisia kontakteja MORO! -projektin sisällä analysoitiin niiden sosiaalisen pääoman teorioiden valossa, jotka olivat sopivia vastavuoroisen integraatioprosessin tutkimiseen. Myös integraation ongelmakohdat ja sitä vahvistavat tekijät olivat tarkastelun alla, kuten monikulttuuriset suhteet, jotka luokiteltiin ja analysoitiin sosiaalisen pääoman teorioiden avulla. Lopuksi päädyttiin synteisiin.

Kun sosiaalisen pääoman teorian sovellettiin MORO! -projektin kontekstiin, strukturaalisen painotuksen omaavat selittivät syitä sosiaalisen pääoman puuttumiseen maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välillä. Sen sijaan tutkimukset, joissa oli relationaalinen painotus, osoittivat tekijöitä, joilla sosiaalista pääomaa näiden kahden ryhmän välillä voidaan vahvistaa. Myös erilaiset sosiaalisen pääoman tyypit projektin osallistujien välillä selvitettiin. Tyypit olivat joko kulttuurisesti yhteneväisiä tai eriäviä. Sosiaalisen pääoman tyyppien perusteella voitiin hahmottaa polku kohti monikulttuurista ympäristöä, jossa kulttuurisesti yhtenäiset ryhmät toimivat perustana

monikulttuurisille ryhmille. Prosessin aikana sosiaalisen pääoman kognitiivinen ulottuvuus muuttui sitä mukaa, kun suhteet maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välillä tiivistyivät.

Erilaisten sosiaalisen pääoman tyyppien ja ulottuvuuksien jäsentäminen avasi uusia näköaloja integraatiopohjaisen sosiaalisen pääoman tutkimiseen. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset tukevat ajatusta siitä, että omaehtoiset sosiaaliset suhteet edistävät sosiaalisen pääoman syntymistä maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välillä. Kaiken kaikkiaan maahanmuuttajien integraatio on laaja makrotason sosiaalinen oppimisprosessi. Kun tätä prosessia ryhdytään selventämään, mikrotason tekijät tulee tarkastella erikseen ennen kuin laajempia johtopäätöksiä integraatioprosessista voidaan tehdä. Tutkimuksen taustalla oli tarkoitus kerätä ja analysoida tietoa sosiaalisen pääoman käsitteen soveltuvuudesta integraatio-tutkimukseen, jota päätöksentekijät voisivat hyödyntää kaupungin kestävän sosiaalisen kehityksen hyväksi. Sosiaalisen pääoman syntyminen maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välillä edellyttää julkisten toimenpiteiden lisäksi monikulttuurisen yhteiskunnan edelläkävijöitä.

Avainsanat: Maahanmuuttajat, Integraatio ja Sosiaalinen Pääoma

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1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In international comparison, Finnish integration policy has based more on the human capital led model than other immigration countries. Finland is a pioneer in the immigrant education. At the same time other sides of the integration have been neglected. Finland is lagging behind in the way the immigrants become part of the labour market and social life of the original population. The educational system and other services for the immigrants are often distanced from other administrative sectors as well. Intercultural social capital has become a corner stone for the present integration process in Finland.

This study has its roots in a practical training session conducted in Sente, Research Unit for Urban and Regional Development Studies of Tampere University. The work was part of the CRITICAL, City-Regions as Intelligent Territories: Inclusion, Competitiveness and Learning, research project, in which my part was to make a report (Korhonen, 2004) on learning among socially excluded groups in the Tampere city region. Under the project guidelines it was possible to focus on my earlier interest, immigrants and their integration into the Finnish society. The report, MORO! Multicultural Training and Recruitment Project, functioned within the Critical project as raw material, without many theories or much analysis of the subject. Still, the report showed a need for contacts between different parties of the integration process; for immigrants and native-born people to facilitate the general integration process. Therefore a social capital concept was chosen as a theory basis for this study.

The study was to clarify the integration related questions through a MORO! project. The method of this research is a qualitative case study. I chose the MORO! project as a case study because in it the integration of immigrants was seen as a two-way adaptation where immigrants and native-born people both have their parts in the process. In addition, the MORO! project enabled the examination of a multicultural community, culturally cohesive communities and the more distant relationships between immigrants and the original population. The main research subjects of this study are the unemployed immigrants and the original population of Tampere city region. The co-operation figures and intercultural relations between different MORO! project partakers were the matters of

interest in this study. Also, the obstacles of the integration process were examined and the possible learning of intercultural communication among the integration partners were studied.

The research material consists of 14 theme interviews where the interviewees are all participants of the MORO! project. The interviews are divided into four groups; immigrant authorities, MORO! project team members, work community members and immigrants. These four different voices were heard inside the MORO! project and were also analysed distinctively with the chosen social capital studies. The social capital divisions and framework found in social capital studies worked as a tool for analysing the integration process in the MORO! project context.

This research stresses the role of a more unknown social capital in the integration process. In a nutshell, social capital refers to social structures, which have community features, such as social networks, norms, trust, and reciprocity (Ruuskanen, 2001,1). There has been no study which would have contemplated the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants in Tampere city region. Neither have I found a study which would have examined the functionality of the studies of main social capital scholars connected to the integration process. In the integration of immigrants, relations matter. Without social capital the two integration parties, immigrants and native-born people, are isolated groups. Intercultural social capital is needed to prevent the social exclusion of immigrants.

1.2 Immigrant History of Tampere

The whole Tampere Region consists of six sub-regions of which the largest by population is Tampere city-region. The immigrant population in Tampere, the second largest city in Finland, is small and very heterogeneous. It consists of around 120 different ethnic groups (see Appendix 1) and 70 language groups while the amount of immigrants in Tampere is only 5900 (Tampere City Administrative Court, 2005). Larger ethnic groups are concentrated in the capital area of Helsinki and again in Eastern Finland, where Russian immigrants dominate. Tampere has had immigrants during its whole history, but first refugees and asylum seekers (50 Vietnamese) arrived as late as year 1989. The Red Cross volunteer organisation received the first asylum seekers before the city of Tampere started to see to them in the mid 1990's. From that on, EU-funded projects have increased in number and are now an important part of integrating the immigrants into society.

Table 1. Inhabitants of foreign citizenship living in Tampere city-region, 1980-2005

1980	566
1990	1 203
1995	3 284
2000	5 295
2005	7 144

31.12.2005, Source: City Administrative Court of Tampere; The City of Tampere

In 1999, the integration act in Finland became valid. It improved immigrants' situation in Finland. In 1998 and 1999 the city of Tampere planned a large immigrant integration program and a multicultural and immigrant strategy. The top-down mentality was to make all the public officials committed to the new attitude and through them affect the whole society. At the same time, the city appointed five immigration co-ordinators and one main co-ordinator to advance immigration issues in cultural, educational (both comprehensive and vocational), welfare and healthcare sectors. Anyhow, in Tampere, questions concerning immigrant population and employment touch only a small group of local decision-makers. It is assumed that in the next five to ten years the immigrant issues will be more widely discussed in society as the need for immigrant labour force increases.

The highly skilled immigrants belong to the most wanted group in the labour market, whereas many other immigrants who have a refugee background or who lack education do not get employed. The general unemployment rate of immigrants in Finland is 28%, with other citizens it is 8,4% (Työministeriö, 2005b, 10, 58.) In addition a high per cent of immigrants are in labour force policy measures, like practical training etc. Nonetheless, Tampere city region is glutted with different projects whose goal is to promote the integration and employment of immigrants. The project results have been small partly due to the long-term effect that immigrant projects have. Immigrants themselves are mostly absent from these projects and from the rest of immigrant administration in Tampere. Considering the regional development of Tampere city region, it is essential to employ the immigrants already living in Tampere and in the long run, to ensure the recruitment of the skilled labour force from abroad as well (Virtanen, Niinikoski, Karinen & Paananen, 2004, 3).

The current situation in Tampere is interesting. Local Election was held in October 2004 and for the first time, an immigrant councillor was chosen for the Tampere city council. This new councillor Atanas Aleksovski has worked many years against racism in the city and is now giving voice to immigrant population in Tampere as well as to increasing unprejudiced original population. Also, the leading local newspaper Aamulehti has a culture and human rights journalist, Maila-Katriina Tuominen, who consciously reports and writes articles about immigrants of the region. She also

gives immigrants a possibility to publish their own articles to Aamulehti. The recent happenings in the political arena and the new preliminary immigration agenda of Finnish Government have shown that Finnish society is opening for multiculturalism.

Immigrant Discussion in Finland

Finland has traditionally been a land of emigration that people have left to find jobs abroad. Not until the 1980's, Finland changed from an emigration country to an immigration one, when for the first time more people immigrated to Finland than emigrated abroad (Jaakkola, 2005, 1) new groups of refugees started to immigrate. During the past decades the increase of immigrants has been quite sudden in Finland taking into consideration the original homogenous Finnish population (Ylänkö, 2000, 22). The attitude towards immigrants has mainly followed the socio-economic cycles of Finland, like in the early 1990's when Finland plunged into a recession and massive unemployment, the attitude towards immigrants was negative. After the recession period, it turned more positive as socio-economic threat had declined. The biggest groups of immigrants have come from Russia, Sweden, Estonia and Somalia. During the period of 1987-2003 the Finnish society has changed: Finland's foreign population has increased six-fold and its ethnic structure is more diversified (Jaakkola, 2005, viii).

Table 2. The number of foreign citizen, refugees and asylum seekers during 1987-2005 in Finland

	Foreign citizen	% of Finnish population	Refugees	Asylum seekers
1987	17 724	0,4	900	49
1993	55 587	1,1	10 050	2 023
1998	85 060	1,6	16 434	1 272
2003	107 003	2,1	23 500	3 221
2005	113 852	2,2	26 596	3 574

Source: Statistics Finland 2005

Today, immigration is one of the top political discussions in Finland. The strongest argument is that immigrants will be increasingly needed to help us with the future labour shortage. Others are of the opinion that there will be no labour shortage in the future because Finnish production will be relocated in the cheaper production cost countries and because of the increasing automation in Finland. Besides the traditional question "Should we receive immigrants?", Finns have started to ask, "Who would come?", reaching for foreign professionals, who are needed whether there will be a labour shortage or not for developing technology will need highly skilled professionals in any case. (See also the attitudes of Finns towards foreign labour and refugees in Appendices 2 and 3.)

Until now, the borders for immigrants have been high due to the strict Finnish immigration legislation. According to the expectations of the Council of State (2004), the goal of active immigration policy is to increase the employment-based immigration. Anyhow, few professional immigrants are coming to Finland, for other Western Countries persuade them more. This lays a great challenge in dealing with the possible future Finnish labour shortage. Even though the remote

location of Finland cannot be changed, the attitude climate, which has been predominantly unfavourable towards immigrants, slowly can be changed.

On the other hand, the questions of human rights responsibilities are pondered; how many refugees Finland is going to turn back at the border. Employment opportunities among immigrants are polarised as is the attitude towards different immigration groups. The opinion polls (Työministeriö, 2005a) showed that favourable attitudes have increased more towards foreign labour than towards immigrants moving to Finland for other reasons. More often than not, these immigrants that have come as refugees or asylum seekers, acquire a Finnish education, language skills and the knowledge of cultural habits, and still will very likely be unemployed. Over all, the unemployment rate among immigrants in the Tampere city region is about two-thirds higher than among natives (Työministeriö, 2005b, 10, 58.). This may refer to the lack of social capital between immigrants and natives. Even then, there are a great number of employed immigrants who have close relationships with native-born people.

1.3 The Aim of the Study

The aim of this study was to clarify the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants and to distinct the different types of social capital attached to intercultural communication. In this study, the challenges of the unemployed immigrants of Tampere city region as well as the obstacles and promoters related to their integration were considered. The relations between immigrants and native-born people connected to the MORO! project were studied with the help of social capital studies. Also, bottlenecks that immigrants themselves, native-born people, work communities and immigration authorities set to the way of immigrants integration in Finland were under research.

The target of this study was to find the suitable social capital studies for exploring the integration of immigrants in the MORO! project context. The matter of interest was the way immigrants and native-born people learn to communicate in intercultural context. This study was to find out where and when the integration-related learning is the greatest among the two integration groups. Also, the different stages of involvement in multicultural environments were in focus and the question how the multicultural social capital develops and what are its sources.

The aim of this study was to find the meaning of informal contacts between immigrants and the original population. Thus, instead of traditional formal training, the emphasis was on the role of social capital as a promoter of integration. This research was to answer and to clarify the following questions:

- ◆ What is the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants?
- ◆ Which social capital studies work as best tools for studying the integration of immigrants?
- ◆ What are the different types and dimensions of intercultural social capital?
- ◆ How different MORO! project partner groups have learned to communicate in intercultural context?
- ◆ How does intercultural social capital evolve?

The background aim of this study was to clarify the factors promoting and preventing the integration process and the possible learning through which the obstacles of integration could be won. The longer-term goal of this study was to gather and analyse data from the aptitude of the social capital concept for integration studies that decision-makers could use for more sustainable social development of the city.

The hypothesis of this study was that social capital is a needed tool for facilitating the integration process and that studies among social capital field applied to the case study material reveal up new scenes of the integration of immigrants. It was presumed that the role of social capital in the integration process is vital especially for the immigrants. One assumption was that while studying the part of social capital in the integration process, different types and dimensions of social capital connected to the multicultural environments would also be revealed, which would help to distinguish the intercultural communication and facilitate the integration process. The last hypotheses were that social capital related to multicultural environments is especially one key for more flexible integration of immigrants and that multiculturally enriched social capital evolves best in multicultural relationships and environments.

1.4 Methods

As mentioned, material for this study was gathered in summer 2004 connected to the CRITICAL project, where my part was to make a case study report under the theme of formal training among socially excluded groups. The MORO! project, Multicultural Recruitment and learning project, 2002-2004 of Tampere city region operated by TAKK Tampere Adult Education Centre, was selected as a case study because it suited also for the guidelines of this research.

The method of this research is a qualitative case study which is to clarify the integration related questions through a MORO! project. Multicultural communities in Tampere city region are still rare. Instead of plain immigrant training The MORO! project concentrated more on the training of the original population, especially of the work communities, which was a fresh approach and helped analyse the two-way integration. The MORO! project enabled the examination of both a multicultural community (the project team), culturally cohesive communities (work communities and immigrant associations) and the more distinct relationships between immigrants and the original population through other project partners. The MORO! project was more active than other immigrant projects of the region in its attempt to bring together immigrants and those of Finnish origin.

The main research subject of this study were the unemployed immigrants of Tampere city region, which was the target group of MORO! project as well. The other subject group were native-born people of Tampere city region. The MORO! project as such with its goals was not a matter of interest, but the co-operation figures, either intercultural or culturally cohesive relations, between different project partners.

Interviews of the MORO! project partakers worked as a research material for the study. I saw the theme interviews as the best way to reach the target of this qualitative case study. The theme interview questions were moulded after a ready-made CRITICAL questionnaire. Extra questions were added to the interview form related to the research questions of this study. From the interview form (Appendix 4) especially the answers for the Meaning and Identity and Learning and Knowledge parts were used in the analysis.

The material consists of 14 interviews which are all connected to the MORO! project. All interviews were made in Finnish. The interviewees had different motives considering the participation in the project, wider integration process and multicultural issues. Because the multicultural identity among the interviewees clearly differed from each other, I decided to divide the interviews into four groups. Of course variations happen also inside one group, but there were more similarities than differences inside one certain group. The perspectives that the four interviewee groups, immigrant authorities (3 interviews), MORO! project team members (4), work community members (3) and immigrants (4), brought to the two-way integration process were analysed in this study. In this study the analysis solution was investigative and analytical, where the research questions were examined from different angles. (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara, 1997, 36).

Interviewing different partners was aimed to open up a glance at integration bridges and fences. Albeit, some interviewees might have given answers where the interviewees picture themselves as moral (Hirsjärvi, Remes ja Sajavaara 1997, 202) and in this study easily as an unprejudiced person. Listening to the nuances of the answers, the meaning could be read in between the lines. Even the attempt was to present all the voices of the parties objectively, it cannot be denied that the voice of the writer is one of a native-born people. May it bring its own value for this study.

Next, the interviews were transcribed and I formulated a descriptive report of MORO! project in English. This is why it was natural to continue with this study in English as well. The results of the report (Korhonen, 2004) led to the selection of social capital concept as a theory basis for this study. The previous immigrant research has focused on social capital as a resource for immigrants in their integration process and social capital scholars have mainly used a particular social capital study to analyse their cases. This study aimed to select suitable social capital studies which would be appropriate for analysing the communication of MORO! project participants in the integration of immigrants.

Due to the wide research among social capital field, the challenge of this study was to gather only the essential literature which was directly linked to the matter of interest. In the actual analysing phase the interviewed MORO! project partners were analysed through the chosen social capital studies of the famous social capital scholars. The social capital divisions and framework found within the social capital studies worked as a tool for analysing the integration process and the groups were analysed distinctively with a new social capital framework. (Typical for qualitative studies, this study is to create new theories for the research field.)

1.5 The MORO! Project Description

The Multicultural Recruitment and Learning project MORO! was a three-year international project, which began in 2002 and continued till the end of 2004. MORO! was part of the Equal Community Initiative and the project was funded by the European Social Fund. The aim of the MORO! project was to give voice to the minorities in our society and work communities. It was part of the main

infrastructure to battle against the prevailing discrimination in our society. The project guided and trained both the work community members and immigrants towards diversity and produced support material for all the project actors. The project emphasised a two-way adaptation. Both the immigrants and the work communities needed to adapt to the new situation, where the diversification and the inclusion were put on a pedestal. The MORO! project worked between the exclusion and inclusion of immigrants.

MORO! was operated by the Tampere Adult Education Centre, TAKK, which was also the initiator of the project. When the first immigrants came to Tampere in the late 1980's, awakened a need for their education and training. Tampere Vocational Adult Education Centre (TAKK) has been involved in the regional immigrant work and planning from the beginning. TAKK is an educational institution with 4000 students, of which 10% are immigrants (2004). The ideas for the MORO! project sprouted from the former projects and experiences a TAKK employee had faced when working together with both the employers and the immigrant students, helping them find possible employers or employees. The picture the TAKK personnel have sprouts largely from the trainer's point of view which sometimes stresses the importance of formal training at the cost of e.g. real informal contacts.

In simple terms, the main focus on the Finnish immigrant education is to train immigrants so that they are able to face the demands of Finnish work life. The project trained both employers and immigrants towards diversity and produced support material for the project actors. The tools of MORO! for helping immigrants differed from traditional immigrant training. However, the main target of MORO! was the same, to employ the immigrants. The aim of the project was to create dynamic action between the integration partners, immigrant and native people of the MORO! project. The project team also wanted to know at the end of the project how the work communities should operate so that lasting practices concerning the immigrant recruitment would be born. The project clearly directed towards the work communities and other project goals were left more aside.

The project financier, European Social Fund, laid the basic goals for the project according to the Equal principles. The budget of a three year MORO! –project in Tampere city region was about half a million euros. The project team members defined the concrete quantitative and qualitative targets themselves. It was a debatable issue if the finance system has a prohibitive or boosting effect on the natural processes, the development of co-operative combinations and bringing out new ones (Linnamaa & Sotarauta 2001, 65-66). The EU funding restricted the freedom of the project, for

example concerning innovations, for the administration of finances was bureaucratic. Besides, the EU has invested a lot of Equal funding in various immigrant projects –some would think too much and in vain. On the other hand, the funding of the government has proportionately diminished and the EU projects have partly filled the gap the state funding has left.

1.5.1 Participants

Project team

The MORO! project team consisted of six members, which were sought by an open post inside and outside the TAKK institution after the project funding was clear. The team had two members with an immigrant background who were training other immigrants in TAKK. The idea of forming a multiprofessional team succeeded. The team's professional backgrounds varied from social science, culture anthropology, pedagogic science, social psychology, art history, cultural studies to economic sciences.

Work of the project team was intense and creative, and new project ideas grew out from mutual communication. The core team formed an inter-personal and closed multicultural community. The co-operative partners resembled more a diverse organisational and personal network around the core team than one united co-operation arena or community with the core team. Links for the project team derived from local, national and international co-operative partners, which were connected to the core team in different extents. The most important interest groups for the MORO! project, were immigrants and work communities of Tampere city region. Other co-operative partners consisted of the administrative bodies in the city including the provider and other partners that functioned as peer groups to the project. Also, the project had national and international contacts.

Immigrants

Besides the two workers in the MORO! team, the project worked together with the immigrant associations of Tampere city region and asked for their guidance in the project planning. Also, two groups of immigrants were trained to be culture intermediates during the project. Still, too few immigrants were attending the regional immigrant projects, which was a gap to be covered.

Work communities

The most crucial co-operative partners for the project, concerning its goals, were the work communities of the region. Only a few of them involved, mostly public organisations. The public sector work communities were more congruent with the goals of the MORO! project and were able to utilise the output of the project. Private sector work places were still on their way to attend, but some of them were more active and part of the MORO! project. The broader participation of the employers and employees was a deficiency in the project. The MORO! project had several trade unions as their project partners which are far from concrete intercultural relationships at grass-roots level.

The project team aimed to have contacts first with the employers and other work community members, which would at its best lead to the communication between the immigrants and the work community members. Among employers and employer organisations the most significant project partners, which shaped the project goals and distributed the project material, were:

- The city of Tampere (which wanted to be a forerunner in the multicultural field of the city)
- The city of Nokia and its municipal organisations, like kindergartens of the city
- The cleaning branch company ISS
- Local newspaper Aamulehti
- Technology Industries of Finland
- The Central Organisation of the Finnish Trade Unions (SAK)
- The representative of the Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employers (TT)

Immigrant authorities

During the project the role of the city authorities is nationally active in Finland. The immigrant reception and their integration to the region was well organised by the city of Tampere. Different interest groups connected with the immigrant administration in the city worked in co-operation, which was a good basis for the co-operation of the MORO! project network as well. The Employment and Economic Development Centre, Te-Centre represented the state and had organised the Equal funding for the project. Te-Centre has the overall responsibility of the immigrant administration issues within Tampere city region, which is a challenging task due to the complex and divided nature of the whole immigrant administration in Finland.

International Partners

MORO! had also international co-operative partners with similar multicultural projects financed by Equal fund, Lenra project in London (mbA, Equal Programme for Great Britain) and Centre for Development Information and Education, CIES in Rome. When the project was launched, the team sought international partners with similar project targets from the Equal data bank, e.g. Lenra that worked for the recruitment of the asylum seekers and refugees in London. These international partners were a refreshing tie to the project core team reflecting also on the project environment. Good practices and encouragement were found in these international contacts, which paved the way to local innovations.

1.5.2 Main Activities

MORO! had four main functions which were all setting a scene for the multicultural recruitment and learning in the city region of Tampere. Even though MORO! was an immigrant project, during the project the main target proved to be training the work communities. This way they promoted the immigrants' situation indirectly.

The following activities were developed during the project as some other actions dropped out. Firstly, the MORO! team members moulded the *work community training* into a product which became their most important project objective. Their target was to promote the multicultural mindset of the work communities so that they would become more open towards immigrants. The project team arranged multicultural training occasions for work communities. The duration of a multicultural training varied depending on a work community so that they could just awaken the interest in the subject or represent a multicultural co-operative program to the leadership. The training could be a brief introduction which included for instance practical discussion cards or half-a-year year period of training with different multicultural topics. The training was supposed to become a part of the organisational practices within a certain enterprise.

Secondly, in order to further the multiculturalism, the project team created *web pages* where the project information and the main message of the MORO! project could easily be found. Made in co-operation with the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) the pages were intended to be the first-hand material for the work community members to awaken their interest in these issues. When an employer or employees wanted to prepare for the coming immigrant workers, they could

approach the questions easily by watching a playful video drama found on the web pages. Also, the pages contained links to book the training and to order additional material to the workplace. Flyers with the web page address were distributed to the workplaces at the end of the year 2005. The MORO! web pages [www.tak.fi/?sid=181] are open for those who are interested till the end of year 2006.

Thirdly, the project produced *material for the employers* which aimed to make the recruitment of immigrants easier. The employers asked the project team for an information package where they could easily find the information needed in the immigrant recruitment process. These booklets contained guidance to the multicultural nature of the work community, help for the practical things connected with the immigrant recruitment, such as explaining the positions different immigrants have (some are refugees, some returnees, others asylum seekers) and information concerning the use of culture intermediates within the work communities. These booklets were delivered for all employers inside the Tampere city region through employer organisations after its publishing in autumn 2005.

Fourthly, MORO! trained *culture intermediates* as a pioneer project in TAKK. The culture intermediates were supposed to be professional immigrants who had lived in Finland for a long time and who knew the Finnish language. They would have brought an added value as culture intermediates to their workplaces and created a new workplace culture together with their employers. The training that included personal guidance, was an intensive one month period, which did not give the immigrants a profession but was intended to encourage the immigrants to communicate the cultural competence they possessed to other workers inside their work communities. This far, the culture intermediate idea has worked the best among the public sector professions, like social and educational sectors.

2 INTEGRATION THEORIES

2.1 Immigrants and Native-born People as Integration Parties

With regard to integration studies, the relations between immigrants and the original population are found in the core of the process. Officially an immigrant is a general term for all people who have permanently immigrated at least for one year to Finland. Also, the descendants of immigrants born in Finland belong to this group. So, the term immigrant refers to a wide group of different people with different backgrounds and reasons for immigrating, different educational backgrounds and language skills (Virtanen, Niinikoski, Karinen & Paananen, 2004, 46). The traditional division of immigrants is based on differences in ethnic origins and stereotypes that the original population maintains. Immigrants from other Western countries are easy to see as part of us, while immigrants who have entered Finland on humanitarian grounds are felt to be more distant. Today, another wide separation between different immigrant groups is made between unemployed and employed immigrants whose economic position and status in society are different.

The dual ranking of the ethnic minorities is real in Finland. The preferred groups are highly educated immigrants, who are recruited to Finland. The unwanted groups are immigrants who lack education and usually have a refugee background. The only common denominator for these immigrants is their foreign background. Connected to the integration process, the difference between these two groups of immigrants is that professionals have ready contact networks through their new work place. For the unemployed immigrants it is more difficult to create contacts.

Concerning the current integration process in Finland, as ‘others’ increasingly immigrate to Finland, the concept ‘us’ has to be reanalysed. It has to be understood that also ‘us’, native-born people, differ from each other and that neither are ‘others’ a homogenous group. (Lehtonen & Löytty, 2003, 7.) Also, when the term ‘original population’ is translated into Finnish we end up with the Finnish term ‘dominant population’. This shows the way immigrants are distanced from Finns. Besides, the public sector’s top-down led immigrant administration has, in part, led to the lack of social relations between natives and immigrants.

Often the host society lacks the cultural capacity and know-how needed in international environments. Many times Finns undervalue their cultural capacity and are unsure of how to act in multicultural situations and communities. Many of the obstacles between immigrants and native-born people are more due to confusion and ignorance than prejudice. What is perceived to be typical for Finns is to hide their interest behind prejudices and to highly value Finnish culture, while supposing others underestimate it. Finnish modesty and underestimation are often obstacles in multicultural situations.

2.1.1 Ethnic Identity

The proper basis for the intercultural environment is the knowledge of one's own culture and identity. The knowledge of one's own premises would also be a great help when uniting different worldviews (Trux, 2000, 265). According to Hofstede (1993, 339-340), successful intercultural encounters require that all parties believe in their own values. If not, they are individuals without identities. Identity gives security for facing other cultures with an open mind. Understanding and accepting one's own culture is a premise in the world map and international communication. (Ylänkö, 2000, 74.) A key for governing cultural contacts, which comprise various variables, is constant learning and practices included in the normal functions of different communities (Trux, 2000, 265). The basis of ethnic identity derives from one's background. The interest of this study is in how multicultural environments affect and change ethnic identity.

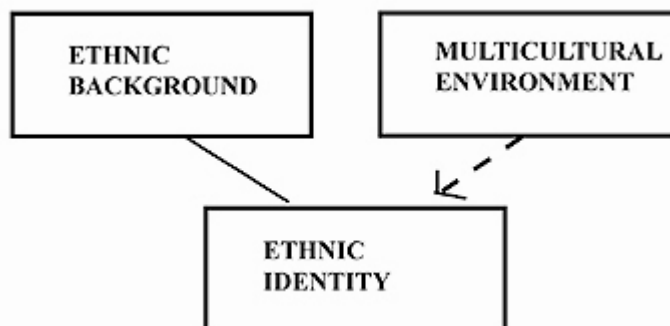


Figure 1. The possible influence of a multicultural environment on ethnic identity.

2.2 Integration of Immigrants

Assimilation, in which the emphasis was placed on the hegemony of Finnish culture and cultural standards with the goal of assimilating minorities into Finnish culture, was earlier a prevailing immigrant policy in Finland (Pitkänen & Kouki 1999, 39). Later, multicultural thinking established its position (Pitkänen & Kouki 1999, 36), as well as the integration process, in which immigrants increasingly attend to the social, cultural and institutional operations of society while still preserving their own cultural features. (Forsander, 2002, 35).

According to Liebkind (1994, 36-37) and Bauböck (1995, 38) the word integration comes from the Latin verb *integrō*, which means 'to unite into wholeness, where parts stay unchanged (Pitkänen & Kouki 1999, 38-39). Today, the objective of the Finnish immigration and refugee policy agenda, with its basis in pluralism, is to make the integration of immigrants flexible and efficient. Pluralism includes the acceptance of variety within cultures and the values of society. All are still supposed to commit to the norms of society. Anyhow, in reality it is unavoidable that immigrants to some extent functionally and spontaneously assimilate to the Finnish culture, for example in learning Finnish language. (Pitkänen & Kouki 1999, 37, 40.)

Still, immigrants cannot be seen as the only subject in the integration process. The prevailing integration policy is not sufficient for immigrants are seen as the main actors while the original population is perceived as a passive part in the integration process. Though, their part would be vital for example in the willingness of accepting newcomers into the work communities. According to an OECD report (2003), successful integration depends on the willingness of immigrants to connect with the wider host society as well as on the willingness of the receiving society to engage with the newcomers. Even though the integration process is divided into many societal operations, still the main challenge for integration in Finland is to bring the two groups together.

A successful integration process can be divided into inward and outward integration. The divisions, where two parts overlap each other, occur in many integration theories. The outward integration includes, for example, language skills, employment, housing and the use of social and health services. Thus far the socio-economic approach has been a premise for today's integration policies, the main idea of which is to train immigrants and to integrate them into the Finnish market economy. The inward integration consists of social relationships, contentment, ethnic identity and

future orientation. (Pitkänen, 1999, 34.) This study concentrates on inward integration, which relate to the social capital theory and contacts between immigrants and original population.

2.3 Integration as Learning

The integration process is a learning process, in which immigrants learn Finnish culture and Finns learn to understand immigrants and their ethnic backgrounds. It can be questioned whether anyone is able to learn a different culture. Learning in adulthood is more laborious for the culture, which has been adopted in childhood, has in a way programmed people so that foreign cultures will be interpreted through people's own cultural axioms (Ylänkö, 2000, 26.) Each culture offers norms and codes, which give individuals the models of correct behaviour and confidence in social conduct. When adapting to a new environment, individuals have to adapt to somewhat or very different culture standards (Pitkänen & Kouki, 1999, 35-36). They have to manage many intellectual and emotional challenges, which are often seen in both an anxiety for facing new things and crossing one's own borders (Hakkarainen, Lonka & Lipponen, 2004, 11). Learning the new culture facilitates the integration process of immigrants for through preliminary knowledge many complex intercultural situations can be understood and conquered.

Community learning should strengthen individual learning, which happens during the contacts between immigrants and the original population. According to Aittola (2000, 68) the role of formal training as a distributor of new information and significant learning experiences has increasingly diminished. For example, the everyday informal operational environments and workplaces are more focused as places of learning. The assumption of this study is that besides formal human capital training, the best integration related learning results would be acquired especially when immigrants and original population are in contact with each other.

If integration is seen as a learning process, it resembles the acculturation process, which, after Liebkind (2001, 13) is a learning process for a whole society as well as a mutual adaptation process for immigrants and the original population. The acculturation process means that at least two autonomic groups meet and the contact between the two groups causes changes in another group. Acculturation concentrates on the adaptation and learning, which can be also conscious learning of a new culture, and is seen in this study as a part of wider integration process. The acculturation process demands that immigrants and the original population both somehow assimilate into a

multicultural society. Even though the acculturation process of a whole society would be desirable, the integration of immigrants is truer today.

Lave & Wenger (2002, 57) see learning as a process of growing into a mature member of a community, where individuals gradually move from the fringe area to full participation. Participation develops and renews the identities of individuals and helps them to act in accordance with social norms of a new community. Learning, here, is about breaking dividing walls between different social communities (Hakkarainen, Lonka & Lipponen, 2004, 24). Some, like Earley and Mosakowski (2000), have argued, that multicultural communities form "third culture" communities (Tjosvold & Leung, 2003, 6). Interestingly, intercultural communities can form this kind of third culture communities where the background cultures of different ethnic groups have been faded out, as a new common third culture among a multicultural group has taken place and is communally maintained.

3 BACKGROUND FOR THE SOCIAL CAPITAL CONCEPT

3.1 General Knowledge on Social Capital

During the past two decades, the concept of social capital in various forms and contexts has become one of the salient concepts within social science. Social capital has become a buzzword, an intricate, unaccomplished and widely applied concept, which needs definition. The most general conception is that social capital refers to social structures, which have community features, such as social networks, norms, trust and reciprocity, and where the social structure among people promotes their interaction and co-ordination of the actions (Ruuskanen, 2001, 1; Kajanoja & Simpura, 2000, 9.) One of the most common outlines of social capital belongs to Putnam (2000, 19): “Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Social networks have value as social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups.” A similar functional definition is found in the definitions of other renowned social capital scientists, like Pierre Bourdieu, Ronald Burt, James Coleman, Francis Fukuyama and Michael Woolcock.

Literally, the word 'social' denotes resources that inhere in relationships, whereas 'capital' connotes the relationships used for productive purposes (Woolcock, 2003, 6). Social capital is best understood as a means or process for accessing various forms of resources and support through networks of social relations (OECD, 2003, 14). The famous sentence by Michael Woolcock describes the nature of the concept: “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know”. Conversely, the absence of social ties can have an equally important impact. (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 225-226.)

Like physical capital and human capital, social capital facilitates productive activity. (Coleman, 1988, 100-101.) The growth of developed physical capital is limited, but the borders and growth potential of human and social capital are still unknown. (Voipio, 2000, 101). All three forms of capital are needed in the integration of immigrants. Physical capital and human capital are self-evident components in the integration process, for all immigrants receive at least income support

and various opportunities to educate themselves. It is social capital, which is the corner stone in the integration path for social capital is needed to increase human capital as well.

3.2 A Brief History of Social Capital

The sense in which the term social capital was used for the first time as today dates back more than 80 years to the writings of Lyda J. Hanifan (1916), who explained the importance of community participation in enhancing school performance (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 228). The way the social capital concept is understood in this pioneer work holds true today as well. The substance of social capital has slightly changed during the years. Today, social capital scholars talk about trust, reciprocity and networks as substances of social capital instead of good will, sympathy and fellowship. Even the above-mentioned definitions by Hanifan and contemporary researchers have similar functions.

After Hanifan the idea of social capital disappeared for several decades but was reinvented in the 1950's by a team of Canadian urban sociologists, and later by exchange theorists, urban researchers and economists, which all emphasised the significance of community ties. (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 229.) Nowadays in the context of the social capital concept, usually three classical studies are mentioned: Pierre Bourdieu (*The Forms of Capital*, 1986), James Coleman (*Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital*, 1988) and Robert Putnam (*Making Democracy Work*, 1993; *Bowling Alone*, 1995).

Today, around the social capital concept there are studies in nine primary fields: families and youth behaviour; schooling and education; community life (virtual and civic); work and organisations; democracy and governance; collective action; public health and environment; crime and violence; and economic development (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 229.) Discussion over scientific, sectoral and professional borders has been vital for the development of concepts and its practices (Woolcock, 2000a, 45). During the past decade, the research on social capital among immigrants has increased as well.

3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Social Capital Concept

Behind the success of social capital is apparently the intelligibility of the concept (Ruuskanen, 2003, 59). The strength of social capital is also its multidisciplinary nature; it offers a bridge between concepts of different theoretical backgrounds. With the social capital concept, it is possible to contemplate between the positive and negative sides of social relations. (Kajanoja, 2000,59.) It is also argued that for empirical researchers social capital is a useful variable because it varies in different communities, organisations and states (Jokivuori, 2005, 8). It is important to ask how the positive consequences of social capital – mutual support, co-operation, trust and institutional effectiveness – can be maximised and the negative manifestations – secretianism, ethnocentrism and corruption – minimised (Putnam, 2000, 22).

Criticism is mostly due to the generality of the social capital concept; it tries to explain too much with too little. Intricate components like trust, norms and networks are all bundled into one concept. These kinds of umbrella concepts are rarely used in concrete research. Also, a transfer of social capital to empirical research is problematic. Generally, social capital definitions can be examined using two questions: What social capital does and what social capital is (Mäkelä & Ruokonen, 2005, 21-22). Social capital scholars have congruent conceptions of the functional definitions of social capital, for example all agree with Coleman (1988, 98) that "social capital inheres in the structures of relations between actors and among actors" and that the concept includes reciprocity norms, trust and social networks. Instead the contents or sources of social capital and the mutual relationship of all these factors still stay so that, like often in social science, the cause and consequences remain unknown (Ilmonen, 2004, 101).

In addition, social capital is difficult to measure. The summaries of how to measure social capital are found in e.g. Woolcock & Narayan (2000, 240), highlight three determinants; the density of membership in associations, percentage of active members and heterogeneity of members. Kazemipur (2004, 85) has summed up membership in associations as well, but his other tools for measurement are social dysfunctions (like divorce rate, crime, suicide etc.) within an individuals' social networks. All in all, the measurements and other research results are dependent on the research subject that the social capital concept is applied to. For example, when measuring the amount of social capital in the integration process, the relations between immigrants and the

original population work as one determinant. Depending on the situation, social capital can be a key for success, a tool for survival or even a reason for exclusion (Ruuskanen, 2003, 79) – also in the integration process.

3.4 Social Capital in the Integration Process

Not until the mid-1990's did researchers begin using the concept of social capital in the study of immigrants and ethnic groups. Social capital literature includes frequent examples of immigrants who benefit from social capital, that provides them with an invaluable stepping stone for their integration as immigrants band together in the search for economic survival. Also, social capital and human capital support each other in these studies. After Kazemipur (2004, 82) the immigrant research among different social capital fields grows fast and varies from the role of the social networks in the initial settlement of immigrants and refugees to the educational and occupational achievements of second generation immigrants.

There are two possible reasons that have caused the interest in explaining the experiences of immigrants using the social capital concept. Firstly, the minority status has had an effect on immigrants, who tend to develop stronger communal ties and resources to turn their status into a quality indispensable to the majority. The early sociological works by Durkheim (1951) and Bonacich (1979) support this view. Another possible reason for the interest for the interest is the way the educational and professional devaluation of immigrants in the labour market cause them to lean on each other for support. (Kazemipur, 2004, 82.)

Alejandro Portes is a renowned social capital scholar of immigrant studies. He has studied immigration, ethnic entrepreneurship, urban poverty and the reasons why different ethnic groups have different skills for adapting to new environments. (Woolcock, 2000a, 39.) Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) describes the differences in social resources and support that different ethnic groups have, which in turn helps to explain variations in economic success between various ethnic groups (Ruuskanen, 2003, 58). The research by Portes (1995) on the children of immigrants indicates that there are noticeable differences among various immigrant groups in terms of their social capital (Kazemipur, 2004, 82.). In addition, Michael Woolcock from World Bank has studied how social capital connections can increase the economic capital in the Third World countries.

The initial problem that immigrants face upon their arrival is the loss of their social networks. This is reflected in the fact that, for example, those immigrants who have lived a few years in Canada, show slightly higher levels of social capital than those who have just immigrated. (Kazemipur, 2004, 88.) Not only the number of people whom one knows but also the type of occupations they have determines the value of one's social network. The native-born Canadians enjoy their social capital much more than immigrants. Overall, a social capital rich group will be one with a web of strong ties among its resourceful members (Kazemipur, 2004, 83). According to Kazemipur (2004, 92) the key to this contrast is the differential nature of social capital between the two groups, or the different properties of their social networks. It can be questioned how immigrants compare to the native-born population in terms of social capital.

3.5 Social Capital Between Immigrants and the Host Society

In international comparison the amount of social capital in Finland is considerably high. For example, the low corruption rate is a sign of this, as is the high level of trust in Finland and other Nordic countries. Generally, Finns trust in other citizens. Finland seems to have been a promised land for different associations and neighbourly help. From the social capital point of view this is an excellent sign. (Hjerppe, 2005, 124-125.) Still, Finnish society has long been a homogenous society, considering its population. In history, together the Finns have built the welfare society after the Second World War and Finno-Russo War, which has laid a culturally cohesive foundation for Finnish social capital.

According to Hjerppe (2005, 125) there are signs of weakening social capital in Finland. The weakening of traditional family ties and (rural) communities due to the urbanisation has made people more distant to each other and at the same time people are increasingly forced to connect with strangers. (Ilmonen, 2000, 12.) New free time activity reference groups replace the traditional rural communities. This is possible only by trusting in new neighbours, and forces people to take risks. This is especially true with "the others", like immigrants, whose cultural models are not familiar (Ilmonen, 2000, 12). Anyhow, it is suggested by Halpern (2005, 260) that the higher the level of ethnic mixing within an area, the lower the level of social trust, associational activity and informal sociability.

Besides reciprocity and social networks, one central quality of social capital is trust. A recent survey (Ilmonen & Jokinen, 2002, 201) clarified the amount of trust in Finland. Table 3 shows the answers to the question: “How much do you trust in the following groups of people?” The study strengthened the thought that social closeness has an enormous effect on trust. Also cultural closeness forms a frame, which strengthens trust. The margin is 16 per cent lower with unknown foreigners than with unknown Finns. According to this survey, trust differed also between native-born people and different ethnic groups.

Table 3. Trust in different people groups in Finland.

	With great hesitation	Do not know	With little hesitation
Family members	1	1	98
Friends	3	2	95
Neighbours	15	18	67
Work mates	9	14	78
School/student mates	15	30	55
Employer	17	19	64
Unknown Finn	50	30	20
Unknown foreigner	66	27	7

Source: Ilmonen & Jokinen (2002, 201.)

The term “multicultural” describes social features in all societies where different cultural communities live together and relate to each other, whereas “multiculturalism” is a substantive which connotes the strategies and procedures used in governing multicultural societies in which diversity appears. (Hall, 2003, 233-234.) The term multicultural social capital has been chosen for this study because cultural capital is already an existing concept referring to a form of capital close to the contents of human capital and does not necessarily include the intercultural features.

The above-mentioned surveys give some reference of the low level of trust towards immigrants in Finland. If trust is low, the reciprocity and social relations in a multicultural network will suffer. This way the multicultural social capital would be rare in Finland.

4 SOCIAL CAPITAL STUDIES

4.1 Social Capital Dimensions

Social capital connected to multicultural environments inheres in the structure of relations among immigrants and the original population and possibly in between them. In the intercultural environments, social capital works as a resource individuals or communities have. Social capital related to multicultural networks facilitates the integration of immigrants, or at least targets at it, for the social environment can either strengthen or weaken the development of multicultural social capital.

Due to the complexity of the social capital concept, it is important to clarify the dimensions of social capital. The division helps to disentangle the different interpretations social capital scholars have. Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998, 243-244) represent a new wave in social capital research. They consider social capital dimensions in terms of three interrelated clusters; the cognitive, the structural and the relational social capital, which all constitute some aspect of social structure and facilitate the actions of individuals within the structure. The same division will be used in this paper to be able to distinguish between different social capital dimensions of the integration process.

From various social capital theories, theories of a few main social capital scholars; Pierre Bourdieu, Ronald Burt, James Coleman, Robert Putnam and Michael Woolcock, are included in this paper. The samples of their theories have been chosen on the basis of their suitability for studying the integration of immigrants. This chapter is to shed light on the role of three dimensions of social capital in the integration process.

4.2 Cognitive Social Capital in the Background of Social Structures and Relations

According to Cicourel (1973), cognitive dimension refers to resources providing shared representations, interpretations and systems of meaning, like shared language and codes among parties. It is an important asset not yet discussed in the mainstream literature of social capital. (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, 244.) This is why there are no scholars or studies represented in this

paper, which would directly fit into the cognitive dimension of social capital. Instead, the cognitive dimension is included and highly interrelated with the following structural and relational social capital dimensions.

Cognitive social capital is strongly present in the integration process. In the integration process, the cognitive dimension represents shared language among immigrants and natives and/or in between the two groups. Typically the language or codes in intercultural context are shared conceptions and interpretations, like stereotypes or prejudices. The roots of prejudices are not easily found, for many of prejudices and generalisations have become silently justified among people, for example that Russians are lazy or Asians are hard working. The cognitive dimension can be seen as a feature of society or shared meaning among a certain group, like Muslim refugees, skinheads or particular work communities.

Distinctive to the following structural and relational dimensions is that the cognitive dimension is somehow detached from concrete communication between immigrants and natives and usually prevails in the background until abolished or reassured. Cognitive social capital is prevailing thinking, which has an influence on the actions of people. Interestingly, more often than not cognitive social capital divides immigrants and native-born people rather than unites them. According to a so-called contact theory, the prejudices towards the immigrants diminish when the contacts between the majority and minorities increase, become more diverse and personal (Jaakkola, 1999, 185). This assures the interrelation of three dimensions of social capital; especially relational social capital generates changes on cognitive social capital. The development towards a more multicultural society demands these changes on the cognitive social capital level.

4.3 Structural Social Capital – Individual Profit or Loss?

The structural dimension of social capital refers, according to Burt (1992), to the overall pattern of connections between actors, who people reach and how in the social system, and the presence or absence of network ties between actors, where measures by Coleman (1988, 244), like density, connectivity and hierarchy, come into question (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, 243-244). When applied to integration studies, typical attributes of the structural dimension are hierarchy and vertical relationships; different levels of power between immigrants and original population. In the beginning, the only contacts immigrants may have with native-born people are with immigrant

authorities who decide over their issues. The overall structural dimension defines the place of immigrants in the structures of society, whether they are under the power relations or not. The absence of network ties between immigrants and immigrant authorities or native-born people is also a sign of structural inequality.

The aim of structuralistic methodology is to observe the restrictive effects that societal structures have on individuals. (Häkli, 1999, 33-34.) The goal of structural ideology is to erase social inequality with measures of structural policy. According to structuralist thought, the political goals, for example, in the social work among minorities should be the removal of societal inequality, like improving the living conditions and influencing the of the minorities. (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991, 25.) The importance of immigration policy in enhancing the integration of immigrants is strengthened in the structural dimension.

This study concentrates on the possible power structures that promote or slow down the integration of immigrants. Immigrants are a minority, who have to make more effort to become a part of the overall structure of society, and who have to be more vulnerable within the structures than the original population. According to structuralism, the abolition of inequality comes through knowledge. For example, some Finns may not receive the right kind of knowledge of immigrants, directly affecting personal relations. Also, immigrants may become more involved in the multicultural communities through knowledge they receive from Finns. The unequal distribution of knowledge is one of the challenges for structural social capital.

4.3.1 Social Capital in a Group of Insiders

In Finland, discussion around the social capital concept started in the mid 1980's, based on the study by Pierre Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital* (1986) (Ruuskanen, 2003, 58). In his study, Bourdieu concentrates on the divergent interests and differences between societal groups. He outlines society as an entity of different levels, where actors fight for economic and cultural control and where social capital is a resource and a tool for this battle.

Bourdieu defines social capital as resources accessed through social networks. Social capital resides in relationships, and relationships are created through exchange. (Bourdieu, 1986, 248-249.) Bourdieu sees that membership in a group provides each of its members "the collectively owned

capital". These relationships may be socially instituted and guaranteed as well. This kind of inner circle makes social capital a credential for a group of insiders. So, according to Bourdieu (1999), social capital is top-down and excluding (Ruuskanen, 2003, 76). Much of the social capital is embedded within networks of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Bourdieu identifies the durable obligations arising from feelings of gratitude, respect and friendship. (Bourdieu, 1986, 248-249.)

The way Bourdieu highlights the role of social capital is part of the truth in the integration process. In general, social capital is the richest in the Nordic countries. Still, when social capital is measured between different people groups, the share of social capital between immigrants and native-born people heavily declines (See Table 3). This denotes social capital as being a value of particular groups, like culturally cohesive groups or multicultural communities among highly skilled professionals.

Finns are more likely to stay with their fixed group of people. Besides, immigrants and natives do not start from the same line, considering their social networks. The situation changes, if an immigrant, just as a native-born, has something of a value to offer to another group. The structural view on social capital makes a distinction between different societal groups, which fight for economic and cultural control. Besides, Bourdieu raises up the role of individual social capital. The picture of social capital as a value of an individual is significant and proves that uniting the forces of individuals with different backgrounds is not always possible, though it would be vital when raising multicultural capital.

4.3.2 Structural Holes Maintain Control Benefits

For Ronald S. Burt (1992, 8-9), social capital means relationships with other players, friends, colleagues and more general contacts, which give possibilities to take advantage of economic and human capital. As Bourdieu, Burt sees social actors in a competitive position, each reaching their individual targets, where "who you know" matters as well as network positions. Burt has developed a theory of structural holes, where social capital is defined by the brokerage opportunities in a network and when the exchange of information and control is more difficult to negotiate. (Burt, 1997, 355.)

The structural hole between two individuals or groups does not mean that people in the groups are unaware of one another, but it means that the people are focused on their own activities to such an extent that they do not attend the activities of people in the other group. Structural holes are thus an opportunity to negotiate the flow of information between people, and control the projects that bring together people from the opposite sides of the hole. Individuals with contact networks rich in structural holes are individuals who know about, are part of and exercise control over more rewarding opportunities. For example, the diversity of contacts across separate groups gives a higher volume of information, which can lead to control advantages. In sum, the hole prediction is that those, whose network across structural holes offers them early access to and control over information, possess more social capital. (Burt, 2001, 34-37).

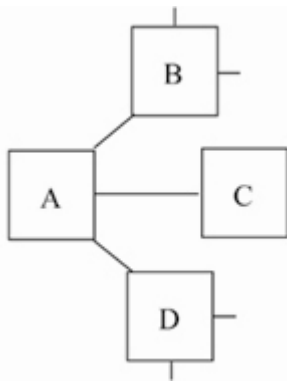


Figure 2. Structural holes between immigrants and the original population. A= immigrant authorities, B and D= native-born people and C= immigrants. Source: Adapted from Burt, 2001.

A network structure, where all actors would have straight connections to each other, is ineffective investment of social capital. They use resources, lack information benefits and lead to excessive social life. After Burt, actors tend to maximise the number of holes in their network. Burt does not distinguish between the cultural context networks have, for in some cultures structural holes may provide more possibilities than in some others. (Ruuskanen, 2003, 66- 69.)

A network structure in society will probably always contain holes between immigrants and natives. Instead of economic benefits (which are real, for example when an immigrant gets a job through international contacts), control advantages from structural holes are more often seen as benefits of natives in the integration context. Even though international contacts would diminish prejudices and increase trust between immigrants and natives, most native-born people (like B or D in Figure 2.) keep away from these contacts in order to be able to maintain their current situation. The general reason for not building bridges towards immigrants is that it would take too much time and effort.

People who benefit from the intercultural contacts are still spread thin on the ground and even today most of the knowledge that the original population receives from immigrants comes through public officials (A). Immigrants, on their behalf, may consider the holes in the structure more as economic loss, while native-born people think more of the control benefits the holes bring.

4.3.3 Lack of Closure in Social Networks Restricts Immigrants

A central theoretical premise in the works of both Ronald Burt and James Coleman is a theory in which an actor chooses the best operational model to maximise his benefits (Ruuskanen, 2003, 61). Contrary to Burt's theory, Coleman stresses dense networks, which help to reach the targets of individuals. A lack of closure for the social structure is represented with a dash line in Figure 3. When an actor A has relations with actors B and C, actions that impose negative externalities on B and C may happen. Because the actors B and C have no relations with one another, but with others instead (D and E), they cannot combine forces to sanction A and the actions of A can continue unabated. (Coleman, 1988, 105-106.) Lack of closure also creates distrust within the social structure.

The economic study by Coleman can be applied to the common lack of social closure among natives and immigrants. In Finland A represents immigrant authorities, who are situated on the top of Figure. Authorities have top-down relations with B and immigrants/ immigrant organisations as well as more even relations with C, the original population. The actors B and C may not have relations with one another but with other groups similar to them. Immigrants have connections with other immigrants D and native-born people with other natives E. The immigrant authorities decide on integration related questions, because immigrants and native-born people have not discovered mutual connections yet. If they would find each other, the structure would be more even.

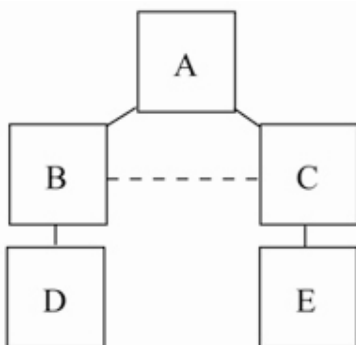


Figure 3. Network without closure. Source: Loosely adapted from Coleman, 1988, 106.

4.4 Relational Social Capital – Common good

The relationships between immigrants and native people are seen as the heart of social capital and the strongest facilitator of the integration process. Structural social capital covered network ties, their form and density. Relational social capital is more focused on relationships between people. Relational embeddedness describes personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interactions (Granovetter, 1992) which influence their behaviour. Nahapiet & Ghoshal present trust, norms, sanctions, obligations, expectations and identity as being measures of relational social capital. The attributes are summed up from many scholars' works. (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, 244.)

The interrelation in social capital dimensions is especially seen when studying relational social capital. The cognitive dimension is always in the background of relational networks and relational social capital lies in one way or another inside the social structures. On the other hand, cognitive and structural social capital are always part of the integration process in Finland. The existence of relational social capital between immigrants and natives is not so self-evident, but varies depending on the environment. Still, relational social capital moulds the cognitive and structural social capital the most.

In the general integration process, relational social capital between immigrants and native-born people is quite rare, but increasing. Relational social capital is also known as a horizontal dimension. The study of relational social capital goes deeper in analysing the different types of social capital connected to the integration parties and the nature of social capital among different multicultural communities. There are different types of social capital formations between immigrants and native-born people, as the following social capital studies will expose.

The scholars mentioned earlier Burt and Bourdieu represent the structural dimension of social capital and see social capital as individual features and benefits. Instead, Robert Putnam and Michael Woolcock, whose studies are chosen for the relational part of this paper, emphasise social capital as a feature of a community. (Iisakka, 2004). The works of James Coleman include both viewpoints, which is why his studies are examined under both structural and relational social capital dimensions. The integration of immigrants is most often seen as societal process and individual

features are self-evidently included in it. The relational social capital contains both individual and community viewpoints.

4.4.1 Social Norms Define Social Relations

James Coleman handles the concept of social capital through two intellectual streams of social action in his paper *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*. In the first sociological intellectual stream social norms and context govern social actions. The other economist one is presented in the structural dimension, where an actor acts independently and as self-interested for his own utility. (Coleman, 1988, 95.) Coleman includes components from both these intellectual streams and wants to study both the individual and social context (Coleman, 1988, 96-97), and sees social capital as a conceptual tool for researching social action.

Among integration studies, the division into economic and sociological streams exist as well. It can be argued that relations between immigrants and those native-born are based on either sociological or economic foundations. In Finland's integration process, the dominating stream of social capital is sociological for social norms and context are defining many of the integration parties' actions. Anyhow, immigrants perceive the intercultural relations more from the economic viewpoint, while natives mainly consider them sociologically. Yet the economic stream can increase within the original population, for intercultural connections can become matters of interest during the possible future labour shortage.

According to Coleman (1988, 119), social structures comprise of obligations and expectations, which depend on the trustworthiness of the social environment, information-flow capability of the social structure and norms accompanied by sanctions. Coleman quotes Granovetter (1985) who stresses the importance of concrete personal relations and networks of relations, what he calls "embeddedness", which generate trust, establish expectations and create enforcing norms (Coleman, 1988, 97.) In Finland individuals have various expectations and obligations concerning the intercultural contacts. The expectations are affirmative or less affirmative depending on the level of trust. If there is trust between the integration partners, the obligations decrease, expectations are more positive and information flows more smoothly.

The information flow capability is one basis for action, but at the same time its acquisition is costly. (Coleman, 1988, 105.) The knowledge of multicultural social capital comes through learning within multicultural communities, but it requires time and effort. Also, the actors who generate social capital ordinarily capture only a small part of its benefits, a fact that leads to underinvestment in social capital (Coleman, 1988, 119). This is especially seen among integration processes, where multicultural social capital is ignored because of the lack of time or interest. Still, there are individuals, like cultural intermediates between immigrants and the original population, who communicate by using multicultural social capital when dealing these two groups.

Coleman has been criticised for believing in the unity of norms in society without seeing the possible conflicts and power relations within the community (Ruuskanen, 2003, 65). Coleman does not accentuate that different societal groups may possess different types of social capital. Connected to the integration process, norms and obligations in society do not facilitate the creation of multicultural social capital but rather restrict it. As Coleman continues (Coleman, 1988, 105), social capital not only facilitates certain actions, for it can also constrain others. At the moment the general nature of social capital in Finland seems to constrain the creation of multicultural social capital.

4.4.2 Civic Activity Generates Social Capital

After Robert Putnam (2000, 19), social networks have value as social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups. Today, multicultural social networks seem to create value mainly to the immigrants as they learn the language and maybe find a job through new connections. At the same time many native-born people feel international networks as loss. The development of connections among immigrants and natives, where norms of reciprocity and trust arise, is a slow process. At first, Finns have to notice the value multicultural social capital brings.

In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) symbolises a social change in America and shows how Americans have become increasingly disconnected from one another and how social structures have disintegrated. This is seen in the decreasing numbers of members in different civic activities from bowling league members to political participants. He attributes this to the lifestyle of the two generations raised since the Second World War, who have been socialised into suburbs, dual careers and over-reliance on the television as a substitute for local social interaction. Virtually every association, whose membership Putnam (2000, 268) examined, sharply expanded its "market share"

between the mid-1940's and the mid –1960's. World War II , like earlier major wars in U.S. history, brought shared adversity and a shared enemy. The war ushered in a period of intense patriotism nationally and civic activism locally. Putnam does not claim that today's Americans are all passive but that activities are more individual than before and they cannot create social capital the same way like before.

As mentioned before, Finland seems to have been a promised land for different associations and neighbourly help, which promises great amounts of social capital (Hjerppe, 2005, 124-125). Still, Finns have built the welfare society after the Wars with the help of social capital, which has laid a culturally cohesive foundation for Finnish social capital. In Finland, the decrease of associations and their members has not been observed yet, for recently as many new associations have been registered as in the golden times of associations in the 60's. (Siisiäinen, 2000, 165.) Instead, members of associations are mostly passive members and the parliament has made a civic participation agenda to encourage participation in civic activities. The culturally heterogeneous social capital and the decrease in participation are not promising for the development of multicultural social capital.

Connected to the integration process, the civic engagement Putnam proposes is more challenging in multicultural environments than in traditional civic activities. Putnam (2000, 351) argues that the classical objection to community ties is that community restricts freedom and encourages intolerance. Still, many studies have found, like 4 shows, that the correlation between social participation and tolerance is positive. The more people are involved with community organisations, the more open they are to gender equality and racial integration. (Putnam, 2000, 355.)

Table 4. Social capital and tolerance – Four types of society

	Low Social Capital	High Social Capital
High Tolerance	<i>Individualistic community</i> You do your thing and I'll do mine	<i>Civic community</i> (Salem without "witches")
Low Tolerance	<i>Anarchic community</i> War of all against all	<i>Sectarian community</i> (in-group vs. out-group; Salem with "witches")

Source: Putnam, 2000, 355.

In Finland, the general social capital between Finns seems to be high, but tolerance towards immigrants is low, even though it varies a lot depending on individuals. Though there are fragments

of all these four types of societies in Finland, Finnish society is closest to the sectarian community, where immigrants and the original population are seen as different groups. Putnam proposes civic engagement as being one solution for higher tolerance and the increased interaction between these two separate groups.

Putnam emphasises the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital based on the studies of earlier social capital scholars. It proved to be the most useful social capital division for studying the integration of immigrants found in this study so far. Bonding forms of social capital are, by choice or necessity, inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups. Bridging networks are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages and are better for linkage to external assets for information diffusion. (Putnam, 2000, 22.)

Bonding and bridging are not “either-or” categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but “more or less” dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital. As Xavier de Souza Briggs puts it, bonding social capital is good for "getting by" and bridging social capital is crucial for "getting ahead". (Putnam 2000, 23.) The closest friends and kin –“strong ties” – are likely to know the same people and hear of the same opportunities. More distant acquaintances –“weak ties” – are more like to link an individual to unexpected opportunities, and thus those weak ties are often more valuable (Putnam, 2000, 310-320). Through the bonding and bridging division, the nature of social capital of different integration parties starts to unfold.

4.4.3 Social Relations Are Rooted in Structures

Michael Woolcock represents his organisation, the World Bank. According to Kajanoja & Simpura (2000, 13-14), the World Bank institution puts the most effort into the development of the social capital concept. The institution aims to develop the scientific research of social capital to be able to direct political decisions based on social capital studies. Woolcock has studied the role of social capital especially in the Third World countries and seen social capital as a significant resource in the creation of economic capital. Also, in the European Union, social capital is mobilised to prevent unemployment and exclusion as well as to support European success in the global markets.

Michael Woolcock (2000, 37) defines social capital as norms and social relations rooted in the structures of society, which enable people to co-ordinate the actions towards their goals. The basic idea of social capital according Woolcock goes; “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know”. So, a person’s family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain. Those communities endowed with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations are in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability (Moser 1996; Narayan 1995), resolve disputes (Schafft 1998; Varshney 2000), and take advantage of new opportunities (Isham 1999). (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 226.) Concerning the intensity of relations between people, Woolcock represents the densest definition of social capital.

Kajanoja (2000, 57) points out that Woolcock represents the traditional policy of the World Bank. The World Bank sees the concept of social capital more extensively than sociologists, economists and policy researches who understand social capital as trust, social networks and other social capital forms. For example, James Coleman, Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama, Alejandro Portes and many others have understood social capital as trust and social networks or other specific social capital forms. Woolcock (2000a, 37) adheres to his synergic viewpoint and defines social capital as “norms and social relations rooted in the social structures of society, which give people possibility to coordinate their actions along their goals.”

Despite this, Kajanoja (2000, 57, 59) criticises Woolcock’s synergic viewpoint of social capital as too general and abstract, the studies by the World Bank have shown that the social capital concept can be interpreted narrowly or widely and can be understood also as a multi-level concept. According to the narrow definition, social capital includes horizontal social networks while the wider meaning both horizontal and vertical connections. The wider interpretation includes even formal institutions. (Loranca-Garcia, 2000, 71.) On the institutional level high organisational integrity and embeddedness are signs of social capital (Woolcock, 2000a, 43.)

Putnam divided social networks into horizontal and vertical types. Horizontal networks are based on equality, where status and power is equally shared. Vertical networks are about unequal hierarchy and addictive relations. (Putnam, 1993, 173.) In his synergic point of view, Woolcock develops Putnam’s thought further and unites integrating networks (vertical and horizontal links between people) and institutional camps (networks, products of institutional environment). (Woolcock &

Narayan, 2000, 239). Now bonding and bridging capital are accompanied by linking social capital, i.e. links between people in different hierarchical positions.

Besides the wider social capital dimensions, the search for a suitable social capital study in this paper ended up with the synergy viewpoint of Woolcock. Both the structures of society and the relations inside them affect on the integration of immigrants. Therefore the framework of bonding, bridging and linking gives an extensive and precise framework for studying the role of social capital in the integration process. Next, more on the three types of social capital.

4.5 The Synergy View on Social Capital

Out of the different social capital studies, the identification of three forms of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking, helps to distinguish between different social capital types individuals have in the integration process. In addition, all dimensions of social capital, cognitive, structural and relational social capital, are included in the synergy view of social capital, for in the integration of immigrants these dimensions as well as different types of social capital are interrelated.

The popular distinction of bonding and bridging draws on Cooley's (1909) notion of primary and secondary groups, and Granovetter's (1973) work on two basic dimensions at the society level; "strong" ties inside the group and "weak" ties between the group members and outsiders. Credit for coining these labels for the first time belongs to Ross Gittel and Avis Vidal (1998, 10.) (Woolcock, 2000b, 10.) Recognising the different characteristics of bonding, bridging and linking social capital are essential in understanding the dynamic between social capital and the integration of immigrants (OECD, 2003).

4.5.1 Bonding

Bonding, exclusive social capital typically refers to relations within relatively homogenous groups, such as among family members, the same ethnic groups, close friends and neighbours. For example, the emotional ties of bonding social capital found in ethno-cultural communities can offer a range of resources and supports vital in the settlement and adjustment of new immigrants, like

infrastructures of businesses and social services. Bonding social capital provides a social safety net and is a form of social capital that all individuals possess. According to Portes and Landolt (1996), strong bonding ties give particular communities or groups a sense of identity and common purpose. Anyhow, without "bridging" ties, which cross various social divides (e.g. religion, ethnicity, socio-economic status), bonding ties can become a basis of narrow interest and can actively exclude outsiders. (OECD, 2003.)

4.5.2 Bridging

Bridging, inclusive social capital refers to more heterogeneous horizontal connections, as in relations between more distant friends, associates, colleagues and different ethnic groups. Bonding networks are especially important when immigrants first arrive in their new country. Then the bridging capital enables immigrants to participate fully in their new home country both socially and economically. Immigrants need bridging capital to expand their networks beyond their own ethnic community, to integrate into the receiving society and to better their social and economic opportunities. Friedman & Krackhardt (1997) suggest that, when it comes to career advancement, it is the bridging social capital that counts. So, immigrants are contributors to, as well as recipients of, social capital. (OECD, 2003.)

Inclusion of diverse racial groups and other minorities is an important social challenge. The importance of "bridging social capital" is apparent in policies encouraging inclusion of various groups, while preserving cultural or other group identities, in educational programs, employment and more mixed residential arrangements to avoid social fragmentation. (Côté, 2001.) Bridging ties between immigrants and native-born people are most essential for the progress of integration.

4.5.3 Linking

Linking social capital refers to relations between individuals and groups between different social strata in a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power, social status and wealth accessed by different groups (National Statistics, 2003). Woolcock (2001) extends this to include the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community. Linking social capital is good for accessing support from formal institutions. It is different from bonding and

bridging in that it is concerned with relations between people who are not on an equal footing. (National Statistics, 2003.) An example is a social service agency dealing with e.g. A job searching immigrant at the Employment Agency.

Linking social capital draws empirical support from a range of studies (e.g. Narayan, 2000) showing that especially in poor communities, it is the nature and the extent (or lack thereof) of ties to representatives of formal institutions – e.g. bankers, law enforcement officers, social workers – that have a major bearing on their welfare. Just as the integration of immigrants can be promoted by expanding the quality and quantity of bonding capital (family members, friends and neighbours) and bridging social capital (between people from different ethnic groups), so too, is it crucial to facilitate the building of linking social capital across power differentials, like immigrant authorities, employers and immigrants. (Szreter & Woolcock, 2002, 14.)

5 TYPES OF INTERCULTURAL SOCIAL CAPITAL

5.1 Applying the Social Capital Studies into the Integration of Immigrants

The search for the appropriate social capital studies for researching the integration of immigrants ended up with three wider categories of social capital; relational, structural and cognitive dimensions. In more detail, different types of social capital, specifically bonding, bridging and linking social capital, which denote the nature of relationships in an intercultural environment, were specified. Previous immigration research, which has used social capital as a theory basis, has mainly been analyses of the research subject using a certain social capital theory and referred to the possibilities that social capital as a resource can provide for immigrants. This chapter is to consider in depth the meaning of the selected studies in the context of MORO! project in order to examine different attributes of social capital in the integration process empirically and to become absorbed in the core of social capital in the integration context.

All the chosen social capital scholars refer to connections among individuals and to the fact that social capital inheres in between actors and among actors. In other words, based on these studies it can be decided the social capital connoted in multicultural environments appears in between immigrants and natives as well as among them. This possible multicultural social capital inheres in the relationships between immigrants and native-born people. All the scientists also agree that social networks have value, which promotes the goals of individuals and/or groups. The main goal concerning integration is the development of a more multicultural society, which is facilitated by possible social capital in the form of intercultural communication.

In more detail, all scholars are of the opinion that the value of social networks consists of community features like social networks, reciprocity and trust. These are needed in the relationships between immigrants and natives in order to promote integration. The question is whether these characteristics are part of intercultural communication, in other words whether social capital exists in the relationships between immigrants and the original population or not. Social networks, reciprocity and trust between immigrants and natives are examples of the value, which is still lacking in many Finnish communities. The absence of multiculturally concentrated social capital creates obstacles for the general integration process in Tampere city region.

5.2 Six Types of Social Capital

After Kazemipur (2004, 92), the social capital of immigrants and native-born people had different natures. Also, the networks of immigrants and natives had different properties. The aim of this chapter is to show the different types of social capital that occur among immigrants and natives and in between them. Different social capital types can have either negative or positive consequences, or both for the integration process.

In this paper, the framework of three forms of social capital will be united with the structuralistic outlook so that each form of social capital; bonding, bridging and linking, will be re-divided into exclusive and inclusive segments as presented in Table 5. According to structuralism, societal structures may have a restrictive influence on individuals. Social capital can sometimes facilitate negative outcomes, like exclusion.

Although bonding is said to be an exclusive type of social capital and bridging an inclusive type, which are unquestionably their main features, inclusiveness can also be seen in the bonding social capital type and exclusiveness in the bridging social capital. The division concerning linking is even more distinctive. The social capital types defined here are predominant types of social capital that individuals or communities have. However, usually intercultural communities are mixtures of different types of social capital.

Table 5. Types of social capital in intercultural communication

Types of Social Capital	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Exclusive	<i>Exclusive bonding</i> “Isolated group”	<i>Exclusive Bridging</i> “Selecting group members”	<i>Exclusive Linking</i> “Natives decide immigrant policies”
Inclusive	<i>Inclusive Bonding</i> “Isolated but broadminded group”	<i>Inclusive Bridging</i> “Cosmopolitan thinking”	<i>Inclusive Linking</i> “Reciprocal decision making”

5.3.1 Exclusive and Inclusive Bonding

Bonding social capital dominates among people with similar worldviews and strong ties, and it works as a basis for all the other types of social capital. From the cultural point of view, bonding social capital types consist of culturally cohesive social capital. Bonding social capital covers isolated groups of people, which are often also culturally exclusive, homogenous and stable. Considering multicultural environments, *exclusive bonding* is the most isolated type of social capital. Exclusive bonding social capital keeps individuals bonded to a certain group. Also, prejudices and discrimination are typical for this type of social capital. People who have exclusive bonding social capital usually value only their own culture and see other cultures as a threat.

People possessing *inclusive bonding* social capital belong to a homogenous group as well, but their behaviour is more tolerant towards different people groups. Inclusive bonding social capital strengthens the identity of group members and encourages them to create new contacts. However, those with bonding social capital have no relations with representatives of another culture and their group is culturally cohesive. When two different ethnic bonding groups meet, they have a possibility to stay as they are or move forward. If change takes place, bridging social capital enters in. It can be argued that inclusive bonding is the most typical type of social capital in Finnish communities. Finns are opening up to multicultural issues but only a few people have personal contacts with immigrants yet.

5.3.2 Exclusive and Inclusive Bridging

Bridging social capital is most essential for the integration of immigrants. Bridging ties demand participation in a multicultural community. It can be argued that if relationships between immigrants and natives exist, also multicultural social capital exists, though the intensity of multicultural social capital varies depending on the community. The indicator of intercultural social capital is the possible existence of bridging social capital within a community.

In *exclusive bridging* social capital different ethnic groups are in contact with each other selectively. A typical example of exclusive bridging is the division that happens between highly skilled and unemployed immigrants. The highly skilled professionals are welcomed to Finland and usually

immediately included in Finnish work communities and other social networks. Instead, immigrants who have a refugee background are excluded from many communities. From the exclusive bridging social capital angle, multicultural social capital is seen as an individual benefit. The relationships between immigrants and native-born people are based on the profit angle. On the other hand, with few immigrants, the exclusive bridging social capital resembles assimilation, for the immigrants deny the importance of their bonding social capital as well as their own native group and assimilate to Finland. Today, in most multicultural communities, exclusive bridging social capital prevails in Finland.

Inclusive bridging social capital represents cosmopolitan thinking, where all people groups would have the same starting points. The inclusive bridging social capital does not mean that people possessing it are overly extroverted but that they are in contact with all kinds of foreigners without selection or seeking their own benefit. In Finland, inclusive bridging is a rare type of social capital because it demands more cultural capacity than the earlier forms of social capital. For people possessing inclusive bridging there is no separation between immigrants and native people. If there would be more inclusive bridging in Finland, the integration of immigrants would be more successful.

5.3.3 Exclusive and Inclusive Linking

When bonding and bridging social capital occur in horizontal relations within communities, linking social capital appears in the structures of society. The vertical and often hierarchic linking social capital shows the relationships for example between immigrant authorities and immigrants. In hierarchic *exclusive linking* social capital immigrant officials decide immigrant issues by themselves. Exclusive linking social capital, which is akin to bonding social capital, is a contradictory form of social capital. On the other hand, it is the strongest actor in promoting integration but at the same time can work as a major obstacle for the creation of bridging social capital.

Linking social capital refers to people between different social strata. In *inclusive linking* the hierarchic structure has been abolished and immigrants are seen as co-operative partners. More often than not linking social capital restricts immigrants, which is why e.g. immigrant projects

organised by immigrants themselves would be a desired example of inclusive linking social capital. The creation of inclusive linking social capital, in which immigrants would be part of the decision-making process, is a challenge for the immigrant policy in Tampere city region. Inclusive linking would be needed to enhance the involvement of immigrants in decision-making.

5.3.4 Uncovering the Multicultural Types of Social Capital

Inclusive and exclusive bridging social capital as well as inclusive linking social capital are all multicultural social capital types. Other types of social capital, exclusive and inclusive bonding as well as exclusive linking social capital, are culturally homogenous. From the integration perspective, multicultural social capital types facilitate the integration process the most. Anyhow, it cannot be argued that the other three types of social capital hinder the integration process, for they contain are contained in multicultural social capital types and are vital for the development of multicultural social capital. Bonding social capital has always an influence on multicultural environments, for bonding social capital works as a basis for bridging social capital.

In addition, multicultural communities are mixtures of different types of social capital. Oftentimes, people who possess bonding social capital are mixed with people possessing bridging social capital. Bonding and bridging social capital describe relations on the horizontal level and represent relational social capital. Linking social capital has fundamentally structural features. Still, the horizontal level is involved in the vertical level as well so that in linking social capital also the relational dimension is seen. Thus, relations between immigrant authorities and immigrants are formed from either bonding or bridging social capital or mixtures of them.

Again, cognitive social capital covers all six types. The above-mentioned six types of social capital are tools for analysing the intercultural relations between immigrants and natives as well as their role in the integration process. In the next chapter, the six types of social capital will be applied to the MORO! project context.

5.3 Social Capital Among the Project Participants

The togetherness among all the project partakers was complicated. The project team had to play between hard and soft values different project partakers represented. Each four interviewee group,

immigrant authorities (3 interviewees), work community members (3), immigrants (4) and MORO! project team members (4), had different motives considering multicultural issues and participation in the project. In general, the immigrant authorities saw the project as part of their daily routines, the immigrants perceived the project as a way to get employment, the employers considered the project as a multicultural information dealer and again, the project team wanted to be a pioneer in connecting immigrants and employers in a new way.

Even though variations occurred within each particular group, the division into four different groups was possible because each group had typical types of social capital within it. Especially, the social capital types within the work community members and also within the immigrant authority representatives were congruent. The most variations existed among the immigrant interviewees. The social capital types of the project team members had first differed, but during the project, the types started to remind each other. The purpose behind the Meaning and Identity part in the interview questionnaire (see Appendix 4) was to clarify the types of social capital typical for different participant groups.

In Table 6, the social capital types characteristics for different project partner groups are represented. In the next chapters, the social capital of different groups will be analysed in depth. Also, the social capital types MORO! core team as a multicultural community communicated to different project partners are in focus. Connected to the MORO! project, also relations in between different partner groups, like between immigrants and work communities, and were unfolded to a certain extent in the following analysis.

Table 6. Types of social capital among the interviewee groups

	Exclusive bonding	Inclusive bonding	Exclusive bridging	Inclusive Bridging	Exclusive linking	Inclusive linking
Immigrant authorities		X	X		X	
Work communities	X	X	X		(X)	
Immigrants		X	X	X		
Project team members			X	X	(X)	X

5.3.1 Immigrant Authorities Felt Guilty

The immigrant authorities direct the development of the regional integration process. Therefore it is interesting to examine what type of social capital they possess. The immigrant policy is strongly administrated by public officials also in Tampere city region. When first immigrants came to Tampere at the end of 1980's, the immigrant administration was over-organised. This is usual in the starting phase when massive changes are needed. Anyhow, the strength of authorities in the immigrant administration has stayed in the region.

Three interviewees represent immigrant authorities in this study. The first interviewee represents state and works for The Employment and Economic Development Centre (Te-centre). Te-centre is responsible for the whole immigrant administration system of Tampere city region including different immigrant projects and their funding. The second interviewee, in subordination to the state, is an immigrant co-ordinator in the city of Tampere who brings along a communal aspect. The third authority represents immigrant education. The education co-ordinator of TAKK organisation, even though a private organisation (but funded by the state budget), is categorised to authorities because the emphasis of Finnish immigrant administration on education and training. In addition, the education co-ordinator makes decisions and plans over immigrant issues similar to other immigrant authorities.

The interviewed public officials represent mainly exclusive linking social capital, which includes hierarchical aspect and top-down relations. Immigrant authorities admitted that immigrants and immigrant associations were absent from immigrant policymaking in Tampere city region.

“Well, here in our region immigrant associations are absent from this entity. They [immigrant associations] are plenty, but work by themselves and they have a high turnover. Maybe we have not been able to (...) we haven't seen a lot of effort to really take them along. In Tampere, we are still at an infant stage in this issue. Somehow this issue is a burden in our shoulders.”

(Immigrant authority/2/ NB All quotations translated by author.)

Inclusive linking social capital, which would ensure the participation of immigrants in the decision-making and the immigration policy planning, was lacking from the immigrant administration. In reality, immigrant authorities also had no meetings with immigrant associations or individual immigrants (except those immigrants who were part of some project) even though the authorities had tried to organise common meetings. Immigrant authorities were of the opinion that this was

because the immigrants did not want to attend these meetings in their free time, while the authorities were paid for the same work. The immigrant authorities did not know the core problem for the lack of inclusive linking but realised that this concern should be grasped and promoted. They also offloaded the responsibility onto shoulders of other public sector actors.

Immigrant authorities had great ideas for promoting bridging social capital among immigrants and the original population, but it seemed that the authorities did not have it themselves or it was low. For the immigrant authorities attending the MORO! project was a part of their daily work, in which they wanted to promote the wellbeing and integration of immigrants and provide all the services and education the immigrants need. Immigrant authorities saw immigrants rather as clients than as their co-operative partners. This shows that immigrant authorities, as individuals, possessed exclusive bridging social capital or even inclusive bonding social capital. Immigrant authorities often grow away from concrete work or contacts with immigrants when administrative issues like governing and dealing finances take most of their working hours.

“It was a basis for everything and it was nice to know that I come from the practical field, that I really know the practical network, workers and a lot of immigrants (...) but now I have wondered that a touch for the practical field starts to disappear a little bit here in the administrative level. (...) It would be an ideal, at least for me, that both practical and administrative work would be side by side, but maybe it is not possible. Anyhow, contacts with people from the practical field have to be maintained. That way the practical news and knowledge will come here.”

(Immigrant authority/2)

All in all, increasing social capital between immigrant authorities and immigrants seemed to demand a lot of effort from the immigrant co-ordinators. They did not have time enough for promoting multicultural contacts with immigrants. Anyhow, at least during the interviews, the immigrant authorities were directed towards promoting multicultural issues among the original population, even though immigrants would still have needed more of their attention.

5.3.2 Self-sufficient Work Communities

The types of social capital work community members had come close to the types immigrant authorities held, which can be seen in Table 6. Anyhow, the work communities were the only group that possibly contained exclusive bonding social capital. This was seen also in the difficulties the MORO! project team had in having work communities as part of the project. Even though the project team had listed various work communities as project partners, I wasn't able to find more

than two work communities for interviews. An employer of a third work community I reached for interviews refused, because their work community had had no immigrant workers and they had not received multicultural training.

So, only a few work communities were involved in the project, mostly public organisations. Other partakers were trade organisations that are often far from real contacts within the work community. The public sector employers were more into the goals of the MORO! project and were able to utilise the output of the project. The private sector employers seemed to be still on their way to take part in multicultural issues. The broader participation of the employers was the greatest challenge of the MORO! project.

This is a research result in itself. The project team really tried to get more work community partners along. It must be recognised that communicating the multicultural mindset to the work communities was not self-evident. Those work communities which would have needed the training the most, did not have time for it. Oftentimes exclusive (or inclusive: “yes, we accept them”) bonding social capital was the reason why multicultural issues did not go through in the work communities. The contacts with immigrants were seen more as a future thing because many employment sectors did not have need for immigrant work force yet. It is usual that work communities do not have the social capital needed in the communication between immigrants and natives, and those projects like MORO! have surface only with communities who have already had some touch to the immigrant questions and to whom they are acute questions. Otherwise, work communities see occasions like multicultural training as a waste of time.

Some companies participated in the project because they benefited from it mainly through information the MORO! was giving to the employers, tools for recruiting immigrants and added understanding for the job interview situations. There were also work communities that received the training because they already had immigrants as employees or customers and wanted to develop their work communities towards multicultural thinking.

In this study, three interviewees represent work community members who have received MORO! work community training. One of the interviewees, who is an assistant manager in a private sector company, emphasised more immigrant recruitment questions. Two other interviewees, who are employees in the public sector, talked about the intercultural relations within a work community. Also, the project team members had a lot to say about the work communities they had worked with

during the project. The interviewed communities were already open for immigrants, they had earlier had immigrant workers in some working units and they had got used to the multicultural issues to a certain extent.

In general, the type of social capital in Finnish work communities is exclusive or inclusive bonding social capital. Exclusive bridging applies for those who are in contact with immigrants. The dominant social capital type among the interviewed work community members was inclusive bonding social capital for at the moment there were no immigrant workers within their work communities. On the other hand, exclusive bridging social capital type was typical for them, for the workers wanted to be in contact with immigrants but have the kind of immigrant worker who would have fitted into their community.

“I personally get along it [the project] in order that I would receive information on work permits and legal matters connected to different immigrants that what issues have to be taken into consideration. And also, to abolish prejudices towards foreign employees (...) We have acknowledged that in the future foreign work force is needed because workers will not be enough in Finland and this is a basis for the thought that we would recruit the so called good guys, whether Finns or foreigners. (...) A new employee is always a risk and when we want to be 100% sure about a Finn, we want to be 110% sure about an immigrant”

(Work community member/3)

The last argument of the quotation denotes exclusive bridging in which immigrants are selected more than natives. In addition, it is usual that different ethnic groups are not treated equally in the recruitment situations or within the work community that refers to hierarchical linking social capital as well. On the other hand, all immigrant workers can also be put into a specific working unit so that immigrants are excluded from the original population in the work place.

“The previous kindergarten which I worked for, more immigrant children were placed in the same kindergarten. Then also the adults [immigrant workers] applied to the same kindergarten where the children were. It can be easier for them as well. “

(Work community member/2)

The attitude change should also reach the managers who are key people in affecting the whole organisation. Often leaders are too satisfied with their situation and the old working models so that reforms will not enter the company. It can be argued that managers who possess bonding social capital, many times represent exclusive linking social capital to immigrants. For the employers, the reason for neglecting immigrant job applicants can also be found among their clients who want to communicate only at bonding social capital level.

The work community training did vary in time and substance. Some work communities wanted to have only a shortcut of multicultural issues during the afternoon. In other work places, the training took four different days with various multicultural themes. Teaching in the multicultural training seemed to be quite familiar to all the interviewed work community members. Instead, contacts with the immigrant trainers helped to understand immigrants and their experiences more. These contacts gave native-born people more security for multicultural situations. Even though the multicultural issues are no more new, contacts between immigrants and natives are still rare.

The use of bridging social capital had given the best results among the work communities. The best way to “train” the work communities turned out to be the occasions where immigrants with bridging social capital capacity approached native-born people who possessed bonding social capital. On the other hand, it turned out from the interviews that even a better way to forward the multicultural issues in the work places were unprejudiced Finns who promoted multicultural issues among their own work communities and bonding social capital groups. The work communities connected to the MORO! project included usually one or two this kind of people.

Companies that participated in the project usually had some employee in their organisation, which felt the significance of the multicultural issues, possessed bridging social capital and worked as an initiator in the multicultural issues. The input of these people was crucial, but the whole work community which usually possessed bonding social capital had to adopt the new multicultural thinking before changes would have taken place inside the company.

“The decisions of which organisation comes along to this kind of activity [work community training] are usually dependent on one person. If the company or organisation lacks this kind of person, they do not come along. It can be a general manager, a regional manager, a human rights reporter; these kinds of people have been initiative so that they have come along. “

(Project team member/1)

Culture is always made together as well as adapting to multicultural environments. Also, attitudes towards immigrants or natives are, more often than not, formed together. This proves a need for communicating between people of the same cultural background and adjusting to different cultures together. The native-born people need other natives to ponder things together within their bonding groups and to adapt to a new situation.

5.3.3 Immigrants Had to Be Flexible

The immigrant settlement in Tampere city region is very heterogeneous compared for example with the cities in Eastern Finland with a great immigrant population from Russia or greater immigrant groups in the capital area. In addition, ethnic groups in Tampere city region are smaller and therefore not so powerful in decision-making. The immigrant associations are not included enough in the immigrant policy e.g. that they would have been given training on how to carry out EU-funded projects by themselves. Local immigrants presume that the city officials want to make the decisions concerning immigrants without them.

Besides the two immigrant project team members, altogether 30 immigrants attended the culture intermediate training of the MORO! project. Four interviewed immigrants consisted of two women originally from Russia and two men from Arabic countries. All of these immigrants wanted to be part of the MORO! project to be employed. Those who were still unemployed after the course said the course was in vain and that immigrants had been given too big promises of it. The employed immigrants thought the course was more meaningful; they had a lot of helpful information and had made some important contacts with other culture intermediates during the course, which they had applied later in working life. One immigrant received a work place with the help of a MORO! project team member, while another course attendant had found a job with employment subsidy herself.

Immigrants, who know Finns only as public sector workers, usually possess bonding social capital and feel linking capital coming from native-born people. Still, social capital among the four interviewees was bridging. All the interviewed immigrants spoke Finnish well, which proves that human capital training had worked. Again, all the interviewees had been earlier in Finnish work places at least in trainee sections. Still, all the immigrants felt that they have been somehow excluded and three of them felt they suffered from exclusive linking and wanted to be more involved in the immigrant policy.

The attitude towards immigrants' own ethnic bonding groups varied among the interviewed immigrants. One interviewee saw it as the most important and closest group to belong to, for two immigrants it had loosed its significance, and one interviewee had become estranged from the whole group as portrayed in Table 7. It is important to notice that immigrants chosen for the culture intermediate course were supposed to be already integrated into Finland so that they would have

been able to work as culture intermediates. All the interviewed immigrants were talented individuals, which gives this study quite positive picture of the skills of immigrants. There are many immigrants in the region who are excluded for example because they lack the language skills.

Table 7. The attitude towards immigrants' own background groups

	Bonding High	Bonding Low
Bridging High	Integrated Immigrants (2)	Assimilated Immigrants (1)
Bridging Low	Isolated Immigrants (1)	Excluded Immigrants

The social capital among the interviewed immigrants was generally bridging. They were active immigrants who had learned to bridge when living in the middle of two cultures. They knew how to move between bonding and bridging social capital. Most of the interviewees emphasised the importance of bonding social capital for their integration as can be seen from Table 7. Anyhow, not all the interviewed immigrants moved flexibly among their own countrymen and people from different backgrounds. For example, some immigrants choose the assimilation rather than integration and in a way abandon their genuine ethnic group. Again, some immigrants have to detach themselves from their bonding group in order to move towards bridging social capital.

“It does not help you to be in a big group of immigrants. I don't have any immigrant friends (...) I was blamed that do you think you are better than us, yea, you are becoming an aristocrat. Always, I had to make excuses; I didn't even have the courage to tell I have an entrance examination.”

(Immigrant/1)

5.3.3.1 The Meaning of Bonding Social Capital

Based on the experiences of the interviewees, right after the immigration, immigrants especially need a group with whom they can identify with, be it representatives of their own culture or other immigrants with similar situation. The contacts based on bonding social capital have an effect on their self-confidence and give them courage and enthusiasm to integrate into Finnish society. Belonging to a group prevents the exclusion of immigrants as well.

“In the beginning when an immigrant has just immigrated, in the beginning the own group is needed and contacts with other immigrants as well. Of course people still have homesickness and here is a person from the same country, he is like a relative (...) but when one has learned Finnish language, when he gets his own life, working life, he has a family, he is not any more interested to gather among his own group to do something.”

(Immigrant/2)

Right after the immigration immigrants usually do not have employment. They have also more free time to share with their countrymen. This affirms a need for promoting more the culture associations and their activities in Tampere city region, which have been too silent until today. When immigrants start to become more integrated into society through language skills, working life etc., need for the genuine group decreases. Step by step, immigrants interconnect more with bridging groups in society, which are found, for example, from work communities and free time activities. There are also immigrants who want to stay mainly with their own genuine group, like the elderly immigrants who do not participate in working life and immigrants to whom religion is the most uniting thing.

In cases where bonding social capital is strong, bridging social capital can also be seen as a threat. The most usual example of this is families where children integrate into Finnish society faster than their parents. These families would usually prefer the isolation instead of integration.

“Children and young people learn it [Finnish language] and for example make use of the situation and act as interpreters for their father and mother so that they become in a way the head of the family; they [parents] are dependent on their children. Especially for people that come from my region this is a hard strike to their conscience when a father cannot bring home the bread and his son or daughter shows him the way and guides, holds his hand.”

(Immigrant/4)

Social capital seems to be the most easily generated among groups of the same type of social capital. The challenges enter in, when the groups or a particular family have different social capital among them. The same results were found also in Finnish work communities. When multicultural issues were new, processing within bonding group was especially helpful for handling the multicultural and bridging connections.

5.3.3.2 Immigrants Need culture Intermediates

Many immigrants avoid contacts with native-born people because they are afraid they do not understand the Finnish language or cultural habits. In the beginning of their integration, immigrants possess only bonding social capital and need other immigrants who have already acquired bridging social capital to guide them. These kinds of culture intermediates would give them knowledge and help them to integrate into Finland. It is easier an immigrant to speak to another immigrant, who has been in the same situation than for example to a Finnish public sector worker.

“Foreigners, who would be in contact with other foreigners, would be needed. It is difficult for many foreigners to talk to Finns, when they do not understand or culture is different or when one do not know the language, he is a bit shy (...) They [immigrants] have an education and everything but they cannot tell what kind of education they have. I am for example from Russia, Moscow. Someone tells that she is for example an architect; I know what education she has. In Finland, people do not know. I know what further education she needs and where she can go.”

(Immigrant/3)

After the MORO! course, three of the interviewed immigrants worked as culture intermediates to a certain extent. Contrary to the original aim of the MORO! project, they do not mediate culture between immigrants and native-born people but instead they communicate Finnish culture to other immigrants among their own bonding group.

“Even though the thought was that a culture intermediate works in the work place as an intermediate between an employer and a new employee, but in my case I am an intermediate between [immigrant] clients and Finnish society, I would say. Right after people immigrate to Finland, they do not have the language skills yet (...) I am here an intermediate who teaches clients to go for example to library, to buy buss tickets and sometimes we even go to a grocery store where I show food supplies.”

(Immigrant/2)

Although there is a need for solving the integration related problems at bonding level, usually the problems are tried to be solved only at linking social capital level. Immigrants felt they did not have so much help from the employment office as they had received from other immigrants. Still, this resource is neglected in the immigrant administration. The immigrants and native-born people who have the bridging social capital capacity should be used more among the bonding communities they act in. Also, immigrant authorities and Finnish employers could be in co-operation with the culture intermediates when needed.

5.4 Multicultural Team Communicates Different Types of Social Capital

The MORO! project team interviewees consist of two team members who have an immigrant background and two team members with Finnish background, from which another is a MORO! project co-ordinator. As a whole, the multicultural and multidisciplinary project team consisted of six members. The project team was a closed community which co-operative partner groups resembled a network around the core team.

The project team is a good example of the benefits bridging social capital and intercultural communication would bring into the community. Most work communities would need this kind of multicultural input, which would shake the traditions and old-fashioned working models. Still, the roots of the MORO! project came from the experiences the TAKK organisation had earlier had with employers and immigrants so that the project goals based mainly on the experiences of Finnish trainers. There could have been more immigrants involved in the planning phase of the project, even though there were some immigrants involved in the implementation of the project.

The project team had immigrant team members. Social capital within the multicultural team was naturally bridging. The team members, as individuals, represented either inclusive bridging or exclusive bridging social capital. The social capital within the team and the types it passed on to other project participants differed. For example, immigrants saw that that the project team communicated exclusive linking social capital, while the project team was supposed to communicate bridging and inclusive linking social capital for the immigrants. Again, the international contacts were pleasing for the project team for the team felt they were at the same level with their international partners. Work community training was often challenging because of different types of social capital between the team and the work communities. The project team tried to communicate inclusive bridging social capital to work communities, who were often at the stage of inclusive bonding.

It is important to notice the nuances the different types of social capital bring to the intercultural contacts. The closer one social capital type is to another type, the more pleasant the communication is. On the other hand, the message the representatives of certain social capital type may still have a strong effect on groups who possess different type of social capital. This happened e.g. during the work community training.

The types of social capital can be chosen along with different situations and environments. This is possible only when an individual or a group possess different forms of social capital. The MORO! team could for example communicate linking social capital to work communities by speaking about legal matters connected to immigrants or about the future labour shortage. On the other situation, the team members, especially immigrants, could use bridging social capital and share their own experiences of the integration.

When the MORO! team communicated bridging social capital, the project partakers responded to their multicultural message in five different ways. The multicultural message may appear in many different forms among the receiver group. These five examples are valid in other intercultural contexts as well.

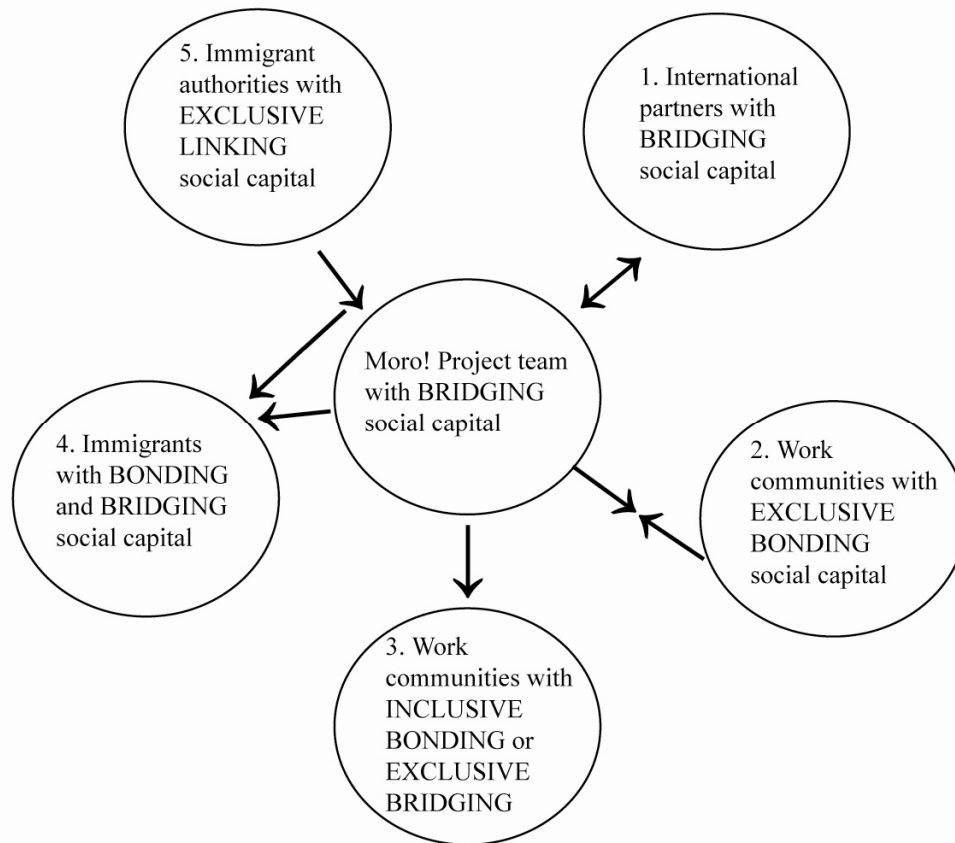


Figure 4. The types of social capital in the MORO! project context

1. The receiver has the same social capital type as the communication is the most fluent.
2. The receiver has different type of social capital. The message does not go through.
3. The receiver has different type of social capital but the message crosses the conflicts and learning takes place.
4. The receiver has the same social capital type but it is not identified because of many messages.
5. The receiver has different type of social capital. The message does not go through. Instead, the social capital of the sender group changes because the type in the receiver group dominates.

5.4.1 Fluent Communication

The MORO! team had international co-operative partners with similar multicultural projects financed by the EU Equal fund, Lenra project in London and Centre for Development Information and Education, CIES in Rome. The international partners were the most pleasant co-operation partners for the MORO! team. International meetings were composed of changing ideas and they resulted in some close contacts with the international partners. The project team members regarded themselves as global actors and wanted to identify themselves more with their international collaborates than the national ones. So, quantitatively the MORO! team had more contacts with local partners, but saw the meaning of international contacts the most important.

“Becoming part of the international mainstream in the sphere of multicultural work communities, it has been very rewarding for me and for sure also for other people who have been involved in the project (...) We speak the same language they do in Britain and in the USA. In that sense we are bringing new concepts and scheme of things to Finland”

(Project team member/1)

The team felt that they spoke the same language with their international partners. This was because communicating among groups which have the same form of social capital is the most easy and pleasant. Multicultural work communities have many assets, for the work community members learn to be flexible in culture, language and work practice questions so that a doorstep to co-operate in international markets is lower and the work community has already learned the basics of intercultural communication. Thus, multicultural teams move naturally towards international contacts. Also, the MORO! team made use of the best practises found in international meetings which were places for learning new ideas through knowledge sharing. Common language, bridging social capital made all this easy. New ideas were later pondered within the team and applied to the project.

5.4.2 Colliding Social Capital Types

Different forms of social capital collided, when the project team approached the work communities of the region. Multicultural MORO! team communicated bridging social capital to culturally cohesive work communities, which usually represented bonding social capital. Most work communities refused to co-operate with the MORO! project. More often than not, the multicultural

message was neglected when different types of social capital formed a fence between the team and the work communities. In a few cases, the conflicts were exceeded and learning took place.

Interestingly, the MORO! team used business terms and spoke of MORO! as a product in order to have a common language with the work communities. In other words, the MORO! team members were moving towards the work community members and changed their language when they were in contact with them. The team wanted to answer for the needs of work communities and to train immigrants to meet their needs. Anyhow, oftentimes demand and supply did not meet.

“We have, in fact, abandoned the kind of charity work and a thought that you have to understand this immigrant, this mentality which prevailed in Finland still in the 1990’s. So, we have started from the thought that the employment of immigrants has to become ‘business as usual’ also in Finland by year 2020. “

(Project team member/1)

When social capital types collide, there is usually someone who pays the price. The immigrant members of the MORO! team felt the work community training situations awkward because they had to be those who are different with different views and represent an immigrant even they had a Finnish nationality.

“This training where I was, I object it on principle because I don’t want to be a monkey playing in a showcase that you are an immigrant, interesting what you come to tell us and that you have a different world view (...) I sounded the issues more from an immigrant aspect, especially things connected to the adaptation phase problems, problems in different countries and learning from the problems and the meaning of a work place in the adaptation.”

(Project team member/2)

Still, the learning during the training occasions was the most significant result of the whole MORO! project. In the work community training opinions, backgrounds and scheme of things varied among natives and immigrants. Colliding types of social capital can cause tremendous learning if the conflicts are won. The cultural capacity of a certain work community decides whether the bridging social capital will enter the community or not.

Anyhow, the team met managers who wanted to train only one working unit of their organisation. This thought was repeated in many work places, also in the city organisation. It represents typical inclusive bonding social capital, where managers with bonding social capital are positive towards the issue, but do not give time or effort to it themselves. The work community training was usually accomplished only in some specific working unit of the organisation so that the whole organisation, including the managers, was not a part of the training.

Now:	Multicultural training → Work community units ← Mandate from managers
Ideal:	Multicultural training → Managers → training working units

When promoting the multicultural issues, the question is about changing the working models of the whole organisation. Therefore, it is vital that the managers receive new thoughts and forward them to their organisation so that exclusive linking social capital would be changed into inclusive social capital and in that way the general multicultural progress in the work community would be enhanced. The team pointed out that work community training would have the best results if it would be part of the organisational training, i.e. bonding training.

5.4.3 Many Messages

Sometimes the types of social capital can be misunderstood between the two groups or individuals. In the MORO! context, this happened between the project team members and other immigrants involved in the project. Both of these groups possessed bridging social capital and yet they were not able to communicate it to each other. The MORO! project team had good, but quite loose and formal relationships with immigrant associations and individual immigrants of the region. The project was also directed more towards development work and training among the work communities in the field of multiculturalism and ‘product development’ instead of concentrating on immigrants.

Even though the project had included immigrants in the planning phase of the MORO! project, immigrants were not ready to attend all the meetings without compensation. The immigrants (other than team members) did not participate in the project because they would have felt like bystanders. Many immigrants came for example from very communal countries. For these immigrants loose connections do not exist, and if they cannot be full members, they feel they are not co-operative partners at all.

In addition, the MORO! team had trainers’ attitude towards immigrants so that in the eyes of immigrants they possessed exclusive linking social capital. Maybe this was also because the project team had adopted some of the administrative language during the project. The project team itself felt they were passing on inclusive bridging social capital to all the project partakers. Again, immigrants thought their own dominating social capital type was bridging social capital, but from

the interviews of immigrants, it could be recognised that they assessed the MORO! project from bonding social capital angle.

5.4.4 Dominating Social Capital Types

The contacts between the project team and the regional immigrant authorities were a mixture of formal organisational and informal personal level communication. Immigrant authorities possessed exclusive linking social capital, while the project team started to communicate the bridging or inclusive linking social capital when in co-operation with the authorities. Anyhow, after a little while, the team spoke the same exclusive linking language with the authorities. The MORO! project team was moulded after the dominating social capital type of the immigrant authorities.

Because of different social capital types, some sort of conflicts occurred between the project team and the immigrant authorities. For example, they had different concepts of the basic meaning of the MORO! project. The project team members saw that their goals were congruent with the goals of the immigrant authorities of the region. For the immigrant authorities, the MORO! project appeared as a laboratory around multicultural issues. Some immigrant authorities conceived MORO! team as too progressive. The team developed integration models for Finland inspired by the models of their international partners even though the immigrant settlement is much smaller in Finland.

“We have too few immigrants and it is not current here yet, we are not yet going through a phase the international partners are (...) Our employers and work communities, it can be that they are not yet ready for the [work community] training because they have not seen any immigrants in their work community (...) Sometimes I feel that when MORO! has gone into a work community there can be a situation where they train such an absurd issue what many have not even faced yet. In this sense, it is even too progressive.”

(Immigrant authority/2)

In this case, the dominating social capital type did not abolish the bridging social capital within the project team. The project team was convinced of the importance of MORO! project and its measures. Anyhow, the exclusive linking social capital of immigrant authorities had an effect on the project team, which started to communicate linking social capital besides bridging social capital to the project partakers.

6 DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

6.1 Structural Dimension Explicates Reasons for the Lack of Multicultural Social Capital

Connected to the integration process, the structural dimension consists of all somewhat hierarchical relations between immigrants and native-born people. In the integration process, structural social capital occurs typically as exclusive linking social capital. Exclusive linking social capital is close to the exclusive and inclusive bonding social capital, for these three types of social capital are culturally homogenous. Considering the integration of immigrants connected to the MORO! project, a dense network structure where all actors would have direct connections, is lacking. In addition, immigrants are often left to suffer in the structures of society. According to structuralism, the removal of social inequality happens by political measures. Consequently, a more integrated society would start from the decision-makers, which would strengthen the role of inclusive linking social capital in the integration process.

Structural social capital explicates reasons for the lack of multicultural social capital in many ways. Firstly, structural social capital can be seen as exclusive social capital, which benefits only the insiders of a specific group. Secondly, it can work as a social network, which gives individuals a lead over others, so that with the help of structural social capital individual immigrants or natives progress and the value of social capital accumulates unevenly. Thirdly, structural social capital may restrict the possibilities social capital would have if the social network would be more even. Connected to the integration process, the holes in the social networks usually restrict immigrants, who are not yet as rooted in the social networks of society as native-born people.

6.1.1 Intercultural Social Capital Cannot Be Taken for Granted

From the integration point of view, Pierre Bourdieu brings up a negative side of social capital. He outlines different social groups, in which people possess social capital within specific insider groups (Bourdieu, 1986, 248). In this light, immigrants and natives are two different groups, which exclude others and battle for their space. In the MORO! project context immigrants and native-born people stayed within their own bonding groups as well. The immigrant authorities that had immigrant

issues as their main work consisted of a small circle of officials; project team members, third sector actors and the immigrant authorities. Employers, companies and immigrants were mostly absent. When the immigrant authorities spoke of their co-operative partners and their importance, immigrants were not mentioned at all. Instead, the interviewed immigrants noticed that they were excluded from the small inside group.

“During the past three and a half years I have tried to be very active towards different civic associations in the city. The name of the [immigrant] project changes or the financier changes but same people will stay from year to another (...) It does not work from the outside if the wishes, desires [of immigrants] are not heard, things are planned outside and they say that this is for you. It does not work (...) Unfortunately, immigrants are not taken into consideration or included in the projects in Tampere.”

(Immigrant /4)

In Bourdieu's (1986) view of social capital, there are no possibilities for multicultural social capital because culturally cohesive social capital blossoms instead of multicultural social capital. This is often the case for immigrants and natives; intercultural relationships are absent for the two groups are too separate from each other and the exchange of social capital between them is prevented. The viewpoint Bourdieu opens up is significant; we cannot take the existence of social capital between immigrants and native-born people for granted.

6.1.2 Structural Holes Prevent from Extra Effort

Like Bourdieu, Ronald Burt (1997, 355) stresses individual profit, which can be obtained through social networks. Multicultural social capital can be understood from this kind of benefit angle; the success of some individuals (mainly immigrants) is a consequence of the multicultural social capital they possess. Immigrants and natives who have good intercultural connections get value out of the multicultural social capital they possess. For example, immigrants could find employment through intercultural connections and native-born people could get profit out of international business because of their multicultural networks.

Anyhow, the control advantages require that intercultural network is disconnected like the present immigrant network in Tampere city region. Then, as Burt proposes, networks that have holes in them may help to acquire an advantage in the social network (Burt, 2001, 37). Most companies that participated in the MORO! project sought for economic benefit, for instance new markets or a client

group which could be opened through a new immigrant worker. In general, the lack of economic profit was a reason why only a few work communities attended the project.

“..The difficulty in training companies has been that they want to know what will be the concrete advantage, benefit they will get from immigrants and multicultural thinking. What is the economic benefit for me? This profit thinking prevails (...) Otherwise the issue is overload for them.”

(Project team member/2)

In addition, the fellow workers have to pay time and effort to get an immigrant integrated into the work community. This effort lacks from most workplaces. There was no racism in the interviewed work communities, neither in immigrant workers. A Finnish worker who usually adapts quickly to work community was seen as easier option. For native-born people, structural holes were a way to reduce the extra efforts. Without too many contacts with immigrants, employers and employees spared their time. While immigrants may benefit from the structural holes economically, native-born people gain control benefits from the holes.

“It takes a long time, when things are talked through together and one learns to understand the other person, it is demanding. Even less when the language is not common, it sure feels troublesome at first. It depends much on the immigrant how fast he or she will adjust.”

(Work community member/1)

Also, the administrative sector maintained structural holes. There was no clear immigration strategy for the city or strategic leadership over all the immigrant networks (projects etc.) in Tampere city region. Because of the local administration system in Finland, the multicultural issues were all directed to the immigrant official sector. The public officials of other administrative sectors directed all the issues that had something to do with immigrants to the immigrant authorities that started to be overloaded with work. In addition, special services only for immigrants restricted other sectors to include immigrant issues to their networks as part of their normal work.

Connected to the Finnish integration process, a broken network is a more probable model than an unbroken one. Also, the brokerage opportunities are probable for individuals in the intercultural networks. Based on Burt's (2001) view on social capital, multicultural social capital is a rare value, which brings benefit for those who are part of the intercultural network, as long as the network stays incomplete.

6.1.3 Vertical Relations Maintain Lack of Closure

Immigrant project team members wanted to dissolve the term immigrant, because, even though they had lived many years in Finland and had a Finnish citizenship, they were still called immigrants and excluded from Finns. Also, immigrants were often approached as victims. These are signs of the lack of closure where those of Finnish origin look at immigrants from the upper level. The gap between different social groups should be abolished so that resources of the two groups could be united. In the Coleman's economic view (1988, 105-106), the increase in contacts between immigrants and natives would strengthen the benefits of both immigrants and natives and enhance the general integration process. Also, in the MORO! project context it can be acknowledged that the more multicultural social capital existed in a certain community the more all the integration parties benefited from the intercultural contacts.

Coleman's economist's view on social capital turns Burt's thought around; he points out that dense network is most essential for gaining individual profit (Coleman, 1988, 105-106). Linked to the integration process in the context of MORO! project, Coleman might be ahead of his time, for the intercultural contacts between immigrants and native-born people cannot be called dense, apart from the MORO! project team. In the same vein, Coleman emphasises the lack of closure in social networks. The lack of closure happens between different social groups, like between immigrants and the original population.

Typical examples of the lack of closure are the difficulties an immigrant faces in applying for a job. In modern society a work community is one central fixed point of life and seen as a second family, and the integration of immigrants into this family is seen as one sign of successful integration (Trux, 2000, 280). In the integration process, immigrants face this kind of structural social capital, especially in the Finnish labour market, where Finns dominate. Besides exclusive linking social capital, culturally cohesive bonding social capital can many times be a restrictive form of structural social capital as well.

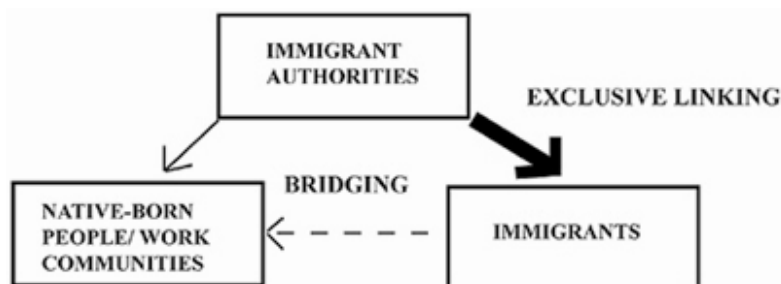


Figure 5. The current structural way of promoting the integration and employment of immigrants.

As portrayed in Figure 5, at the moment immigrant authorities decide on immigrant policies and also the employment of immigrants is greatly guided by the public sector with exclusive linking social capital. There are positive sides in the structural social capital for the long-span immigrant policy promotes the interest of immigrants. Still, immigrants try hard contact employers, but in general, there is no closure between employers and immigrants yet. The lack of closure is partly due to the administration, which has taken the position of an intermediate between immigrants and employers in Finland. In the metropolis like London, immigrants have more straight contacts with employers and immigrant projects are labour market projects led by the private sector.

“When we talk about employment, it includes the rules of free market economy, a law of supply and demand, professional qualities and language and so on. These are not concepts that the state officials use, they are concepts of the labour market. In Finland the immigrant policy has always been led by the public officials, especially concerning the work permits and integration (...) In other countries there are more labour market led immigrant projects, which have been developed with the help of the private and the third sector.”

(Project team member/ 2)

In the integration process, both immigrants and natives have to build connections towards each other. Still, native-born people prefer negotiating at bonding social capital level. Employers are more eager to employ an immigrant if they see that an immigrant has received a recommendation from some other native-born people. Usually immigrants get forward if at least one native people know them and their skills. The lack of closure varies also depending on different ethnic groups. In addition, when native-born people start to build connections towards immigrants, they approach easier immigrants close to their own culture.

“I know many people who have come from Islamic country, usually males, they are still unemployed.(...) There are opposition to Russians in the subconscious of Finns, but if the choices are a Russian or a guy called Mohammed or Ahmed, people [employers] rather help that woman or Russian instead that they take the one who has come from Islamic country.”

(Immigrant/ 4)

The reason for the lack of closure is often the lack of intercultural communication. Also trustworthiness, which is one basic quality of social capital, is in question. The lack of closure strengthens the role of bonding social capital groups. Native-born people would need time, intellectual and cultural resources to be able to receive the multicultural thinking. Until today, multicultural issues have mostly been negotiated at vertical level but little by little horizontal aspect is coming along.

6.2 Relational Social Capital Facilitates the Integration Process

The scholars of structural social capital consider the role of individuals in the integration process. Their viewpoints shine light on the reasons for the absence of multicultural social capital, i.e. when studying the structural dimension the lack of bridging social capital and inclusive linking are revealed. Basically people want to benefit from their relationships and if not they pull away from these contacts. Anyhow, if gazing only into the structural and individual aspect of social capital, the community level, which is the heart of the integration process, stays untouched. Even though immigrants and native-born people are often distant from each other and there is no multicultural social capital between them, exceptions occur both among individuals and communities.

Structural social capital always has an effect on relational social capital. A working structural network is the key for a more even relational network. For example, without Finnish immigration policy which contains exclusive linking type of social capital, the integration of immigrants would be still in its infancy. The integration policy of Finland has concentrated on raising up human capital among immigrants. Anyhow, the dominance of the structural dimension in the integration of immigrants has somehow regulated the birth of relational social capital and restricted the deeper integration of immigrants. Finding the facilitators of the integration of immigrants is the next step. The following relational social capital is a needed complement for the structural dimension in the integration process.

Relational social capital has the most significant role in promoting the integration of immigrants. In the overall integration process both bonding and bridging types belong to the relational realm. Anyhow, the aim of this study was to find the nature of social capital, which occurs in the relationships between immigrants and natives. If the qualities of relational social capital, like trust, norms, sanctions, obligations and expectations exist among the relations between immigrants and native-born people, multicultural social capital appears.

6.2.1 Social Norms Reduce Spontaneous Relations

The viewpoint of Coleman (1988, 95) accentuates the role of society in the formation of social capital and communality feeling. In Finland the welfare society has a great effect on the formation

of social capital within society. Like with structural social capital, also the Coleman's argument brings up reasons why relations between immigrants and natives are rare; integration participants are in a passive role. The MORO! project reference groups showed that relationships between immigrants and native-born people follow mainly the integration policy measures instead of spontaneous relationships.

The services and education for immigrants are very well organised in Tampere city region. Immigrants were satisfied with the human capital side of the integration process and saw the importance of active employment policy of the public sector. Even though immigrants criticised administration level a lot, it cannot be denied that the social work of the public sector is vital in promoting the integration of immigrants. Also one project team noted that without public sector no one would enhance the multicultural issues.

“I just came back from Chicago and New York and despite the millions of minorities they do the same work we do here by public sector project funding as well. (...) Affecting on the attitudes and legislation demand public funding, one cannot presume that we could act only on the basis of market demands (...) The public sector spreads the knowledge that generates demand in the private sector. “

(Project team member/1)

Coleman (1988) argues that individuals are the beneficiaries of the economic stream of social capital, but when social actions are governed by social norms and context, they bring profit to society. Native-born people do not see so much need for personal (micro-level) contacts with immigrants, but see the integration more as a societal macro-level process. So, if social norms are the defining factor of the integration process, it is not an endogenous process, but a result of external factors. Multicultural issues are remote and faceless to many native-born people just because they have not been part of any multicultural community.

“If something is taken [to the work communities] involuntarily, it will not live for a long time. Of course there are different measures that come from the legislation level and give a clear edict or instruction that this is the way to act and then people are forced to do it, but it is faceless and comes out of somewhere so that it is not directed to any specific person.”

(Immigrant authority/1)

The influence of the Finnish welfare society and its measures greatly define the current integration process in Finland. This was assured also in the way mainly nursing, educational and social sectors were branches where the culture intermediate resource could be used. Anyhow, the public sector led social capital reduces spontaneous relations between the integration partakers. Therefore, a social

capital study is needed to reveal something of inward integration processes that inhere in the un compelled intercultural relationships, instead of outward processes.

6.2.2 Participation Generates Multicultural Social Capital

Instead of public measures, Putnam (2000, 19) emphasises civic activity and general trust between people, which help people to reach for the common goals. The same way immigrants need support from other immigrants in the beginning of their integration, native-born people need support from each other in the integration related questions. For both immigrants and the original population, bonding groups function as a stepping-stone for wider integration process. Considering the intercultural social capital, the activities between the two groups have to be generated.

Putnam (2000) has quite an ideal picture of social capital, which generates trust *if* people participate in different societal activities. For him, the reason for the lack of relations between immigrants and natives is the lack of overall participation in society.

“I think the problem is also that immigrants don’t want to sit in the committees and working groups. They are like other inhabitants of a municipality that they want to do their own things and care for their families, apply for their own jobs so that they don’t have time to sit in the working groups (...) If we think about typical immigrants or Finns, they are not so interested. This civic activity is one very big challenge.”

(Immigrant authority/3)

Even though the ideal picture of active citizens does not always come true, Putnam found suitable models for analysing the social capital between people. Out of all of the scholars in this study, Putnam (2000, 22) concentrates most on the relationships between people and ponders how these relationships promote the development of social capital. Through analysing social relationships with bonding and bridging concepts, the nature of multicultural social capital started to unfold.

Besides social capital, community ties will increase tolerance between immigrants and native-born people (Putnam, 2000, 355). For those, who possess exclusive bonding social capital, Finnish society or particular communities in it are closest to the sectarian community (represented in Table 4) where immigrants and natives battle for their space. If inclusive bonding and/ or exclusive linking social capital are the most common types citizens have, society is individualistic. This situation is typical for Finnish society where citizens act separately without co-operation between different ethnic groups. The third option, which Putnam prefers, is a civic community. It would

mean the dominance of bridging and inclusive linking social capital where different ethnic groups would participate in the intercultural activities.

Many immigrants come from countries where social ties are stronger than in Finland. As the experiences of MORO! team showed, belonging to a group and doing things together united the team. Both immigrants and native-born team members had had their own adaptation times in integrating into a bridging social capital group. Working in multicultural team increased their understanding towards other ethnic groups. So, one of the best activities between immigrants and native-born people is a work place.

“I learned to know Finns more from the inside than for example the quota refugees who are given an accommodation and income support. They do not know Finns and Finnish culture from the inside, in depth. They have only a superficial touch to Finns, what is seen from the television and media, how neighbours or others act on the streets. They don’t have much experience.”

(Immigrant/4)

It is important to notice that in the relational aspect, social capital between immigrants and natives is an endogenous process. Still, it requires civic participation. In multicultural work communities, there are individuals who are more internationally connected than other members. The key people lead the attitude change towards bridging social capital and multiculturalism within their work community. The welfare society passivises citizens but real contacts often activate people again.

6.2.3 Relational Social Capital Requires Working Societal Structures

Woolcock (2000, 37) accentuates that social relationships help people to co-ordinate their common goals. Anyhow, for him social relations work as a common force against “the evil”, which would mean things like exclusion or racism connected to the integration process. Then, multicultural social capital would work as a tool for preventing the marginality of immigrants. Also, people possessing bridging social capital would then be implicitly objecting the exclusion of different ethnic groups.

Woolcock stresses the importance of the structures of society in the creation of social capital (Woolcock, 2000, 37). Multicultural relations always happen in the structures of society. The vertical, linking dimension added to the horizontal dimensions of bonding and bridging would open up a more comprehensive picture of a social capital related to the integration of immigrants than

distinct dimensions could give alone. From Woolcock’s synergy point of view, social capital connected to integration can be seen as a dialogue between immigrants, natives and immigrant authorities.

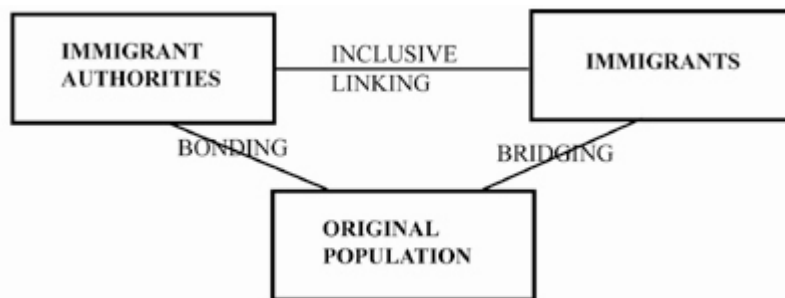


Figure 6. The ideal situation in enhancing the integration with increased relational social capital.

As it was portrayed in Figure 5, at the moment immigrant authorities decide on immigrant policies and also the employment of immigrants is guided by the public sector. Instead of protecting immigrants and offering them opportunities for acquiring human capital, the role of relational social capital between all parties should be highlighted, as presented by Figure 6. This far the groups have been treated separately but in an ideal model, new integration channels can be seen as places for learning for both immigrants and natives.

Woolcock’s division (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 239) was found to be the most appropriate social capital framework for studying the integration of immigrants and the role of social capital in it. This wide framework of social capital includes both structural (vertical) and relational (horizontal) dimensions of social capital. Still, the question is, will the ideal model of integration presented in Figure 6 happen at all. If not, the exclusive linking social capital will dominate the integration process.

6.3 Changing Cognitive Social Capital

The six social capital types consist of structural and relational social capital. The cognitive dimension affects bonding, bridging and linking social capital from the background. However, the multicultural social capital types contain less of the cognitive dimension than other social capital types. Those with bonding social capital or exclusive linking social capital have more in common. Usually they have a shared language concerning multicultural issues instead of concrete actions. It

can be argued that the cognitive aspect of culturally cohesive social capital rises from bonding social capital, a common background and strong shared scheme of things.

For example, the cultural diversity was lacking from the interviewed work communities. Still, in the MORO! project context, the best example of the changing cognitive social capital was found among the work communities. From the cognitive point of view, the main obstacles for cultural diversity were the prevailing mentality and the stereotypes native-born people and immigrants may have of each others. The attitudes of original population usually include (hidden) negative attitudes, prejudices, fear or plain ignorance towards immigrants.

“There will always be discrimination in different forms, sometimes in a sophisticated form, sometimes it is difficult to diagnose, in between the lines, sometimes only in one look, in body language. Racism does not mean only fights and hits from the skinheads. No. Racism takes place also when an immigrant sits on the bus and the only free seat is next to him but no one wants to sit there. (...) People have to have readiness, society has to have prerequisites, basic infrastructure to battle against them [the discrimination]. Public officials, employers, work communities, ordinary people, you and me, all, immigrants who have studied the cultural competence are needed. “

(Project team member/2)

Employing native-born workers is secure and familiar for Finnish employers. Often, they simply lack the experience of immigrants as employees which would help to mould their attitudes. First contacts with immigrants may create insecurity among the work community members. The contacts can also start a common process inside a bonding type of work community and change attitudes so that bonding social capital possibly changes into bridging social capital as time goes by. New things like immigrants raise first resistance among the work community. Later, it becomes more normal. Also, the experiences from the capital area advise that prevailing attitudes towards immigrants will not fade out without real experiences (Virtanen, Niinikoski, Karinen & Paananen, 2004, 42-43).

“When the first [immigrants] started to come, we surely were in tension as to how will we manage with them and everything, it raised up feelings, but of course there have been various opinions in the group and maybe they will never be faded out.”

(Work community member/2)

“It will be a starting point [for a multicultural work community] if the good guys are found from immigrants who will change the attitudes of work communities, managers and clients. There has to be someone who shows the direction (...) Our group has had different thoughts and opinions and I believe that the training occasions have generated those most. It has started a process, changed attitudes and brought new angles and tools for the work we do.”

(Work community member/3)

Still, it is wrong to think that all good and bad immigrants face comes from the original population. The interviewed immigrants said that sometimes there is more racism among

different immigrant groups than between immigrants and native-born people. In addition, immigrants have often prejudices on native-born people, which have roots for example in racism they have faced. More often than not media criminalises conflicts where immigrants are involved. Conflicts between natives and immigrants are emphasised in media, but conflicts among immigrants do not come into view. Oftentimes, the conflicts between immigrants bring more problems for immigrants who live in Finland than problems between immigrants and the original population.

One interesting angle for the cognitive dimension is that it could be seen as a substitute for the money spent in various immigrant projects. The immigrant authorities felt that instead of different immigrant projects and integration measures the locks connected to the integration would be solved rather by changes at cognitive level. The comment of an immigrant authority shows that many immigrant projects were quite ineffective. The reason for this was the lack of cognitive level social capital among the integration parties.

“It is true that huge sums of money are tied to all these development projects at the moment (...) but it is not only dependent on money. It is dependent also on the public sector actors, whether they are ready to be flexible or totally change their working model, if somewhere new models are developed that this is what should be done. It can often be done with the same amount of money. People can hide behind phrases like ‘we don’t have resources to do that even if it would not necessarily demand resources but a mental change (...) I would say that at the moment a lot of euros are spent in vain. “

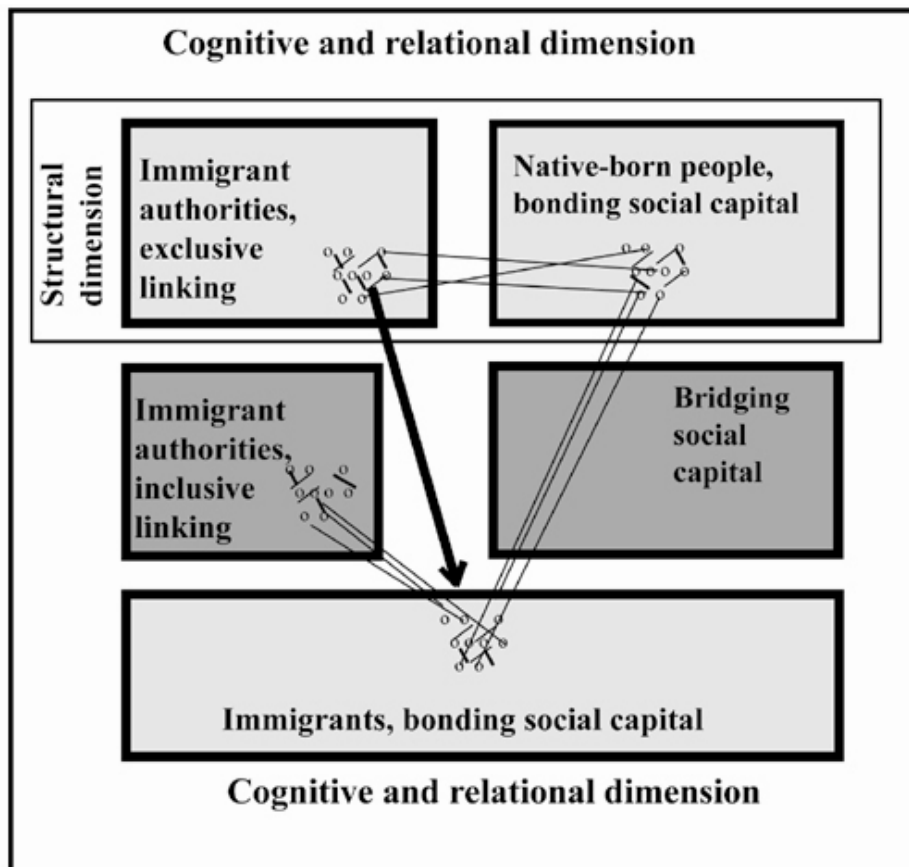
(Immigrant authority/2)

In intercultural communication, native-born people and immigrants are like mirrors to each other that show are the possible prejudices true or false. Among multicultural communities like MORO! team, where bridging social capital and inclusive linking social capital prevail, the systems of meaning, representations and codes are more plural. Connected to multicultural social capital, stable worldviews are replaced by changing ones, where shared systems of meaning are synergies of many different worldviews. In other words, multicultural communities consist of many voices. Later, multicultural communities start to create their own systems of meaning as they become more stable. Even so, the common multicultural worldview is more flexible than the shared language of bonding groups.

6.4 The Interrelationship Between the Dimensions and Types of Social Capital

A suitable measuring of all dimensions of social capital brings the best result in analysing the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants. In Figure 7 different dimensions and types of social capital are presented in the overall picture, where the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants has been highlighted. Although all actions represented in the picture are relational, in this study the special interest is on the intercultural relations.

Another noteworthy fact is that the role of bonding social capital is stressed in the figure. Under the multicultural segment there are no individuals included, but only their network ties. Individuals are seen as part of their own bonding groups, to whom bridging social capital is an extra value. Bridging social capital is more or less predominant quality depending on the individual. Though there can be individuals who are basically acting on the multicultural level, in the MORO! context all individuals acted in intercultural environments based on the axioms of their own background culture. The cognitive dimension affects all the dimensions and types of social capital.





-  **culturally cohesive social capital**
-  **multicultural social capital**

Figure 7. Synthesis of the dimensions and types of social capital.

Applied to the integration of immigrants in Tampere city region, the other bonding group in Figure 7. is a native-born bonding group and the other one is a bonding group of immigrants. The nature of bonding social capital for these two groups is different because of cultural differences. The means of achieving multicultural social capital requires that an immigrant or a native-born individual moves out from his or her bonding group and reaches out for intercultural contacts. By doing this, an individual moves to the area of bridging social capital, like MORO! team members did. Also, it can be argued that immigrants are closer to the bridging social capital because they already live in a strange culture and have geographically moved away from their bonding group.

From the structural point of view, immigrant authorities mostly represent the culturally homogenous type of exclusive linking social capital at the moment. A change demands a leap that both immigrants and immigrant authorities have to take towards an inclusive linking social capital and multicultural social capital segment. Integration is a learning process and, like mentioned earlier, learning is many times about breaking dividing walls in between different social communities (Hakkarainen, Lonka & Lipponen, 2004, 24). The leaps towards a more multicultural environment demand learning and breaking of the walls which have been in the way of intercultural relations.

7 HOW TO OVERCOME THE INTEGRATION OBSTACLES?

7.1 The Integration Bottlenecks

The question of immigrants' integration is not simple as all the earlier ways of integration, personal factors and wider society impacts are involved in it. The employment can be seen as the most significant factor in the integration of immigrants. More often than not, an immigrant acquires a Finnish education, language skills and knowledge of cultural habits but still will be very likely to remain unemployed. Typically, the critical bottlenecks lie in the process of recruiting new personnel and inside the work communities. The prevailing prejudices and stereotypical generalisations of immigrants and ethnic groups can also hinder employment of skilled immigrant workforce.

One reason for the poor employment situation is the general unemployment rate, 8,4% in Finland. Still, the unemployment rate of immigrants is around 28%. (Työministeriö, 2005b, 10, 58.) Besides, there is no industry in Tampere city region from which unskilled workforce could profit, like manual works where language skills are not essential. The education an immigrant has obtained before entering the country and the requirements for Finnish professions are often so different that immigrants need to be more or less further educated in Finland. There is also a danger that Finnish welfare society makes immigrants passive when social security brings a living too easily. Some immigrants are entrepreneurs, but bureaucracy, high taxes and unknown cultural practices can restrict their enthusiasm.

When the project partakers told what they saw as the most significant obstacles for the integration of immigrants, the answers varied between the different groups. This means that the different project groups had also inconsistent understanding of the best ways to promote integration. All the project partakers thought that the problems connected to integration are two-sided and depend both on immigrants and native people. In addition, all participants agreed that there are prejudices among the Finnish people. It was acknowledged as well that lack of activity can become a major obstacle for the integration of immigrants.

Based on all the interviews of this study, the main integration obstacles and promoters are presented in Table 8. As it can be noticed, almost all of the bottlenecks are closely related to the lack of social

capital between immigrants and native-born people. The aim of this chapter is to sum up briefly the different sides of the integration process and various conceptions of the integration bottlenecks which repeated in most interviews. Especially the immigrants emphasised the obstacles of integration while the other partners impressed more how the integration bottlenecks could be overcome. These obstacles work also as an outline for the following chapter, which ponders on how to solve the problems.

Table 8. The main integration obstacles and promoters based on the interviews

INTEGRATION OBSTACLES	INTEGRATION PROMOTERS
Passive immigrants	Active personality
Passive natives	Two-way adaptation
Prejudices/ racism	Racism prevention
Exclusive linking social capital	Inclusive linking social capital
Immigrants lack proper education	Immigrant training
Native-born people lack cultural capacity	Work community training
Lack of intercultural communication	Belonging to a multicultural group
Benefits of multiculturalism unknown	Experiences of multicultural communities

7.1.1 Lacking Motivation

According to the immigrants, the problems related to integration are two-sided. Oftentimes immigrants prefer to keep in contact only with other immigrants and, on the other hand, Finns usually take distance towards immigrants. The immigrants were the only project partaker group who felt that exclusive linking social capital prevents the integration of immigrants. It was not enough for the immigrants that immigrant authorities listened them for they could not have influence on decision making. In addition, immigrants felt that projects like MORO! were too small measures to promote the integration of immigrants. Some even mentioned that in the projects Finns only ensure their own vacancies and exploit immigrants and that too few immigrants are employed in the projects. Still, immigrants thought that the public sector should be the one to enhance the integration of immigrants but with different measures. For example, the government could come across these employers' concerns by lowering taxes when they employ immigrants. Maybe then many employers would seriously ponder employing the immigrants.

“The social security provokes people to laziness. Many immigrants give up. If someone wants to try, he notices the bureaucracy and strange working models. Many immigrants only hang around here. Finns are Finns, culture, language, education, he is already ten steps ahead of me if we start to compete. Not any employer, if not a humanitarian person, starts to employ a Finn and an immigrant with the same wages. They have to see effort with the immigrants and teach them, but if an employer gets a little bit benefit from it, for example deductions from the social charges, in that situation, many employers could come along and seriously consider it.”

(Immigrant/4)

It has to be noted that the most critique is always directed at leaders. In this case it means immigrant authorities who alone cannot abolish the main integration problems rooted in society. For example, they cannot make the region more tolerant by themselves. Many changes are dependent on the whole society including the administrators, the native population as well as the immigrants themselves.

Many interviewed immigrants had experienced racism and all were of the opinion that Finnish employers are selective. According to the immigrants, the main obstacle is the prevailing mentality and the stereotypes employers have in recruitment. These attitudes include often (hidden) negative attitudes, prejudices, fear or plain ignorance towards immigrants which denotes the lack of closure between the immigrants and the original population. The cultural diversity was lacking from most of the Finnish workplaces. These are the reasons why immigrants are often afraid to apply for good work places.

“It is always a question what a Finnish employer demands from me. It is not enough that I am a very good PC support advisor because first they [employers] look at me and notice that I am a foreigner.”

(Immigrant/ 1)

Also, the segregation of the labour market can form a barrier in front to the integration. Immigrants often find work only in ethnic restaurants, bus companies or other fields where they cannot use their education and professional skills.

“Cleaning branch has become an immigrant branch and there is no sense that an engineer, a teacher, a doctor gravitates towards cleaning branch because there exists invisible obstacles in work life. Then know-how is misplaced. “

(Project team member/1)

Anyhow, the obstacle behind the labour market walls can be found in the immigrant himself. The motivation for integration is usually high with an immigrant who knows he will live in Finland and has relatives here. Again, an immigrant who would like to return to his home country and to attach to Finland only for a short time usually lacks the motivation. For an immigrant, the lack of motivation can become one of the strongest obstacles to his integration and employment.

Some immigrants have a hard background, and if they still meet hardships and resistance in Finland, they easily become introvert and give in. Many times immigrants do not understand that they have to advertise themselves and their know-how to employers. Often immigrants are not able to give the real picture of themselves for the lack of proper language skills. If an immigrant finally

gets a job, it is usually temporary and he or she ends up in a circle of employment, training and unemployment from year after another.

All in all, the interviewed immigrants emphasised how important it is for an immigrant to belong to a community in order to integrate into a new society. This angle was not mentioned in the interviews of other project participants. For most immigrants it was crucial to belong to their bonding community and afterwards also to new bridging communities so that they were able to find a successful integration path. The aspect of belonging should be taken into consideration also in the wider integration process for it seems to be an efficient way to prevent exclusion.

7.1.2 Missing Cultural Competence

The immigrants acknowledged almost all of the obstacles presented in Table 8, while the work community members saw the integration process simply from the human capital viewpoint. On the other hand, work community members were also the most loosely connected to the immigrant issues compared to other MORO! project partakers. The main integration obstacles from the employees' point of view were the lack of time and effort needed for integrating immigrants into the work community.

Interestingly, the interviewed work community members did not see prejudices as big a problem as the immigrants did. Instead, they emphasised the lack of education and language skills as remarkable integration obstacles, which the interviewed immigrants did not mention at all. The employees can have a fear that an immigrant does not know the Finnish work practices, that he will bring problems to the work community or that the communication between immigrants and other employees will not work. Nor do the employers tend to know the competence of immigrants' certificates. For the employers, the reason for neglecting immigrants as job applicants can also be found among their clients who want to have Finnish service.

The formal qualifications the employers require from immigrants consist of knowledge of the language, professional skills and required education. Usually the existing degrees of immigrants are not valued in Finland. Sometimes the lack of language skills can also be an easy excuse for not employing an immigrant. Besides formal qualifications, vital for acquiring an employment are informal competencies immigrants are supposed to have, abilities which employers do not say

aloud. They are qualifications which should be read between the lines, like social work life skills that originate in the culture and in the organisational culture which are not acquired without work experience or e.g. a training period.

Immigrants are supposed to have social skills, i.e. social capital when they apply for a job but places for obtaining it are rare. The employers emphasised that they search for appropriate employees and that they expect immigrants to be active. Even though not mentioned among the work community members, one big obstacle among them is the lack of cultural capacity. This was seen especially on employers' disinterest in recruiting immigrants. Overall, in the multicultural aspect Finns are moving towards a new phase. The original population has already accepted immigrants as part of their street view. At the moment Finns are moving to the phase where they learn to call immigrants their work mates.

7.1.3 Unknown Benefits of Multiculturalism

The project team and the immigrant authorities were congruent with the bottlenecks of the integration. This was because they both represented linking social capital to a certain extent and it was their job to try to abolish the hindrances of integration. Both of the groups concentrated on the prevention of problems and emphasised the role of training of both the immigrants and the native population in order to prevent exclusion of the immigrants. The lack of education was seen as the biggest obstacle in the way of integration and the employment of immigrants. Immigrants themselves did not see the lack of education as a bottleneck for they took it for granted.

The MORO! team thought prejudices prevail in Finland, because Finland has been culturally homogenous for a long time and is still a young immigration country where immigrant the number of immigrants is low. Finns have not yet used to dissimilarity. Also, the stereotypes on different ethnic groups prevail. The project team members saw that two things are needed for promoting the integration: the opening of the Finnish society, i.e. that Finns adapt to immigrants, and adaptation of immigrants into the Finnish society.

Opening of Finnish society →	Successful integration process	← Adaptation of immigrants
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The project team and the immigrant authorities had noticed that the benefits of multiculturalism are still unclear for native people and that immigrants are often seen as a threat instead of a public interest.

“Still I would hope that people would get the idea that these [immigrants] have something to give in the multicultural scheme. Now people think them just as labour force, like ‘he can do what a Finn can do’ That the value would be found that if we have these people with multicultural capacity, it will bring profit to our business as well.”

(Immigrant authority/3)

The administrative level also emphasised the meaning of civic participation in enhancing the integration process. (They said that work community members did not understand the benefits of multiculturalism. Neither did the immigrant authorities acknowledged its significance). The immigrant authorities did not recognise exclusive linking to be an integration obstacle even the immigrants saw it as one major barrier. To sum up, all eyes of native people (including the immigrant authorities and the work community members) were fixed on immigrants. They should do the initiative towards immigrant authorities, employers and other work community members. In reality immigrants have usually more cultural capacity than those of Finnish origin. They are also the ones who have paid the “price” of the multicultural benefits they will bring to the work communities in the future. Surprisingly, it seems that the motivation and activity of the immigrants are the main solutions to the integration process after all.

7.2 Intercultural Learning Among Participants

After reviewing the general problems connected to the integration process it is interesting to contemplate whether these obstacles can be won and how. Concerning the whole project, there would have been more meaningful learning results if all the project actors had been more involved in the project. Thus, the learning of the project team is emphasised. Meaningful learning results were obtained also during the work community training. In addition, all the partner groups acquired some learning on multiculturalism during the project.

Now, the interest is in how the different societal groups of the MORO! project learned to communicate in intercultural context, when the integration related learning was at the highest and how the groups became part of the multicultural social capital. The focus of this chapter is on the

intercultural learning even though not all the learning results of the MORO! project were related to it. The main learning of the project partakers will be represented first. Contrary to the MORO! team, the project partakers did not learn much about intercultural social capital because they did not belong to any multicultural community.

The learning of intercultural communication was strongest among the project team. It resulted in a common multicultural identity within the team. The learning process of the MORO! team will be described in more details in the next chapter. The project partakers around the project team stayed in periphery to the learning of the MORO! team. As the MORO! project was a complex entity and had many levels, the individual learning was mixed with the organisational learning. Overall, communal intercultural learning is challenging and it usually begins when one individual starts to communicate the multicultural message to other members of the community.

7.2.1 Immigrant Authorities Learned in Theory

It can be concluded that the immigrant authorities learned the least during the MORO! project. This was due to the small significance the project had for them. The MORO! project was just one among many other regional immigrant projects and integration measures. Anyhow, this case study points out the general way the immigrant authorities learn intercultural relations. The interviewed immigrant authorities felt they spoke the same language with the MORO! project team members. Still, the immigrant authorities had learned mostly from other authorities during their everyday activities. The lack of reciprocal learning strengthens the supposition that the immigrant authorities possess social capital mainly within their inner circle, where the ideas are exchanged.

During the MORO! project, the immigrant authorities learned what kind of multicultural training different work communities are able to receive. In addition, immigrant authorities noticed that the work community training is an important integration measure. They learned that they have to be sensitive towards the work communities so that employers would see the positive sides in employing immigrants. The work communities have to be ready to receive the multicultural training or immigrants into their community. Also, the material produced in the MORO! project was beneficial for the authorities.

All this shows that the immigrant authorities increased their knowledge on human capital training during the MORO! project. However, they did not learn more about communicating in the intercultural context at the personal level. Neither did they learn of the significance of social capital in the integration process. The immigrant authorities learned in theory that intercultural contacts would be essential within their work community but they were not able to put their learning into practice. The burden on their shoulders was observed but not removed and the immigrant authorities continued to interpret foreign cultures through the axioms of the Finnish culture. It seemed that the immigrant authorities were going through the same process than the work communities of the region. Both of them needed a promoter in multicultural issues.

“The key would of course be that they [immigrants] would be involved in the projects, if not as applicants, then at least as workers so that the projects would actually employ them. The next and the most important thing would be that they would be involved in this normal activity, in planning, administration, participating everything we do here (...) There is not a single [immigrant] in our immigrant unit at the moment. So they would really get into such places where they plan, administer and run the activities, not only us, but if we put it like this, us and them.”

(Immigrant authority/2)

7.2.2 Work Community Members Learned from Intercultural Contacts

The public sector work communities were more open for the immigrant recruitment than those of the private sector which proved to be the most challenging link in the employment of immigrants. The MORO! team searched for keys to reach the work communities with a multicultural message. The target group of work community training were employees of Finnish work communities and employers who recruit immigrant job applicants.

It was important for the interviewed work community members to have personal contacts with immigrants who could unlock their prejudices. For example, the work community members felt that in the work community training they had learned mostly from the experiences of immigrants. Even though the project approached companies with a business mentality, this ‘human touch’ element broke the ceiling. So, relational social capital was needed to tear down the structural social capital that prevailed in the work communities. The most significant learning among the work communities took place in the cognitive side of social capital as exclusive bonding social capital was changed into inclusive bonding or exclusive bridging social capital.

In addition, learning among the culturally cohesive work communities started through searching for the consensus on multicultural issues. The target of the MORO! team was to share new thoughts which would shape the attitudes and initiate a common process within a work community. For instance, one private-sector work community found the consensus on the fact that they are seeking a suitable person with a fine character over the cultural walls.

”I think employers have learned most from the MORO! –project (...) [The work community training] has been eye-opening and I feel we have come, as a work community, to the result that we are seeking a person with a fine character, it doesn’t matter whether she or he is black or white. We seek for the character attributes, he or she has to be a good guy. I believe this has opened our eyes a lot.”

(Work community member/3)

The work community members learned that gradual two-way adaptation, which demands that native-born people integrate into the multicultural work community as well, would be the best integration promoter. Anyhow, the work community members were still the passive party and hoped that immigrants would be the initiators. The employers wanted to observe an immigrant job applicant for a long time before they were ready to employ him. Immigrants were ought to acquire a proper education and to apply to the practical training section which would possibly lead to their employment. The lack of trust in immigrants was still seen in the interviewed work places, which is connected to the lack of multicultural social capital.

The public sector employees had usually had more experiences with immigrants as their work mates or clients. They felt the training was assuring the experiences they already had, and, on the other hand, deepening their understanding towards immigrants. For instance, they received new information on the different phases that immigrants go through while integrating into Finland. The project addressed that the experiences that people already had together with the training helped people learn. So, the social capital between immigrants and natives united to the human capital training gave good learning results.

“I personally think that when I first have contacts with immigrants and then receive the [MORO!] training, I have something to reflect on and it is easier to receive it [the training]. Both are needed, the experience with immigrants and the training.”

(Work community member/2)

Overall, the training was valuable but the work communities that would have needed it most usually refused to receive it. Reasons for this were usually the lack of time, interest or cultural competence so that the prevailing type of social capital within them stayed e.g. as exclusive bonding social

capital. On the other hand, it seemed that employers were gradually starting to understand the value of immigrants so that employing an immigrant was no more seen as an act of social work. This thinking was due to the MORO! project training in some companies but also to the general movement towards global labour markets. The carrot towards employers can for example be an immigrant who brings competitive advantage to the company in the international market, being an expert on his or her own culture and language.

The benefit angle has always been typical for private sector companies because they are directed most by the rules of the market. Immigrants would be wider employed in the private sector if the earlier presented structural holes in the integration process would not benefit the companies any more. Instead, the closure between immigrants and private sector companies would have more positive economic results for the companies when the profits of a multicultural work community would be discovered.

7.2.3 Immigrants Learned in Practice

For the immigrants who participated the project, the MORO! project was not advertised as a place for learning. Instead, all the interviewed immigrants were eager to share what they had learned during their integration and how they had acquired multicultural social capital. Groups of immigrants formed their mutual informal learning groups as peripheries to the MORO! project. Most interviewed immigrants said they had learned the finest lessons from other immigrants on how they had won the hardships and challenges that they had faced during the integration. Among immigrants, learning was usually connected to belonging to a certain community and to the knowledge shared in it. Outside the formal immigrant education and integration policy, immigrants seemed to learn most effectively among each other as they formed their own bonding social capital learning communities.

“Pals from different [Finnish language] courses come here, share what they have learned there, heard there, what they have understood. They tell each other, laugh together, correct each others mistakes, have fun, so what is taught there, is strengthened here (...) The so-called old veterans who have been here for a long time or who are experienced (...) share their experiences with newcomers.”

(Immigrant/4)

Another ideal way of helping immigrants in integration seemed to be learning the intercultural communication in practice. Workplaces, practical training and different free-time activity groups,

where bridging social capital prevail, were ideal places for this. This shows that informal learning communities play an increasingly important role as places of learning (Aittola, 2000, 68). Immigrants would need more of these informal places for learning to promote intercultural communication with the native population. Anyhow, the education which was not mentioned by immigrants is one important key for the integration related learning. In informal learning communities immigrants put into practice the things they have learned e.g. in language courses.

“First I went to a Finnish language course, then I took private classes, but they did not help so much, then during my education I went to a practical training to a kindergarten (...) There were nice people there who wanted to ask everything and I had to open my mouth. I was a little bit afraid, but I started to speak there. Then when I had already passed this kind of boundary, after it I started to speak also in other places (...) In practice you learn more.”

(Immigrant/2)

The third main thing all the interviewed immigrants had learned during their integration was that among the intercultural communities they had to be very motivated, to have a strong mindset and to have a clear future orientation. All this demand a lot of learning. Many immigrants had learned the persevering attitude already in the beginning of their integration when they had to manage many intellectual and emotional challenges and to recover from the possible hard experiences they had before their integration. Those immigrants to whom it had become an identity to be motivated, active and persevering in learning were usually integrated well into Finland. Immigrants also thought that learning to understand the Finnish culture with different cultural standards is a life-long learning process.

All learning of the immigrants refers to the inward integration, like social relationships, contentment, ethnic identity and future orientation (Pitkänen, 1999, 34). Obviously, the inward integration was seen as the premise for outward integration, like acquiring language skills and employment. The learning of inward integration stems from the increase of intercultural social capital. The learning experiences of immigrants show that the acquired social capital is a key for their overall integration.

7.3 The Evolution of Multicultural Social Capital

The intercultural learning of the project team was the most significant learning result of the whole project. The project team is a good example on how the intercultural social capital evolves in a

multicultural community. It takes more time for multicultural communities than culturally cohesive communities to weld together. It is debatable whether the whole MORO! project time went to this welding process. The team members had difficult conflicts in the beginning and it was challenging to work with different cultures. Later, different ideas were tested and they had provocative debates over issues. At some other moments team members laughed and had fun together.

The work among the project team was unpredictable because the team members had different backgrounds, temperaments and opinions, but they also made the project colourful. Everyone could bring his own opinion for the group and feedback was open and straight as well. The team assured that multicultural community inspires to work. There are fewer assumptions when working in a multicultural team, which is often a better premise for new working models and ideas than in culturally cohesive work communities. All members said they had learned best lessons during their team meetings, where they pondered things together. Some kept the meetings disorganised, another colourful and third as melting pots. Anyhow, all team members were involved in the process of learning intercultural social capital. During the project some project team members even moved from one multicultural social capital type to another one.

Some general observations on the evolution of multicultural social capital can be made when the social capital framework is applied to the integration process. First of all, a rough path towards multicultural outlooks is presented in Figure 8, which shows the main evolution of multicultural social capital. Anyhow, this is not to argue that becoming cosmopolitan is an ideal goal for everyone, but the path shows the measure of involvement in intercultural environments.

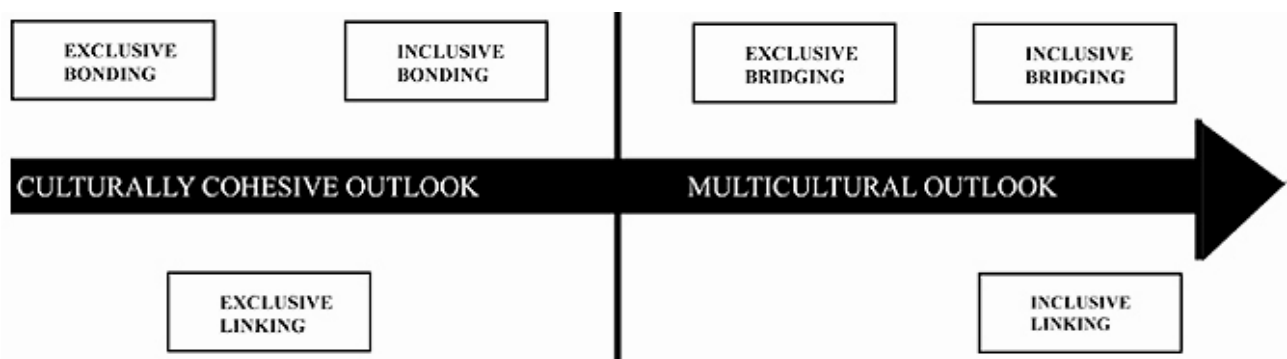


Figure 8. The path towards a multicultural outlook.

Individuals do not necessarily go through all the stages of their way towards a more multicultural outlook. For example, many individuals never live through a stage of exclusive bonding because they have always been open to intercultural contacts. In a similar way, some of the stages can be skipped or the progress may stop at some stage. In order to go forward in multicultural communities, native-born people and immigrants have to acknowledge their own culture and believe in its values.

What makes this path useful is that all individuals; immigrants, native-born people and those in the leading positions concerning immigrant issues can be placed at some point along this path. This enables the localisation and the progression of these people as well as the prediction of their future prospects. Equating the linking social capital with the bonding and bridging social capital also gives a picture of how built-in bonding and bridging social capital are for the linking social capital.

As referred to earlier, Lave & Wenger (2002, 57) see learning as a process of growing into a mature member of a community. Participation develops and renews the identities of individuals and helps them to act according to the social norms of a new community. The same happens, when approaching multicultural communities. Participation in these communities renews the identities and multicultural social capital value is generated. In this study the matter of interest is especially the latter part of the multicultural path, i.e. what actually happens after the fence in Figure 8. Now, the analysis of the evolution of multicultural social capital is illustrated with an example of learning within the MORO! project team.

7.3.1 The Development of Multicultural Identity

The learning inside the MORO! team will be examined by learning stages presented by Dechant & co (1993, 10-11) in which the learning is examined as a long-term process including four different development phases (Sarala & Sarala, 1998, 147). These phases were congruent with the stages of the MORO! team as the team fused together. The multicultural side of the path in Figure 8 is complemented with the observations of the multicultural development within the MORO! team. The four main learning stages of intercultural social capital are presented in Figure 9. The phases await all individuals who cross the border between bonding and bridging social capital. The depth of involvement in a certain multicultural community decides how deeply an individual will live through the stages.

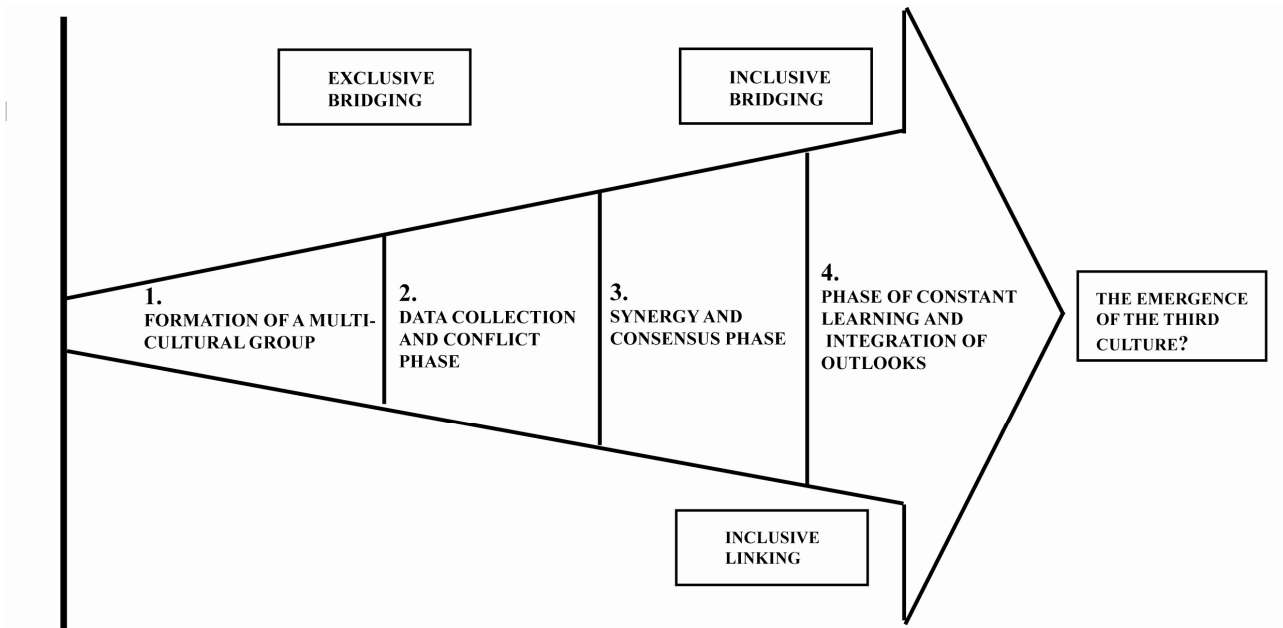


Figure 9. Four learning stages indicating the increase of multicultural social capital. Loosely adapted from Dechant & co. (1993, 10-11).

1. Formation of a Multicultural Group

In the beginning of the project a multicultural and multidisciplinary project team was gathered. This can be equated with the starting phase of Dechant & co. where people with different backgrounds and world views come together. In this phase, the team members learned only incidentally. (Sarala & Sarala, 1998, 147.) The first phase for the MORO! team was sudden as the team members were just put into a new group. The team members had different professional and ethnic backgrounds, which was purposeful when gathering a team.

In the beginning the most typical social capital type among the team was exclusive bridging and the learning of intercultural social capital was occasional. Oftentimes, when some team is gathered in a different kind of context, the first phase is longer, for it first demands crossing the boundary of Figure 8 between culturally cohesive and multicultural groups. All the MORO! team members had already crossed the border as individuals. Usually, the first phase is most crucial if the stages are seen as common steps towards multiculturalism.

2. Conflict Phase

After working a little while together the project team realised the differences in cultures, personalities and working models. Dechant & co. calls this phase a data collection stage in which the team members gather information of other team members and in a way test the atmosphere within the team (Sarala & Sarala, 1998, 147). In this phase only some team members worked creatively while most members were still checking the possibilities the team would offer.

As referred to earlier, each culture offers norms and codes as the models of correct behaviour. When people adapt to a new environment, individuals have to adapt to somewhat or very different cultural standards. (Pitkänen & Kouki, 1999, 35-36.) This kind of learning phase created conflicts also within the MORO! team.

”I must say that being 24 hours in a strange language environment and an unfamiliar cultural environment, it always demands more mental resources. All in all I am here in a foreign work community and I have my own adaptation phases and I have to pay attention to it. ”

(Project team member/2)

”In fact it took time and it always does, there are still certain things (...) not anymore so painful, but in the beginning there were quite difficult things, very difficult situations from which we were getting nowhere.”

(Project team member/3)

If the first phase is passed, many people may give up during the second phase because it again demands crossing of boundaries. If people go through the second phase, the type of social capital changes. After it people start to move in the area of inclusive bridging as can be seen in Figure 8. Also, people who are in a leading position move to the area of inclusive linking social capital. In wider context, the second phase will be one of the main reasons for the future conflicts of our society. Immigrants and the native population will be increasingly in contact with each other. Soon people cannot choose whether they want to be part of a multicultural community or not. They may be forced to enter the first stage which will undoubtedly lead to the second conflict phase. The trajectory of these kinds of communities can be very different compared to the positive intercultural evolution within the MORO! team.

3. Synergy Phase

The next phase of Dechant & co. (Sarala & Sarala, 1998, 147) is called a synergy phase, where the team seeks for a consensus and forms a common language. Among the MORO! project team this phase took place so that the team started to solve their conflicts and to find a mutual understanding to divergent opinions. All this demanded a lot of discussion from the team members. This proves that the characteristic for inclusive bridging and inclusive linking of social capital is a constant search for synergy and consensus.

”I learned from our discussions, co-operation and project work, different perspectives and knowledge and the tacit knowledge from those who have been in the institution for a long time.“

(Project team member /4)

The third phase took most time and effort. On the other hand, the co-operation which started to work after the difficulties was rewarding. The team meetings started to be intense and creative where new project ideas developed. In the synergy phase, the team started to take concepts to pieces and to contribute to each other ideas creating new concepts.

The mixture of different personalities and views brought about many ideas and learning within the community. The learning kind of attitude and creative spirit came out from an atmosphere where experiments and mistakes were permitted. This would not have happened without the difficult second phase where the team members collected data on the strengths and weaknesses of their work mates. The team members had close personal ties, because they had welded together through conflicts, which the team members called “fertile debates”. It told about the importance of the project for the individual team members and their personal commitment to the project.

“..Outsider may think we are arguing, but actually the team may be testing the viability of some theory (...) even though it demands a lot, it is a fruitful debate.”

(Project team member /3)

4. Phase of Constant Learning

Lastly, the team came into a stage where the team members benefited from the differences among the team. This happened at the end of the project. Again, Dechant & co. see this last phase as a stage of constant learning, where different outlooks become integrated and where differences

promote creativity among the team (Sarala & Sarala, 1998, 147). In the beginning, the MORO! project meetings were operated through a discussion around certain agendas. The fields of know-how were checked and the tasks distributed. Because this working model was too inflexible, the team adapted a new way of processing views in a multidisciplinary way.

“We noticed that if our team meetings go along a work list and discussion around it, they tend to become informative meetings. Then we started to really process, tear down concepts; what this concept means and so on. In so doing, we found a new working model (...) The most important has been the welding of the team together so that new ideas just pop up, when someone says something, another can comment on it and there will come new ideas and we create something new.”

(Project team member /3)

The team proved to be an ideal learning unit, with multidisciplinary, multicultural and processing elements. Gradually trust, which is one of the main qualities of social capital, increased among the community. At the end of the project the team members were ready to override their professional and cultural borders. For example, the team saw all fields as common fields of know-how, which increased knowledge and learning inside the project team. The fourth stage was also a real integration stage of different cultures.

One main learning event in the project took place when the team started to mould traditional working models into more flexible direction. The team learned that in a multicultural community working models that originate in a certain culture should not be fed. They had to find new ways of processing things together. As mentioned earlier, Earley and Mosakowski (2000) have argued that multicultural communities can form “the third culture” communities where the background cultures of different ethnic groups have been faded out, as a new common culture has been adopted and is communally maintained (Tjosvold & Leung, 2003, 6). It can be argued that in the end of the project a new “third culture” was developed within the MORO! team. The fourth phase indicates that when a multicultural team gets into the stage of constant learning, the learning within the team may go beyond the one multicultural path presented in Figure 9. The fourth phase can also be a start for a new culture.

7.3.2 Common Identity Among the Project Team

The project team had a common identity after going through together the four learning stages. The togetherness was strong within the project team. The team members had welded together to a point

where they understood even each other's mistakes as an added value for the project. The project team used utterances based on their common work. For example, some mistakes that they had overcome together turned into jokes. The humour affiliated to the concrete situations was strong inside the project team and could be seen as one of its prime movers.

“..Expressions we use are based on our common experience on the field and meaning for these expressions has come explicitly during the MORO! project and if there has happened some blunders (...) they have turned into jokes or some linguistic lapses have become inside jokes. I would say that within our group the situational humour is quite strong and deep. It is also a bearing force.”

(Project team member/3)

Interestingly, the team was united by common goals which is one of the basic principles of social capital. Learning experiences and relational social capital interested the team members more than sociological side of the integration process or their formal work duties. The things the core team had learned together bound them together also at the personal level. The team members saw the work as their social and ethic responsibility and a learning process in itself, where they tried to abolish the lack of closure between immigrants and native-born people.

The basis for learning inside a project team was a common language, which had been collectively moulded during the project. As mentioned, also conflicts and open dealing led to new and creative solutions in the team work. According to Senge (1990, 241), conversation or dialogue in a team is vital, for in the dialogue individuals analyse their thoughts and assumptions critically, but still express them freely. The result is unprejudiced and open examination of issues. (Sarala & Sarala 1998, 145.) In the MORO! project team this process brought efficiently forward the experiences and thoughts of every team member where the common process crossed individual work duties as well as cultural boundaries.

The tendency towards the usage of private sector services is growing all the time in Finnish local governments. The contradiction between the Nordic welfare system and business thinking has grown. The MORO! project worked in the between of the humane and business mentality when it aimed to increase the interaction between the public and the private sector. On one hand, the team communicated the norms of society to work communities and on the other hand they tried bring the benefits of the multicultural work community into light. The team was united by this kind of struggle and target which increased the social capital within the team. The whole project the team tried to find a solution to this problem. Still, the Nordic welfare system is internationally unique and the future of its labour markets is hard to forecast.

“..We have always this dilemma, conflict that we would find a golden way between the humane approach and the business mentality”.

(Project team member/2)

The team members were also interested to act in society, to use their education, ideas and cultural competence. For them, the MORO! project was an important place to express oneself and to develop reforms to society with inclusive linking social capital. Even though the meaningfulness for the core team members came from ideological pioneer thinking, the learning in their everyday work came also from their participation in the team and from producing something concrete together. Thus participation in a community, in which bridging social capital had gradually generated, was strongly connected to the team members' learning.

Multicultural social capital cannot be obtained without becoming part of an intercultural community. Neither can it be generated without staying in the community and going through the different phases of learning intercultural communication step by step. There is no highway from exclusive bonding to inclusive bridging social capital. It has to be experienced and learned within an intercultural community.

7.3.3 Changing Ethnic Identity

As mentioned earlier, the consequences of social capital connected to the integration of immigrants are easy to trace but their sources are not. Though, finding the sources would be especially vital for promoting the integration process. In this chapter the multicultural social capital is tried to trace to its sources within the limits of this study. To answer this question wider, more research would have been required than what was possible in this study and for example studies, which would have covered themes of ethnic identity and learning wider, would have been beneficial for opening up the question deeper.

After presenting a wide picture of social capital in the integration of immigrants, this study leads us back to the roots of integration; to the formation of ethnic identity and the changes that happen in it. As mentioned, according to Hofstede (1993, 339-340) successful intercultural encounters require that all parties believe in their own values. Thus, understanding and accepting one's own culture is the premise for acquiring more multicultural social capital. The basis for ethnic identity is the ethnic

identity deriving from one's background. This stable form of identity is usually culturally homogenous and is influenced by bonding social capital.

Another part of ethnic identity, which is affected by bridging social capital, changes during the years. Still, people do not necessarily have this side of ethnic identity, for in this case an individual has moved towards a multicultural outlook and crossed the border in Figure 8. On the other hand, the ethnic identity of some people is based more on a multicultural identity than one specific culture. These people might have been born and raised in multicultural environments. The picture concerning the formation of a multicultural outlook, presented in the beginning of this study, has been complemented with the observations of this study in Figure 10.

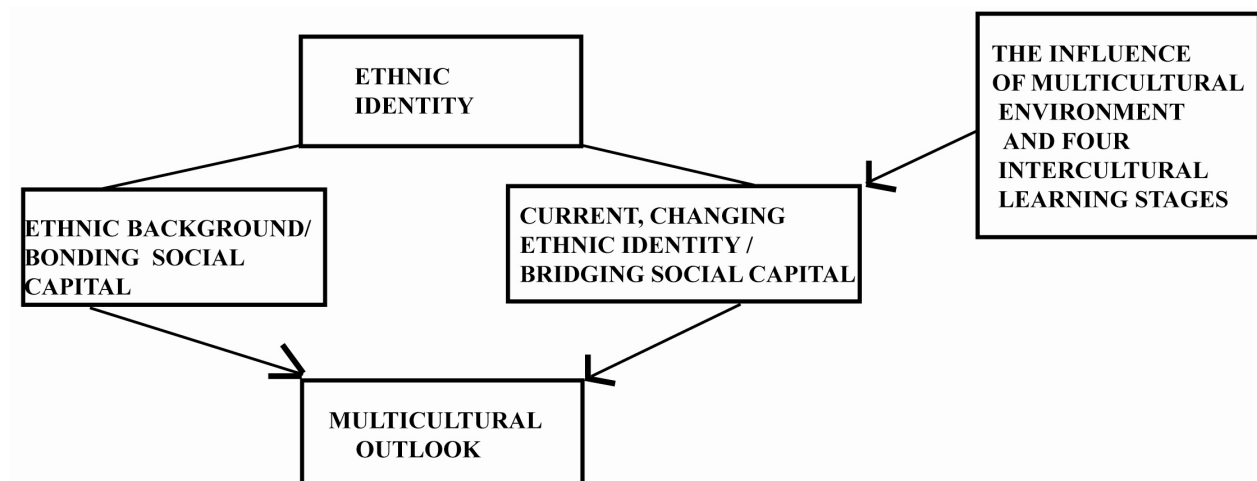


Figure 10. A sketch of the formation of a multicultural outlook.

Connected to the cognitive dimension of social capital, characteristic of a culturally cohesive ethnic identity is a shared scheme of things based on a similar background and context. Instead, multicultural social capital represents the part of ethnic identity, which is constantly changing. Individuals whose ethnic identity has been changing may find a stable stage at some point of their journey between the two sides of ethnic identity.

Both sides of ethnic identity have an influence on the multicultural outlook individuals have (on various intensities). For example, if an individual belongs to multicultural group the influence of the changing part of identity is stronger on the multicultural outlook than if this person stays mainly among the bonding group. Also, the eventual multicultural outlook depends on which of the four

multicultural stages the individual is going through. Individuals' different multicultural outlooks form a general picture of the multicultural environment of a specific community.

It is notable that identity is one basic quality of relational social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1988, 244). This strengthens the argument that relational social capital plays the most crucial role in the integration of immigrants. Connected to the integration of immigrants, it is relational social capital, which most affects the development of individual identities towards multiculturalism. Though, favourable conditions, which structural social capital can offer for the development of relational social capital, play a vital role in the development of multicultural social capital as well. The integration of immigrants is a vast learning process for the whole society. On a wider scale, the evolution of multicultural social capital happens in the interaction of cognitive, structural and relational social capital. Still, in practice, a key for the development of multicultural social capital are the individuals on the micro-level, who are able to share their cultural know-how, increase their cultural contacts by continuous learning and be flexible when changes gain ground.

8 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

8.1 New Prospects for the Integration Research

This study confirms that social capital is a useful method for outlining the relations between the integration parties, immigrants and native-born people. The concept offers a bridge between concepts of different theoretical backgrounds. Uniting integration studies and social capital research opens up new prospects for studying the integration of immigrants. With social capital concept the positive and negative consequences between immigrants and native-born people can also be examined. Because of its various consequences, it is possible to reason why social capital sometimes leads to social exclusion and other times to individual success. Also, an in-depth analysis enables the development of possible ideas for increasing the positive effects of social capital in the integration process.

This research was based on the assumption that the amount of social capital between immigrants and native-born people is low. Even though, in general, the amount of social capital in Finland is considerably high (Hjerppe, 2005, 124). This study ended up in disentangling the distinctive nature of culturally cohesive social capital from the multicultural social capital. Especially, the multicultural social capital, its nature and development were focused.

The hypothesis of this study was that social capital is a needed tool in facilitating the integration process. It can be reasoned that all physical, human and social capital are needed in the integration of immigrants, but social capital is the most longed-for form of capital. It was presumed as well that the role of social capital in the integration process is vital especially for the immigrants. The results indicate that both immigrants and native-born people need social capital as their resource so that the two-way adaptation would be promoted.

This study was to fill a gap that a lack of focus on social capital studies from the integration point of view had left on immigrant research. Based on this study, a conclusion can be drawn that the integration of immigrants is a wide societal process. The interrelated dimensions of social capital all play crucial roles in the integration of immigrants. Therefore, the particular studies discussed in this paper deal with the smaller fragments of the integration process, which are vital for forming a wider

picture of the subject. The social capital concept is applicable to integration studies when it is studied both on the micro- and macro- levels.

8.2 Intercultural Relations in Focus

Different social capital studies, which were included in this research, opened up new views on intercultural relations when they were applied to the analysis of the MORO! project. Considering the role of social capital in the integration of immigrants, the three dimensions of cognitive, structural and relational social capital offered a suitable outline for the study. The cognitive dimension can be seen as the most predominant dimension, which is always included in the structural and relational social capital. Anyhow, cognitive social capital is stronger among groups, which are culturally similar than among groups, which have multicultural social capital. This is because the worldview is more plural among heterogeneous groups.

Like the cognitive dimension, the structural dimension is more or less present in all types of social capital. The structural dimension works as a basis for relational social capital but at the same time it may restrict it. As presumed, relational social capital was found as one key for a more flexible integration of immigrants. It would have been easy to lean on the social capital studies, which lighted up the relational side of social capital. Still, structural social capital theories are much better for finding the reasons for the lack of relational social capital in the integration process. Relational social capital is the most challenging social capital dimension. Individuals are tied to their bonding social capital groups and have to make a leap for bridging groups.

This case study showed that networks between different ethnic groups can be wholly absent so that the integration groups have social capital only among their own background groups. Other times, social capital between these two groups is generated and multicultural social capital starts to develop. The existing intercultural networks can be loose or dense. The relationships between the MORO! project partakers also addressed the fact that the relationships between immigrants and native-born people are part of a societal process, where society and decision-makers affect on the creation of social capital as well.

Based on the results of this study, the main proposal for action touches the native population and local decision-makers. There is a need for the increase of informal interdependencies between all

the integration participants. The actions of the MORO! project were small starts for the interaction between the work communities and immigrants. The project had a positive influence on some work communities in Tampere city region. Anyhow, wider learning in the multicultural field is challenging, for it demands learning of the whole society.

Thus, immigrants should be included in all normal city action, planning and administration. A key would be an understanding the importance of multicultural mutual contacts and trust, i.e. the increase of social capital among immigrants and the original population. Around multicultural themes, all this development seems to happen slowly, step by step. The main finding of this study was that uncompelled social relations are most efficient in promoting social capital. Social capital is at its best, when it comes from the free will of individuals.

8.3 Towards a Multicultural Outlook

To be able to acquire a more complete picture of the role of social capital in the integration process, bonding, bridging and linking social capital were re-divided into exclusive and inclusive segments and altogether six types of social capital were found. A template of six different social capital types brought a new tool for analysing the integration of immigrants. The distinctions of social capital revealed something of the nature of social capital in the integration process; Half of the framed social capital types represented more traditional, culturally homogeneous social capital, while the other half signified multicultural social capital.

Now the nature of multicultural social capital was highlighted. If multicultural social capital is lacking in the community, the integration process may be prevented. On the other hand, the situation is not hopeless, for bonding social capital is the premise for bridging and multicultural social capital. One main result concerning the social capital types was how strongly bonding social capital affects on the integration process. Bonding social capital is the premise for bridging social capital and included in it. This is why social capital proved to be more complex in multicultural environments than among culturally homogeneous groups.

Like the cognitive dimension, bonding social capital is always 'there'. The knowledge of bonding social capital would be important especially for native-born people, who may not be very aware of

their ethnic identity and therefore feel immigrants to be a threat. In this paper, the native population was included in the study so that integration was seen as a two-way process. Besides bonding and bridging social capital, linking social capital, which includes the structures of society, was seen as a significant part of the integration process in Finland, where the public sector is a strong actor.

From the social capital types, a path towards multicultural communities can be formed. All people can be placed at some point along this path. At the beginning of this path, individuals possess the bonding type of social capital, which derives from their background. If moving towards multicultural environments, bridging social capital starts to take ground. This demands that the other side of ethnic identity, current, changing ethnic identity starts to develop. The case study pointed out four main learning stages for an individual who is part of a multicultural community. After becoming part of the intercultural group, conflicts arise. In an ideal situation, after a while, people start to seek for a consensus and finally, a phase of constant learning begins where people integrate their outlooks.

When moving towards multicultural environments, the multicultural outlook will consist of the ethnic identity that changes and the more stable background identity. Identity is one basic quality of relational capital. Even though identity can easily be connected to the cognitive social capital, social capital studies relate it particularly with the relational side of social capital. Besides social relations, ethnic identity is also a sign of inward integration. Thus, ethnic identity is dependent on the relations, which mould the identity. The hypothesis of this study was that multiculturally concentrated social capital evolves best in multicultural relationships and environments. This has proved true, for the change in ethnic identity is dependent on intercultural relations. In the integration of immigrants, both immigrants and natives are in a constant cognitive learning process, which requires relations between immigrants and native-born people.

8.4 For Further Study

This paper raises several suggestions for further studies. There are challenges when social capital concept is applied to the integration of immigrants for typical of social science, the cause and consequences of a social phenomenon remain unknown. It is easy to argue how social capital facilitates the integration process; it generates social networks, the norms of reciprocity and trust

between immigrants and native-born people, it promotes the general integration process, brings information benefits for individuals and enhances the employment opportunities of immigrants through wider social networks. Anyhow, the *sources* of social capital in the integration process remained unsolved. Though, there were some references that the sources have roots in ethnic identity. Possibly the added identity and learning theories connected to the social capital studies would reveal more of the source of social capital in the integration process.

Secondly, it would be interesting to study the existence of a so-called third culture inside a particular community. It would mean that the background cultures of different ethnic groups would be faded out as a new common third culture takes place in this multicultural community. In fact, the MORO! project participants were in contact with people from different ethnic groups voluntarily. There is also a need to study further the consequences of a multicultural group where people communicate involuntarily. In this kind of situation, the second conflict phase of the four multicultural learning stages in Figure 9 is the most crucial. It would be interesting to find out what kind of a third culture this kind of trajectory would generate and what would be the last two phases like.

In addition, one further study subject would be to find out what profit multicultural work experience brings to individuals. Recently, there has been suggestions that a multicultural work experience would be seen as an added value in the Finnish labour market. This kind of profit could be explored by an in depth study. The skills of individuals who work in a multicultural work community should be analysed as well as the profits that an employee with bridging social capital brings to his work community.

The main significance of the results of this study for the integration related social capital research has been offering a useful tool for analysing the research subject with a new framework as well as considering the role of the different social capital dimensions in the integration of immigrants. The argument by Woolcock, “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know“, holds true also in this study. Though immigrants and natives would know a lot about each other, oftentimes they do not *know* each other. This leads again to the roots of the integration process, in which the stress is on the outward integration process and creation of human capital among immigrants. Social capital brings with it the meaning of relational networks, for social structures without relationship are fruitless. Relationships are the most effective in moulding the cognitive side of social capital; shared systems of meaning which are so tightly rooted in people.

As previously mentioned, social capital can be a key for success, a tool for survival or even a reason for exclusion also in the integration process (Ruuskanen, 2003, 79). The bonding social capital among the original population is often a reason for the exclusion of immigrants. Instead, bonding social capital between immigrants is often a tool for their survival, as earlier studies have shown. A key to a successful integration process is seen in this study to be the existence of bridging social capital between immigrants and native-born people.

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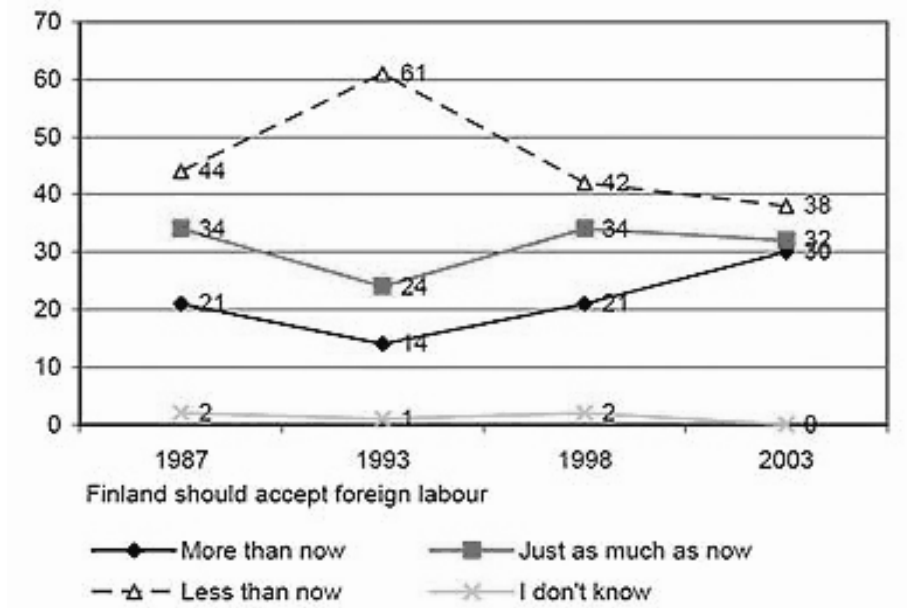
10 APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Origins of foreigners in Tampere city-region, 2005

	<i>City of Tampere</i>	<i>City-region</i>
Russia	1040	1176
Estonia	479	651
Iraq	347	437
Afghanistan	296	475
China	276	293
India	247	252
Sweden	220	307
Iran	161	179
Bosnia-Herzegovina	156	202
Germany	151	199
Great Britain	146	184
United States	139	177
Thailand	138	175
Turkey	123	142
Jugoslavia (republic)	107	129
Ukraine	107	111
Somalia	92	123
France	88	100
Rumania	87	95
Vietnam	78	104
Hungary	67	74
others	1372	1559
Total	5917	7144
Share of foreigners %	2,90 %	2,23 %

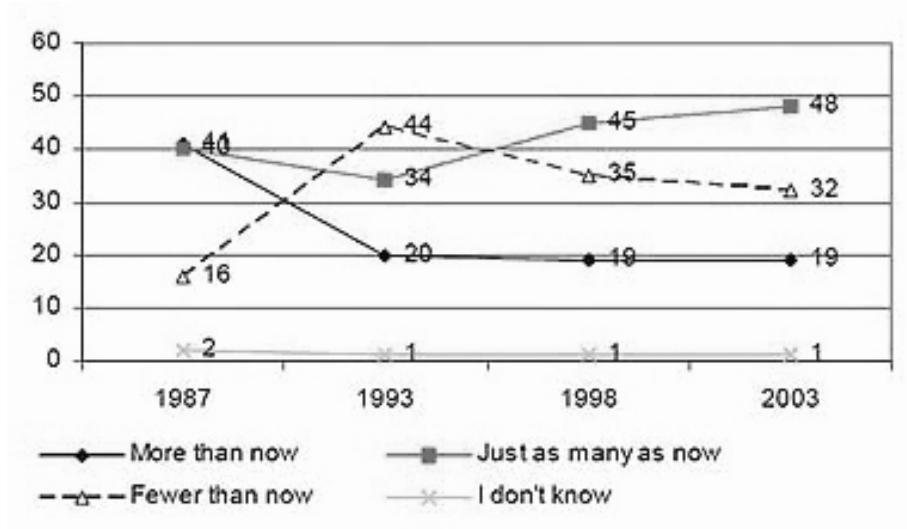
31.12.2005, Source: City Administrative Court of Tampere; The City of Tampere

Appendix 2. Attitudes of Finnish population towards foreign labour in 1987-2003 (%)



Source: Ministry of Labour (2005).

Appendix 3. Attitudes of Finns towards accepting refugees in 1987-2003 (%) (“Finns should accept many more/somewhat more refugees..”)



Source: Ministry of Labour (2005).

Appendix 4. Interview questionnaire

General Interview Aide Memoir

The basic description and contextualisation of the community

Please describe briefly the participants and the main function of the community

Please chronicle briefly the history and development path of the community

- How did the project emerge? Who were the key actors? Why did you/ your organisation become involved?

Please describe the basic structure and nature of the community

- Is the community open or closed?
- Do the members have different roles or functions within in the community?
- Do actors know each other (roles, competences, expertise and possibilities to contribute)?
- What kind of relationships are there among community members?
- Is there any obvious actors missing from the community? Why are they missing?
- Are there enough immigrants involved in the community?

Social exclusion

- Can immigrants who are involved in the project be seen as socially excluded? Why?
- How does the community prevent the social exclusion of immigrants? What are its development targets (unemployment, racism. etc.)?
- Has the community been able to prevent social exclusion?

Please describe briefly the operational environment / context of the community

Please describe the future of the community

- (What kind of factors will affect the activities and development of the community in the future?)

The resources of the community

Please describe the resources (time, intellectual, economic) that your organisation, yourself and other participants invest in the community

The activities and practises in the community

Please describe the objectives and purpose of the community

- Who has set these objectives and how have they been set? Do all members agree on them?

Please describe the concrete activities of the community

- Are there any particular practises which are different from the activities of other communities of the same kind?

Please describe the internal communication of the community

- How often do the participants of the community meet each other and why? How have these meetings been organised or are they of *ad hoc* nature? Do all the participants of the community attend these meetings?

Please describe the external communication of the community

- How does the community communicate with external audiences? Has the communication clear target groups? Why have especially these groups been chosen?

Meaning and identity

Please describe the meaning of the belonging to the community for your organisation and/or yourself

Please describe and evaluate the togetherness, culture and identity within the community

- Is the basic nature of the community inter-organisational or inter-personal?
- What kind of factors do bind the participating organisations or individuals of the community together?
- Do the participants of the community share a “common language”? In other words, has there been any problems within the community to understand the aims or suggestions of other participants, for example?
- Has the community any shared “heroic stories”, inside jokes, expression etc. that are understandable only for the members of the community? How these narratives etc. have evolved?

Learning and knowledge

Please describe and evaluate the development of the whole community from the learning perspective

- How have the structures, activities, processes etc. changed during the history of community? Can these changes be considered as learning activities?

Please describe and evaluate the community as a forum for organisational learning (from your organisation’s point of view) and as a forum for your personal learning

- What kind of situations have provided possibilities for the most effective individual learning? Why?
- How is the collaboration and knowledge sharing within the community linked to the individual learning? What kind of activities and practises have been the most important in this sense?
- Who have learned the most? Why exactly those people? What have they learned?

Leadership and governance

Please describe the leadership and governance within the community

- Has the community some key persons / leaders?
- Which are the means or the tools of governance, management and leadership?
- Have there been any (major) conflicts within the community? To what kind of issues have these conflicts been related? How have they been dealt with?
- Have the governance and leadership of the community been adequate and successful? Why?

Summary: The success of the community

Please evaluate the success of the community from your own point of view

- Is there a common, formal agreement on the success criteria of the community? Is there a common conception of these criteria?
- To what extent has the community met its official (and unofficial) objectives?
- What have been learned to achieve these objectives? What has to be learned yet?
- How would you describe the value of being involved in the community personally? Which are the benefits and disadvantages?

Appendix 5. Interviews

21.5.2004	Tero Mikkola / The project coordinator of MORO! in Tampere Vocational Adult Education Centre (TAKK)
25.5.2004	Rafael Hasek / MORO! project team member
27.5.2004	Mari Kaunisto / Participant of the work community training of MORO! and personnel manager of a cleaning branch company unit ISS
1.6.2004	Osmo Moilanen / Education coordinator of TAKK
1.6.2004	Mustafa Kara / Culture intermediate course participant
4.6.2004	Marja Nyrhinen / The immigrant coordinator in the city of Tampere
8.6.2004	Maria-Liisa Korolainen / MORO! project team member
14.6.2004	Svetlana Vuorinen / Culture intermediate course participant
14.6.2004	Rostam Nejad Arya / Culture intermediate course participant
15.6.2004	Julia Jelagina / Former MORO! project team member
17.6.2004	Marja Huttunen / The immigrant unit manager in The Employment and Economic Development Centre
5.8.2004	Salla Jääskeläinen / Culture intermediate course participant
6.8.2004	Elina Koivisto / Participant of the MORO! work community training in Alhoniitty kindergarten
6.8.2004	Tiina Helenius / Participant of the MORO! work community training in Alhoniitty kindergarten