



Tuomas Martikainen & Lalita Gola

WOMEN FROM THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT IN FINLAND:

Patterns of Integration, Family Life, Employment and
Transnationalism among Marriage Migrants

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Foreword

Finland is a growing destination for immigrants – a mere ten years ago, our net migration consisted of approximately 3,500 people. Now, the number has tripled. As immigration swells, the immigrants themselves come from increasingly distant places. This is connected to such things as refugee background, impact of globalisation (which has made travel cheaper and faster), and to Finland’s mounting employment shortfall.

In the wake of the phenomenon that is Nokia, thousands of highly educated immigrants and their families now make their home in Finland. This study concentrates on the integration and labour market participation of Indian and Nepalese women living in the country. In 2006, there were a total of 564 new arrivals from these two countries, 177 of them women. This is a significant immigration volume, and it continues to grow.

In this light, it is critical that we know how women outside of our own cultural sphere are integrating and managing to operate in-between two different cultures. There is a common concern in Finland, reflected even in the current Government Programme, about the necessity of improving the country’s employment rate, and conversely, decreasing unemployment. The immigration population forms an important challenge against this backdrop.

The study’s practical implementation was by Lalita Gola, M.A. and Tuomas Martikainen, Ph.D. The project originated in Lalita Gola’s personal background, as she herself is Indian, highly educated and a mother. Her work, however, was happily interrupted by a “family event”: Lalita gave birth to her second child following the completion of the gathering of the study data. The subsequent analysis and final wrap-up were handled by Tuomas Martikainen, a researcher in the MONIKKO Project. I would like to thank them both for the study’s excellent outcome and for their successful collaboration.

The manuscript was reviewed by researchers Minna Säävälä, Ph.D., and Marja Tiilikainen, Ph.D., from the Population Research Institute of the Family Federation of Finland (Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos) and by Mika Raunio, Lic.Sc., from the University of Tampere’s Institute for Social Research.

The manuscript was edited by translator Maija Mäkinen, in New York, and grammar and style verified by Stina Fågel, Assistant at the Population Research Institute; the interviews were translated by Lalita Gola and Sharon Ben-Dor, M.Soc.Sc. The layout is by Publications Secretary Mika Takoja from the Family Federation.

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I would like to thank all of the above for their important input and excellent cooperation. I would also like to extend thanks to all of the interviewees: their participation in this study represents an important contribution in that it will help researchers and other professionals who work with immigrants to gain a better understanding of the particular issues that affect this group of immigrants. The central message of this book is that immigrants and their families represent a resource for Finland – “immigrants issues are our issues”.

The study was conducted as a sub-project of the European Social Fund’s MONIKKO Project, coordinated by Research Professor Kaisa Kauppinen at the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health (FIOH). Under her leadership, MONIKKO has generated outstanding results that will benefit both immigrants themselves and who works with them.

Helsinki 24.8.2007

Ismo Söderling

Director,

Population Research Institute

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1 Introduction

Migration from the Indian subcontinent is a relatively new and, hitherto, minor phenomenon in Finland. Nevertheless, Indian migrants have been the target of some attention, as many Information and Communication Technology (ICT) enterprises have recruited engineers and programmers from India during the last decade. Also, Finns in the country's larger cities have recognised an increase in the number of ethnic shops and restaurants that are run by people from the Indian subcontinent. Names referring to distant places and new flavours, such as *Bombay Express*, *Curry Palace* and *Nanda Devi*, are becoming more and more common. However, what have gained much less attention are the dependants of these often male migrants. Professional migration is also about the migration of partners, children and relatives (Forsander et al., 2004: 154-155). The phenomenon has also been referred to as *tied migration* (Parvati, 2004). Other important issues include the creation of ethno-cultural organisations, transnational ties, flows of remittances and new challenges to local institutions and practices (Castles & Miller, 2003).

Immigrants from the Indian subcontinent began to arrive gradually during the last decades, and their number has grown steadily since the 1990s. In 2006, there were altogether 4,764 people born in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka living in Finland, and they constituted 3% of all foreign-born and 15% of all Asian-born residents. This group has an imbalanced gender structure, as 64% of them were male in 2006. Thus, in absolute numbers, we are talking about a rather small group of immigrants. However, what is of broader importance regarding these nationalities is that the majority of them arrived in Finland because of work, study or marriage. They include very few refugees or asylum seekers, and even then mostly of Sri Lankan origin (Statistics Finland, 2007a; DOI, 2006). In this sense, these people in many ways represent the particular form of migration that is expected to grow significantly in the near future (MOL, 2006a; VN, 2004). Therefore, the results of this study have broader significance, as they may reveal some of the developments and current situation that non-refugee populations face in Finland. Even internationally, "There are few studies that explore international tied migration amongst the skilled" (Parvati, 2004: 308).

Research on international migration, ethnicity and integration has become a well-established field of study in Finland since the late 1990s. Many studies have been published in recent years, but people from the Indian subcontinent have gained only limited attention (ETNO, 1999; 2004). A rare exception is Akhlaq Ahmad's (2005) doctoral dissertation on Pakistani men in the Finnish labour market. Also research that has focused on the combination of gender, family and work is a relatively new area of focus (cf. Martikainen & Tiilikainen, 2007). This study is the first publication dedicated exclusively to issues connected to Indian and Nepalese migrants in Finland.

1.1 The Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study is to present a holistic picture of the lives of women and families from India and Nepal in Finland. The study concentrates on issues connected to the process of migration, family, ethnic community, societal participation, employment and future life prospects in the new country. A central focus is on labour market integration, including the associated experiences and expectations. In addition, the study identifies good practices as well as problems with regard to the activities of Finnish authorities in migration and integration affairs. Furthermore, as this is the first broader presentation of people from India and Nepal in Finland, it also sets the field for further research and tries to identify possible themes for later study, while providing elementary information upon which subsequent research can stand. A more detailed formulation of the research questions can be found in Chapter 2.

The primary materials of the study consist of statistical information provided by Statistics Finland as well as qualitative interviews with fourteen Indian and two Nepalese women living in Finland. In addition, interviews with four representatives of cultural, ethnic and religious organisations working with this population are included. All of the interviews were conducted by Lalita Gola, M.Sc., in the Helsinki region between January and August in 2006. The interviews were conducted in Hindi and English. The statistical information was obtained from Statistics Finland in August 2006 and covers information from 1990 to 2005. The material and methods used in the study are explained in more detail in Chapter 3.

The theoretical background of the study is the social scientific study of international migration, ethnicity and immigrant integration. The specific focus is on professional and family migration. Theoretical literature is contextualised with the help of national studies, reports and statistics on ethnicity, immigration and integration in Finland. Fortunately, there already exists a growing body of literature on which to draw. A more detailed formulation of the theoretical background and its relation to the research questions is found in Chapter 2. Relevant national literature on the topic will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

The study is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the central concepts, theoretical background and more detailed research questions. The material and methods are illuminated in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides a detailed presentation of people from the Indian subcontinent living in Finland. Chapter 5 presents the study participants and discusses the lives and experiences of Indian and Nepalese women in the country, and thus forms the empirical part of the study. Chapter 6 summarises the results of the study and discusses the implications of the findings to Finnish migration and integration research and practices. The original research questionnaires can be found in the appendices.

The report has been written by Tuomas Martikainen. Lalita Gola has contributed to the sections on material and methods. The gathering, transcription and translation of the interview data is by Lalita Gola and Sharon Ben-Dor (one transcript and two translations). Prior to publication, the study was reviewed by Docent Ismo Söderling, Dr. Minna Säävälä, Dr. Marja Tiilikainen and Mika Raunio, Lic.Sc. The authors would like to warmly thank the reviewers for their valuable insights that helped to improve the manuscript. Last but not least, the authors would like to express their gratitude to all those interviewed, as without their consent and interest the study would not have been possible.

1.2 The MONIKKO Project

This study is one of results of the MONIKKO Project – *Gender Equality and Diversity in Work Organizations* – running from 2005 to 2007 and financed by the EQUAL Community Initiative of the European Social Fund (ESF). The project emphasises the importance of gender equality, while taking into consideration the wider perspective of diversity. It examines differences and similarities between the two sexes, regarding such elements as age, ethnicity and family situation. The head of the project is Professor Kaisa Kauppinen from the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health. MONIKKO is directed by the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health and it consists of five subprojects (MONIKKO, 2006).

This study was carried out as a MONIKKO subproject entitled *Equality and Multiculturalism in the Workplace* and was carried out at the Population Research Institute of the Family Federation of Finland (*Väestöliiton Väestöntutkimuslaitos*). The *Equality at Work from a Multicultural Point of View Project* is directed by Docent Ismo Söderling, the Director of the Population Research Institute. Dr. Tuomas Martikainen worked on the project as a full-time researcher from August 2005 to March 2007 and was assisted by project secretary Stina Fågel, university trainee Milla Ruhanen (September – December 2005) and Lalita Gola, M.Sc. (November 2005 – November 2006). Dr. Marja Tiilikainen will continue as the project's main researcher until the end of 2007.

Five separate studies will be conducted in the context of the subproject. They are (1) a survey of Finnish immigration-related projects and their good practices (Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006), (2) a Delphi study of Finnish experts' views on the development of diversity in Finnish working life until the year 2020 (Moisio & Martikainen, 2006), (3) a collected volume on immigrant women in Finland (Martikainen & Tiilikainen, 2007), (4) the present study and (5) a case study of the professional advancement of immigrant women in Finnish working life (to be published in 2007/8 by Marja Tiilikainen). All studies will be published by the Population Research Institute.

The ultimate aim of the *Equality and Multiculturalism in the Workplace Project* is to enhance the opportunities of immigrant women in entering and succeeding in working life in Finland. The project is research based and, in that context, aims to identify central areas for the further development of integration policy and best practices at workplaces. The current study benefits from already existing results from the project. The survey of immigrant projects and their best practices have revealed a lack of concern regarding work and marriage migration, which will be further scrutinised in this study. It also showed that most projects thus far have been directed at people with a refugee and asylum seeker background (Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006). The needs of these people differ, however, to some extent from those who have entered the country for other reasons, including marriage (e.g. Forsander et al., 2004: 154-155).

The Delphi study revealed a general lack of planning regarding the consequences of the expected rise in work-based migration. While most of the interviewed experts looked forward to a more diversified workforce, little thought had been given to the possible increase in dependant migrants (Moisio & Martikainen, 2006). However, the matter is of major importance, because Finnish society is structured around the idea of two breadwinners, and people with small incomes can experience severe financial difficulties. The two-breadwinner model is seen by some researchers as a possible hindrance to long-term residence, which would undermine the objective of promoting work-based migration. This study has taken such observations into consideration and looks at how dependants experience their economic situation and their life situation in general.

2 Women, migration and integration

In Europe, the study of women and migration has become a recognised field of research since the 1970s, but even today much of migration research is gender blind. The main critique emphasised by feminist scholars is that if gender is left out as an element of analysis, then the results do not optimally represent the experiences of either men or women (Kofman et al., 2000; Donato et al., 2006: 1-10; King, 2004: 33–35). The following presentation of the study's theoretical background aims to create a gender-sensitive platform for understanding the lives and experiences of Indian and Nepalese women in Finland.

The main sources for the discussion are three works on gender and migration: *Gender, Age and Generations* (King et al., 2004), *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics* (Kofman et al., 2000) and a special issue on gender of the *International Migration Review* (IMR, 2006). In addition, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Castles & Miller, 2003) provides a broader platform on the study of international migration. This chapter begins by defining the central concepts related to immigration and gender, continues with a presentation of the general theoretical background and ends with detailed research questions and hypotheses.

2.1 Central Concepts

The study incorporates several central concepts that need some clarification, as they can be and often are conceptualised differently in various contexts, disciplines and societies. The following illuminates what in this study is referred to through concepts related to immigrant populations and gender.

Regarding immigrant populations, the following definitions will apply in this study. *Immigrant* is a person who is born in another country than that of his or her current residence where the person is currently residing on a long-term basis. The person can also be referred to as a *first-generation immigrant*, meaning that he or she has personally migrated. The *generation one and a half* or *generation in-between* (1.5) refers to people who migrated when under the age of fifteen. The *second generation* refers to the offspring of first-generation immigrants, who are born and brought up in the new country of settlement. *People of immigrant origin* refer both to the first and subsequent immigrant generations (King et al., 2004: 54).

In addition, some concepts originating in the Finnish statistical system will be used. People *born abroad* refer to persons who were born in a country other than Finland. People with *foreign citizenship* refer to persons who hold the citizenship of a country other than Finland. *Foreign language speakers* refer to people, whose

registered mother tongue is not Finnish, Swedish or Sami, which are considered native languages. In Finland, the vast majority of foreign language speakers are also first- and second-generation immigrants. The Finnish statistical system views as immigrants those who have resided in the country for a period longer than one year (Statistics Finland, 2006b).

Gender-sensitive discussions of men and women¹ commonly make a distinction between *sex* and *gender*. On the one hand, sex refers to the biological aspect of humans, usually related to sexuality and sexual reproduction and to certain psychological differences. On the other hand, gender refers to the socially constructed and maintained understanding of the specific roles and ‘natures’ of men and women. A typical feature of gender is that it is often naturalised and essentialised, so that the behaviour and roles of men and women are seen as permanent and not apt to change (UN, 2005: 14). A recently popularised, originally feminist, concept that is useful in ethnic studies is *intersectionality*. Intersectionality refers to the joint effect of different attributes and qualities of people – including, e.g., sexuality, gender, ethnicity and ‘race’ – that either simultaneously or separately affect a person’s life (Brah & Phoenix, 2004).

2.2 The Migration Process

The migration process can be divided into the time before migration, migration itself and to settling in a new society (see Section 2.3 on settlement and integration), all of which have gender-specific features and are affected by several, interacting macro-, meso- and micro-structures. The decision to migrate can be made individually, but it is also common that family and other important persons are involved in the decision. Joint planning can influence, for instance, who in the family is going to migrate, where existing views on gender roles can play a significant role. Differences regarding the reason to migrate are also salient, and they include professional migration, search for employment, marriage, forced migration and education (Kofman et al., 2000: 21-22).

According to migration systems theory, “migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties” (Castles & Miller, 2003: 26). As few such links have existed between Finland and the Indian subcontinent, the motivation of people from that region to migrate to Finland remains an open question. Recently opened trade connections between Finland and India form an exception, as does the recruitment of Indian programmers and

¹ We will not here discuss issues related to queer studies, as they are not directly relevant in the context of this study. For a discussion of queer studies in international migration, see Manalansan (2006).

engineers by certain Finnish companies, especially the ICT company Nokia, with its headquarters in the Helsinki capital region. However, whatever the initial links were, after migration has started it can lead to further (chain) migration based on social networks and family reunification. In addition, a number of children from Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka have been adopted to Finland since the 1970s, but their role in the creation of transnational networks and relations is probably fairly marginal (Parviainen, 2003: 34-38).

The *feminisation of migration* is one of the current mega-trends of international migration (Castles & Miller, 2003: 9). Women formed about half of the world's 191 million² migrants in 2005 (UNFPA, 2006). Whereas women have always migrated, what appears to be novel is that more and more women migrate independently, and their presence has become more visible through professional migration (Kofman et al., 2000: 1-3). The feminisation of migration is in contrast to the still prevailing image of post-war European migrations, which were perceived as male dominated, with women entering the picture only later through family reunification. A further complication is that "There is increasing evidence that more and more migrants are transient" (Kofman et al., 2000: 11), so that they may have lived in several countries before their current place of residence. These transient migrants are sometimes called *transmigrants*. However, based on a preliminary look at Finnish immigration patterns from the Indian subcontinent, it appears that these migration flows conform more to the old view than to the feminisation image (see Section 4.2). Hence, we may presuppose that the motivations of Indian and Nepalese women to migrate to Finland are related to earlier male migrations, but this remains an empirical question.

2.3 Settlement and Integration

The settlement and integration processes of immigrants are both long-lasting and complex phenomena.³ Both migrants themselves as well as the receiving society are active agents in the process. The receiving society and state provide the general matrix in which integration takes place. For instance, the legal status of migrants affects their opportunities and barriers, integration programmes facilitate their settlement, public attitudes influence immigrants' welfare and the local gendered division of labour their opportunities for finding work. Immigrants, for their part, may have to adapt to local linguistic, educational, cultural, economic and

² There are different estimates regarding the number of people permanently residing outside their country of birth; for more information, see Castles & Miller (2003: 4).

³ These processes are conceptualised somewhat differently in various academic disciplines, including sociology and social psychology. Even the processes have been called different names, including social incorporation, integration, acculturation and assimilation; see Berry et al. (2002); Castles & Miller (2003), Kivisto (2002) and Kofman et al. (2000).

other circumstances, while their human and social capital may be more or less compatible with local expectations and norms. The original reasons, expectations and motives for migration are essential in the early stage of settlement (Berry et al., 2002: 349-370; Castles & Miller, 2003: 30-32).

In light of the aims of the present study, state policies on immigrant integration deserve a closer look. The legal status of an immigrant defines what he or she is eligible for in terms of services, rights and obligations. Family dependants often face greater restrictions than work migrants in what they are allowed to do. Also, for instance, the kinds of employment, education and health-care services that are available can depend on residence status. Many researchers have noted that national migration regulatory systems have – often unintentionally – inbuilt, gendered structures that *de facto* disadvantage certain segments of migrant populations on the basis of their country of origin and reason of migration. This issue has received limited attention in Finland (cf. Forsander et al., 2004; Martikainen & Tiilikainen, 2007), and thus we aim to look at the issue empirically in this study. Finnish migration and integration policies are explained in more detail in Section 4.3.

Individual differences between migrants are also important. The concept of *human capital* provides one way to approach this. Human capital consists of such elements as education, professional experience and language skills. As a result of migration, *human capital mismatch* can occur, so that previous skills are no longer valid in the new context. It has been argued that first-generation migrants usually remain in a worse position in relation to the majority population because of difficulties in moving human capital from one place to another. Highly educated labour has better opportunities for transferring their human capital, even though it is in fact often more complicated to transfer. While human capital cannot explain all aspects of economic integration, its transfer is still a central concern for many migrants (Forsander, 2002: 52-56). We may thus preliminarily assume that Indian and Nepalese migrants with more human capital will experience better labour market integration in Finland.

2.4 Family, Ethnicity, Language and Religion

Family and gender relations as well as social networks in general often go through major transformations as a result of migration. In particular, if there are significant cultural differences between the country of origin and the receiving society, the changes and tensions related to them can be severe (Donato et al., 2006: 4-6). The views on family, gender roles and generational obligations can be expected to be fairly different between Finland and India. Finland is often described as a more individualistic, nuclear-family oriented and gender-equal country in contrast to the prevailing images of Indian society. Whereas such general views crudely simplify “real life”, we can at least assume that they have the potential to rise to

the front in shaping migrant identities and experiences. It remains, therefore, an empirical question in the Finnish context.

An ethnic community can become an important substitute for previous social networks. Among others, Martin Baumann (2004), Steven Vertovec (2000) and Castles & Miller (2003) have discussed phase models of settlement. A common feature in these models is a gradual integration to local society, where important changes take place at generational transitions. The first generation may create an ethnic infrastructure as a cultural and ethnic support network that subsequently becomes transformed to the needs of their children. The role of these networks, associations and the like is to provide spaces for the use of vernacular, important life rituals (e.g., marriage, cultural and religious festivals) and socialising for various ends, including the search for partners, employment and psychological support (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). We may thus presuppose that also Indian and Nepalese migrants in Finland have been involved in both the creation of as well as participated in the activities of ethnic communities to improve their social networks and wellbeing.

The use of vernacular is of major importance for many migrants and ethnic communities. As the Indian subcontinent accommodates over one thousand dialects and languages, it is only natural that Hindi and English – both with the status of *lingua franca* in India – are used in such contexts. Regarding migrant settlement, the extent to which one is both in contact with the majority language and able to comprehend it are often seen as important indicators of acculturation. Related to that is the language spoken at home. Contemporary research emphasises the importance of parents speaking in their own mother tongue to their children as an elementary tool in a child's successful cognitive-linguistic development (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2006). As the ICT migrants in Finland, especially, work in a milieu that supports the English language, we may presume that they have fewer Finnish skills than people who have migrated for other reasons. However, as little prior knowledge exists on the matter, linguistic acculturation remains an empirical question.

Religion is one of the longest-lasting aspects of cultural heritage in the context of international migration. Whereas language, dress and many other cultural features often disappear by the third generation, religion more often than not persists. It is, however, not a question of mere cultural conservation, but also a dynamic process, in which adaptation takes place on many levels (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). Women tend to be viewed both as carriers of tradition and assigned a more central role in the domestic practice of religion. As all but one of the interviewed women in this study were Hindu, the study of Hindu diasporas provides a relevant corpus of study (e.g., Baumann et al., 2003a; Jacobsen & Kumar, 2004; Vertovec, 2000). The remaining woman was Sikh (e.g., Singh & Tatla, 2006).

In comparison to Islam, which has gained the greatest attention as an immigrant religion in Europe, we can say that the practice of Hinduism is more concentrated in domestic settings and that the collective, associational and congregational practice of religion is not as central. The role of temples is important, and when they exist, people visit them, but the religious infrastructure emerges later compared with Muslim and Christian migrants (Martikainen, 2006a). It is also a common observation that Hindu migrants use the temples of western converts to Hinduism, for instance those of the Hare Krishna Movement, in cases where the diaspora communities have not founded their own (Baumann et al. 2003b: 17). Based on this brief discussion, we can expect that as a result of their small number, the Hindus in Finland also practice their religion mainly at home and take part in the activities of the only existing Hindu temple of the Hare Krishna Movement (International Society for Krishna Consciousness, ISKCON) in Helsinki.

2.5 Labour Market Integration

In the aging, western welfare states, labour migration is now entering the agenda on a grand scale following a quieter period in the 1980s and 1990s, when popular debates were dominated by refugee and asylum seeker issues. The primary areas of academic study have been work, entrepreneurship and economic integration (Baganha et al., 2006; Bommès & Kolb 2006). In Finland as well as in other Nordic countries, labour market integration is central, because the societies are fundamentally based on a two-breadwinner model, and there are also normative expectations that both partners in a family work. It has also been widely recognised that even though work is by no means the only key value for people, it is often connected to psychological and material wellbeing in the integration process (Forsander, 2002, 2003).

Migrants' economic integration as well as their migratory flows occur within segmented labour markets. Baganha et al. (2006: 24) note that “[T]here are currently two kinds of migratory movements. At the one end, there is a growing number of highly skilled migrants that the receiving countries are eager to attract in order to complement or expand their high-skilled labour force. [...] At the other extreme, we have migrants that regardless of their qualifications can only find jobs in the least qualified occupations.” This is related to the labour demands of segmented labour markets (dual economy) in advanced industrial economies that are “characterised by a capital-intensive primary segment and a labour-intensive secondary segment” (Bommès & Kolb, 2006: 108). Furthermore, “labour in the primary sector is regarded as human capital and is similar to capital seen as a factor of production and investment. Labour in the secondary segment is mainly low skilled and treated as substitutable” (Bommès & Kolb, 2006: 108). Ethnically segmented labour markets may mean that within the context of an immigrant family, the partners end up in different segments of the economy.

Social networks are important for learning about employment possibilities also in Finland (Forsander, 2002: 58). It should be noted, though, that these networks are often gendered. For instance, Akhlaq Ahmad’s (2005) study on Pakistani men in Finland did not report any women as members of their ethnic employment networks. Also, Tiilikainen (2003) has observed regarding Somali women in Finland that they live in highly gender-specific networks within the Somali community. An important feature of social networks is their reach and whether they transgress ethnic and other social boundaries, as that has an impact on, for example, what linguistic skills people develop (cf. Jaakkola & Reuter, 2007).

Table 2.1. A summary of factors that affect immigrants’ position in the labour market (Forsander, 2002: 86).

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS	INTERMEDIATE FACTORS	STRUCTURAL FACTORS
<p>Economic capital Wealth</p> <p>Human capital Education, linguistic skills, work experience</p> <p>Cultural capital “Correct attitudes”, command of social and cultural resources</p> <p>Ethnic resources Skills related to ethnic background</p>	<p>Social capital Communication networks and trust</p>	<p>Institutional level Structures and functioning of the labour market, relationship between work and livelihood</p> <p>Attitudinal level Ethnic relations and attitudes related to them</p> <p>Normative level Migration and integration policy, legal status of immigrants</p>

Table 2.1 summarises the central factors that affect immigrants’ position and opportunities in the labour market. *Individual factors* can be divided into economic (wealth), human (education), cultural (attitudes) and ethnic capital. *Structural factors* function at the institutional (the structure of the labour market), attitudinal (ethnic hierarchy) and normative (policy) level. Intermediate factors are located in-between, including the ability to move in different social networks. According to a study of women from the former Soviet Union in Finland (Jaakkola & Reuter, 2007), the most significant factors related to a good labour market position included youth, Finnish education, good Finnish skills and at least five years of residence in Finland. Also, if the reason for migration was work, labour market integration was more successful, as could be expected.

Several researchers have noted that there are symptoms of ethnically segmented labour markets in Finland, especially in certain service industries (e.g., cleaning, bus drivers) and in the restaurant sector (Forsander, 2002; Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2007; Wahlbeck, 2005). At this stage it remains an open question to what extent Indian and Nepalese women are experiencing the ethnic segmentation of the Finnish labour market. We may, however, expect that their work opportunities are constrained by factors such as human and social capital.

2.6 Transnational Connections

Transnational connections have emerged as an important field of research in recent literature on international migration and migrant settlement (Castles & Miller, 2003: 29-30). A distinction between three levels of transnationalism is useful. On the *macro level*, key actors are states and international organisations. States sanction migration flows and their policies define the official rights and opportunities of migrants. International organisations such the United Nations and the European Union also guide migration policies with their recommendations and actions in the field. On the *meso level*, we find NGOs and companies as well as religious and ethnic organisations that create institutionalised bonds and often also actively facilitate the movement of people, goods and information. Also multinational companies, such Nokia, create their own global labour markets through the Internet and through local branches in different countries. Kofman et al. (2000: 31) speak of *migrant institutions* in this setting, by which they refer to “the myriad of agencies and organizations that [are] now operating in the ‘business’ of migration and that have played a crucial role in the ‘feminization’ of labour migration at a global level since the mid-1970s”. On the *micro level*, the actors are families, networks or relatives, and individuals (Levitt, 2001: 7). *Chain migration* is an old concept in migration studies that catches well the role of relatives, local communities and emigrated family members, spreading information about work, marriage, study and other opportunities in different countries.

Transnational relations are, however, gendered on all levels. State policies may explicitly or implicitly treat women and men differently, for instance in different forms of migration. As Finland is part of the European Union, migrants from the Indian subcontinent are so-called *third country nationals*, meaning that their legal position is different from those originating from within the EU. Organisational ties to other countries are often male dominated, thus leaving women outside. Even transnational connections in families can turn out to be gender segregated (Kofman et al. 2000: 29-32). For instance, Minna Zechner (2006) has noted that the transnational care of the elderly is more often handled by women in Finnish–Estonian/Russian immigration contexts.

A question related to transnationalism is that of diasporic relations (see also Section 2.4 on ethnicity). Ethnic public spaces are commonly created through satellite television, Internet and print media. They provide a means for regularly following entertainment and news in the vernacular and in the country of origin.

Electronic mail and Internet telephone are economical communication channels, once the basic infrastructure is purchased, and have grown in popularity. Regular telephone connections are also widely available and mostly affordable (Georgiou, 2006). Regarding migrants from the Indian subcontinent in Finland, we may, however, presume that travelling hence and forth is not too common, because of the geographical distance and expense of air travel. However, diasporic relations do not only take place between the country of origin and settlement, but also between other countries, as international migrations often have scattered relatives and other acquaintances to a number of different countries (Hannerz, 1996). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that if Finnish–Indian/Nepalese transnational connections are actively upheld, it is mainly through communication technology combined with occasional visits. We can also presume that the connections are relatively rare because of the long distance.

2.7 Detailed Research Questions

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the aims of the study are (A) to present a holistic picture of the lives of women and families from India and Nepal in Finland that is (B) combined with a focus on labour market integration, (C) to identify good practices as well as problems with regard to the activities of Finnish authorities in migration and integration affairs and (D) to provide elementary background data on migrants from the Indian subcontinent for this study and subsequent research. Now, these aims need to be operationalised into explicit research questions, while bearing in mind the restrictions that the available data provide. As the group under study has been little studied in Finland, the research strategy was consciously designed to be exploratory, and information was gathered on a broad range of issues. This strategy obviously provides a larger picture, but simultaneously can lead to superficiality in more complex matters. This will be explored through analysis in later chapters. The material and methods will be presented in detail in Chapter 3. The central research questions of this study are the following.

(1) What constitutes the Indian and Nepalese population in Finland?

This question is approached through presenting demographic information on matters such as the number of persons born on the Indian subcontinent, especially India and Nepal, and holding citizenship of a state in the region, registered mother tongue, age and gender structure, occupational status, marital status, mixed marriages, immigration patterns, length of residence and number of children. To the extent possible, the development of these issues will be presented over the time span of 1990 to 2006. Also differences in comparison to the native population and other immigrant groups will be highlighted.⁴

⁴ The basis and the material for the discussion are presented at greater length in Martikainen (2007).

(2) *What is the human capital of the interviewed women?*

This question summarises several questions from the interviews regarding educational background, linguistic skills, self-image, motive for migrating etc.

(3) *How and why did Finland become the country of destination?*

This question summarises several questions from the interviews on the motives of migration, migratory history, decision-making processes and previous knowledge of Finland.

(4) *How do transnational connections affect life in Finland?*

This question summarises several interview questions that dealt with visiting and being in contact with the country of origin, remittances and following media and politics of the country of origin.

(5) *What changes have taken place in family life as a result of migrating to Finland?*

This question is based on several questions from the interviews that discussed family situation and number of children, husband's work, place of residence and neighbourhood and the organisation of children's day care.

(6) *Are ethnic networks an important resource?*

This question brings together several questions from the interviews that queried about the number of contacts between co-ethnics, frequency of meeting them, participation in ethnic and religious events and activity in organisations.

(7) *To what extent is there contact with mainstream society?*

The question summarises several questions from the interviews that asked about the places, frequency and type of contacts with native Finns, experiences of discrimination and racism and the ethnic composition of one's circle of friends.

(8) *What is the women's labour market position and relationship to employment?*

The question summarises several questions from the interviews that addressed topics such as previous and current employment status, processes of finding work, the relationship of work to educational background and the role of national authorities.

(9) *How do the women see their future in Finland?*

The question summarises several questions of the interviews, including future prospects regarding permanent settlement in Finland, application for Finnish citizenship, expectations of future employment and considerations regarding the future of one's children.

3 Material and methods

The research questions presented in the previous section are fairly customary in research on ethnic minorities. However, as Indian and Nepalese migrants have been mostly neglected in previous research in Finland, this particular study has chosen an exploratory approach to their life situation. Therefore, the research questions and hypotheses were initially relatively open. That also motivated the choice of the main research method: *semi-structured, open-ended interviews analysed with the help of thematic content analysis through a mainly realist reading of the texts*. The study looks at the research questions through theoretically informed induction. In other words, even though explicit research questions were formed in the theoretical section, the analysis of the material did not only look for direct answers to them, but tried to find alternative views on the particular topic based on the interview texts and general theoretical literature. As a matter of fact, several research questions were modified after an initial analysis of the material. Triangulation was used whenever possible to ensure the validity and reliability of the data and its interpretation.

The exploratory nature of the study was also reflected in the research methodology and collection of material. Most of the questions could be approached only with the help of qualitative methods and, for reasons of research economy, the main method consisted of semi-structured interviews with a small dataset (N=20). In the following is presented the collection of data and how it was analysed. The discussion for statistical and interview data, which form the two main bodies of material, is offered separately for each.

3.1 Statistical Data

The statistical data for the study consists of two separate bodies of statistics, both produced by Statistics Finland. The first dataset is annually published reports that include diverse information on immigrants categorised by their citizenship and country of origin. They include elementary data on issues such as number of immigrants, nationalisation, gender ratios, mother tongue, marriage patterns, families, employment, place of residence and fertility. The key publications are *Foreigners and International Migration* (e.g., Statistics Finland, 2006b) and *Families* (e.g., Statistics Finland, 2006a). Some of the information is available through an open access Internet database (Statistics Finland, 2007a). The main limitations of these reports are the following. First, not all data is available for minor groups, including Indians and Nepalese. Second, the data does not itemise the reason of migration and is incomplete on some issues, such as educational background (cf. Forsander, 2002). Third, immigrant generations are inaccessible through the data. Fourth, the data only includes those who have resided for twelve months or more and, thus, it does not illuminate short-term migration patterns. Fifth, the

data does not distinguish Finnish return migrants from other migrants. The most severe limitation for the present study is that information about minor groups is not always accessible.

The second dataset was ordered from Statistics Finland by a subproject of MO-NIKKO: *Equality and Multiculturalism in the Workplace Project* (Statistics Finland, 2006c-n; cf. Martikainen, 2007). The dataset consists of 13 tables and includes much of the same information as that published annually by Statistics Finland. Its main differences to the first dataset are the following. First, it divides all immigrants according to 24 areas of origin, thus overcoming part of the first problem of the first dataset. Second, the data makes it possible to access information about the second generation, thus overcoming the third problem of the first dataset. Third, it defines 'immigrants' by combining their country of birth and mother tongue information, thus overcoming the fifth problem of the first dataset. In the context of this study, the main problem of the second dataset is that it combines Indians/Nepalese/Sri Lankans and Bangladeshi/Pakistani into single categories.

The statistics can be regarded trustworthy, as it is estimated that the number of undocumented migrants in Finland is low. Moreover, demographic, register-based information is considered to be fairly accurate in Finland, even though some forms of data (e.g., education) are known to be under-documented among the immigrant population. The material is analysed through *cross-tabulation*. To the extent possible, comparisons are made to other migrant groups and to the Finnish population in general.⁵ The data is a cross-section, so longitudinal analyses are not possible, but some trends can be identified from the data.

3.2 Interview Data

The main material of the study is semi-structured interviews (N=20) conducted in the Helsinki metropolitan region from January to August 2006. Altogether fourteen Indian women, two Nepalese women and four representatives of different religious, ethnic and cultural associations were interviewed. The immigrant respondents were selected on the basis of three criteria. First, they were to be 25–45 years old. Second, they had to have lived in Finland for at least one year. Third, they had to be of Indian or Nepalese origin. In addition, some respondents with no children at home and a woman married to a Finn were purposely selected to see whether there were any differences compared to other respondents. During the fieldwork, Ms. Gola also met women on short-term contracts (less than a year), who had left their family behind, but they were not taken into account in this study.

⁵ This is done in more detail in Martikainen 2007.

The organisations represented in the study are the *Finnish-Indian-Society* (in Finnish: Suomi-Intia-Seura ry.), *FINTLA*, *International Society for Krishna Consciousness in Finland* (ISKCON) and *Saraswati Sindhu Cultural Association* (S3S). The interviews were conducted by Ms. Lalita Gola, an Indian migrant herself, in English and Hindi. The interviews were first transcribed according to the language of the interview and then translated into English, if needed. All of the transcriptions and translations with the exception of one transcript and two translations were done by Ms. Lalita Gola. The remaining were done by Mr. Sharon Ben-Dor. The interview questionnaires are included in the appendices and the material is archived at the Population Research Institute of the Family Federation of Finland.

The number of interviewed women is rather small, only 1.6% of all Indian- and Nepalese-born women (respectively 920 and 105 in 2006) in Finland, so that attempts at generalisation should be viewed with caution. However, the data can be demographically contextualised, so that its restrictions with regard to representativeness can be evaluated (see Section 4.2). Regarding the general picture of Indian and Nepalese migrants in Finland, the central differences in contrast to the interview sample are as follows. First, only women were interviewed – they form a minority of Indians and Nepalese. Second, all the women were married. Third, a higher percentage of the women was working (68%) compared with working-age women from these countries in general (33%) (Martikainen, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2006h). Otherwise, the women were fairly close to average in terms of age, timing of migration, marriage patterns and number of children. It can also be presumed that their general educational level is higher than average, but this cannot be confirmed from the data. Thus, the interviewed women most likely over-represent the married, more affluent and better educated among Indian and Nepalese immigrant women in Finland.

All of the respondents were found by the *snowball method*. Lalita Gola started with the mother of her son's classmate. Then she asked her if she could introduce her to other friends. She gave her telephone number to several of her friends, out of which only one agreed to an interview. After that, Gola always asked her respondents about their friends' or any other known persons' contacts. She also posted the research topic to a chat group well known among Indians living in Scandinavia. Some of the respondents also invited her to their private activities such as birthday parties to give her a better chance to meet with potential respondents.

The time and place of the interviews were mostly arranged by phone or e-mail. Interviews were conducted according to the convenience of the respondent at the premises of Västoliitto, at their home, in a café, or even at Lalita Gola's home. In the beginning of the interview, Gola introduced herself and told the respondents about the research project before agreeing upon an appointment. The respondents were asked if they had any questions about the study. After that, they were asked

to sign a document stating their consent to be interviewed and were afterwards sent the transcript and translation for approval. In this way the researchers wanted to ensure that the participants understood the nature of the study and had the option of reviewing what they had said during the interview (cf. Fontana & Frey, 2000: 662-663). One respondent declined the use of her interview afterwards and that data was left out of the study.

All interviews, with the exception of one (FINTIA), were recorded on minidisk. The interviews were semi-structured, open-ended thematic interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Even though the interview manuscript was rather long and detailed (see appendices), no fixed answers were provided with the exceptions of elementary information about the respondent, such as year of birth and number of children. Despite the predetermined questionnaire, discussion was allowed to flow freely if that turned out to be the case. The interviews lasted from one to several hours for the women and circa one hour or less for the organisations.

The interviewees were guaranteed anonymity in the publication and in the later use of the research material. Anonymity is created through the use of pseudonyms and by changing certain details in the quotations. The pseudonyms were selected by the women themselves. We are, however, aware that the Indian and Nepalese communities are rather small, so it may be possible to recognise particular people, but we have done our best to make it as difficult as possible. The ultimate aim of the MONIKKO Project – to increase the labour market participation of immigrant women in Finland – can be seen as emancipatory and potentially beneficial to the interviewed individuals and communities in the long run (cf. Fontana & Frey, 2000: 662-663).

Table 3.1. Basic information about the study participants, N=16.

Pseudonyms	The wives of ICT professionals	The wives of ethnic restaurant workers and entrepreneurs	Total
	Aarju, Anushka, Barbie, Dimple, Dove, Ladybird, Rita, Sima, Sonam, Toni	Asha, Butterfly, Kali, Mina, Nisha, Sana	16
Country of birth			
India	10	4	14
Nepal	-	2	2
Nationality			
Indian/Nepalese	10	5	15
Finnish	-	1	1
Year of birth			
1965-1969	-	2	2
1970-1974	6	3	9
1975-1980	2	-	2
Year of migration to Finland			
1985-1989	-	1	1
1990-1994	-	2	2
1995-1999	5	2	7
2000-2005	5	1	6
Reason of migration to Finland			
Husband's work	9	-	9
Marriage	1	5	6
Other	-	1	1
Route of migration			
India/Nepal-Finland	5	6	11
India-other country/countries-Finland	5	-	5
Expect to stay in Finland permanently			
Yes	2	5	7
Unsure	5	-	5
No	3	1	4
Education			
Elementary education	-	2	2
College, university	10	3	13
Other	-	1	1
Occupation			
At home	2	3	5
Working	8	3	11
Married	10	6	16
Number of children (N=19)			
0	3	-	3
1	6	1	7
2	1	5	6
Children's country of birth (N=17)			
India	4	1	5
Finland	4	8	12

Self-positioning and self-reflection in interview research present a way to open the research process to scrutiny. Lalita Gola describes her role as follows:

As an interviewer I have enjoyed my work. At times there were situations where my respondents wanted my opinion instead of giving their opinions, and then the interview was more like a discussion. Sometimes I found it difficult when many people started to invite me to their social gatherings, as most of these were during weekends and I wanted to spend those weekends with my family and friends. Being an Indian woman I was easily accepted by Indians as well as Nepalese people. It was also easier for me to interact with respondents as I can understand many dialects of Hindi as well as Punjabi and Urdu. Most of the respondents have seen me in some cultural gatherings, so in a way, I was reliable to them.

On the one hand, it is apparent that sharing many of the same experiences as an immigrant in Finland, and sharing the same region of origin, in many ways made it easier to approach respondents. On the other hand, it may also be that certain issues were told differently or not at all, because the Indian and Nepalese communities in Finland are fairly small. One of the potential shortcomings of the use of an Indian interviewer is that some issues may remain unsaid because they are part of the taken-for-granted cultural understanding shared by the interviewer and the interviewee. However, that shortcoming is balanced by the easy access to the interviewees and ease at gaining their confidence as well as the shared language.

After the interview data was gathered, transcribed and translated, it was read by both researchers. The analysis of the material took place in two phases. The first phase was the organisation of the data and the second the analysis of its content. The preliminary organisation of the data took place by creating a datasheet, where segments of the interview material were made comparable through cross-tabulation. Information was quantified (e.g., age, length of residence, number of children) or otherwise made comparable (e.g., reason of migration: marriage, husband's work etc.) to the extent it was possible (Ryan & Bernard, 2000: 780-781). Based on a close reading of the material and comparing the organised data, the sample was divided into two units of analysis: *the wives of ICT professionals* (abbr. ICT, N=10) and *the wives of ethnic restaurant workers and entrepreneurs* (abbr. ER, N=6). The division had already emerged during the fieldwork, and the organisation of the data confirmed it. Even though the women are obviously actors on their own, in this study we refer to them in relation to their husbands, because of their (often) initially dependent position, which defined their legal status when entering the country. In this respect, the division of the interviewees is based on current immigration policy as well as on the profession of their husbands.

The two groups of women are distinguishable from each other on many issues, including the timing, route and reason of migration, husband's profession, education, number of children, knowledge of Finnish and employment (see Table 3.1). The groups also appear to perceive each other as different. The ICT group

is characterised by the fact that all of their husbands arrived in Finland as a result of working in information and communication technology companies. The ER group are married to men who work in the ethnic restaurant business, mostly in family enterprises. The division points to the different experiences and life situations among migrants from the same geographical and national origin, with different background characteristics. These differences are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The analysis of the interview texts was done with thematic content analysis, which is well-suited to semi-structured, open-ended thematic interviews. Different themes were already predefined in the questionnaire and further ones were identified during the analysis. The main focus was not in individual narrations or experiences, but rather in common features to emerge from the interviews. When possible, with the help of the organised data, we looked at how common certain experiences were. The strategy was used to identify common trends and features among the interviewees and to see whether these experiences crossed the boundaries of the two groups (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Obviously, open-ended questions provided rather different responses, so the method's limitations came forth in many instances. However, we were in general satisfied with the quality of data, even though more talkative persons dominate the quotations that are presented in Chapter 5.

The analysis is mainly based on a realist reading of the material. A realist reading implies that the statements and opinions of the respondents were reflections of actual social conditions, not only linguistic representations. However, on occasion a discursive approach was applied, meaning that the answers were considered to be stories or discourses. In the latter case, including discussions about identity and cultural differences, the shift in focus was motivated by the greater flexibility of narrative analysis to view the discourses as situated occasions, where socially constructed differences are created and maintained, while simultaneously allowing the researcher to reflect upon the statements' often essentialist nature (Silverman, 2000).

4 Immigrants from India and Nepal

Finland became a country of immigration during the 1980s. Even though the modernisation of the country was in many ways tied to international relations and small-scale migration from other countries, the 1990s mark a major change in Finland's migration history (Forsander & Trux, 2002). With a few exceptions, Finland had been a place of emigration since the nineteenth century. The main destinations were North America at the turn of the twentieth century and Sweden following World War II. There are currently an estimated 1.3 million first- to subsequent generation Finns around the world (Koivukangas, 2002: 24).

In a European perspective, Finland became a target country for immigration at a phase when refugees and asylum seekers had partially replaced post-war labour migration streams. A similar change has happened in other traditional countries of emigration, including Greece, Portugal and Spain (Castles & Miller, 2003). Furthermore, the collapse of the Soviet Union ended the Cold War, and population movements created a new, East European dimension of international migration. Finnish society, its political leadership and population were not at all prepared for the change. Attitudes are changing, however, and immigration is increasingly seen as a resource, especially in light of the aging society and the demographical transition that began in Finland in 2005. Attitudes are changing, and migration and integration policies have been under constant revision since the early 1990s, and at the moment (May 2007), the country still lacks clear policies on these matters, even though a government policy on migration was announced in October 2006 (MOL, 2006a).

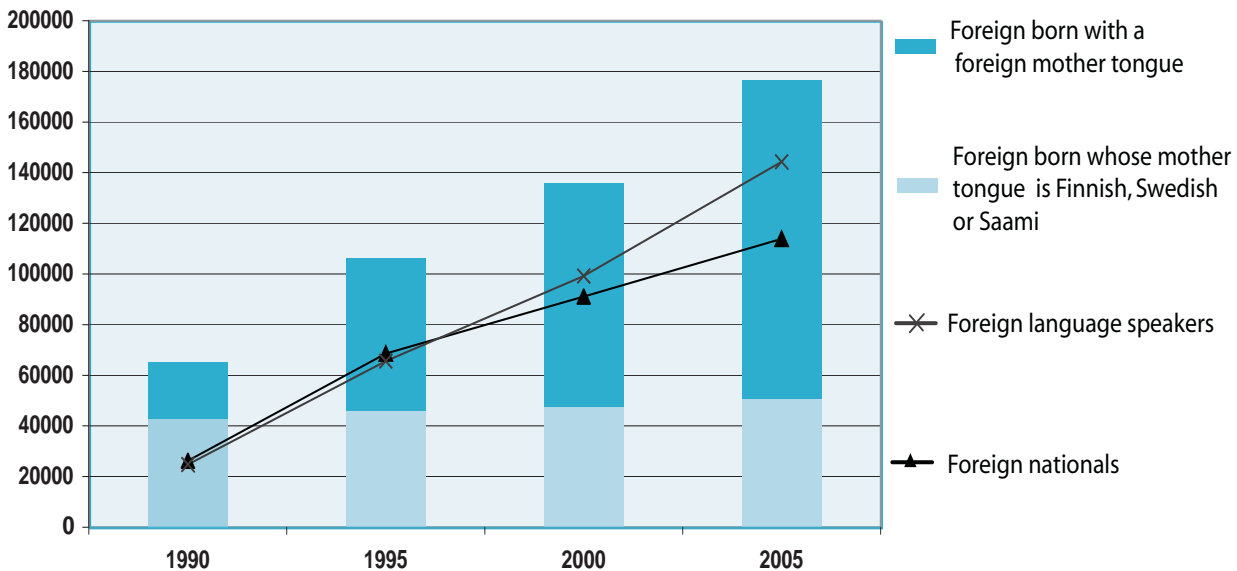
The following section will present a brief overview of the Finnish immigrant-origin population and a more detailed discussion of people from the Indian subcontinent. The chapter ends with a presentation of central features in Finnish migration and integration policy.

4.1 Immigrants in Finland

Immigration to Finland has been constantly rising since the 1980s. Figure 4.1 shows how the numbers of people born abroad, foreign citizens and foreign language speakers have evolved from 1990 to 2005. In 2006, foreign citizens constituted 2.3%, foreign language speakers 3.0% and people born abroad 3.6% of the total population of 5.3 million. Table 3.1 illustrates these changes. In 1998, the proportion of foreign language speakers exceeded that of foreign citizens, which is explained by increased naturalisation and the growth of the second generation. The table also shows that the number of foreign born with a foreign language as mother tongue had risen from 22,239 to 125,730 by 2005. The rest of the foreign

born are mainly returning Finns (Statistics Finland, 2006c). The naturalisation number has been constantly growing and, from 1991 to 2005, 41,272 persons were granted Finnish citizenship (Statistics Finland, 2006b: 17).

Figure 4.1. People born abroad, foreign language speakers and foreign nationals in Finland in 1990–2005 (Statistics Finland, 2006c).



In terms of areas of origin, the role of the European Union⁶ has diminished in relation to the rest of Europe (mainly Russia), and the proportion of Asians and Africans has doubled. However, two-thirds of all migrants still come from Europe (Table 4.2). In 2006, there were altogether 187,910 foreign born permanently resident in Finland. The largest countries of birth were Russia (including the former Soviet Union, 47,218), Sweden (29,835) and Estonia (14,515). The majority of immigrants live in large urban centres, especially the Helsinki metropolitan region. There are, however, some differences between national groups, as to what extent they are concentrated in certain areas. For instance, 46% of all foreign born were living in the Uusimaa region that includes the Helsinki metropolitan area, whereas the figures were 69% for Africans and 51% for Asians (Statistics Finland, 2007a).

⁶ It is worth noting that the number of citizens from EU states has declined despite the expansion of the EU with 13 new member states from 1995 to 2004. Furthermore, the states have included two large sending countries: Estonia and Sweden. This means that much of the growth is indeed grounded in the expansion of migration from non-EU countries.

Table 4.2. Immigrants in Finland by area of origin 1990–2005, % (Statistics Finland, 2007).

	1990	1995	2000	2005
People born abroad, total	64,922	106,303	136,203	176,612
EU 25 countries, %	51.8	41.1	37.2	34.7
Other Europe, %	18.4	29.9	33.5	33.4
Africa, %	3.0	6.9	7.0	7.7
America, %	6.5	4.9	4.5	4.4
Asia, %	8.6	11.2	13.7	16.7
Oceania, %	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5
Unknown, %	11.0	5.4	3.5	2.5

The majority of the Finnish immigrant-origin population still belongs to the first generation. Generation figures have only been counted for 2005 and for those who are both born abroad and whose registered mother tongue is not Finnish, Swedish or Sami (see Table 4.1). The figures were as follows. There were 125,730 first-generation migrants, and their children totalled 49,180 people, of whom 32% were children of two immigrant parents. The proportion of the second generation varies considerably between groups (Martikainen, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2006h-n).

Regarding the reasons for migrating to Finland in the 1990s and 2000s, it has been estimated that 60–65% arrive because of family reasons, 15% as refugees or asylum seekers, 10% as returnees from the former Soviet Union, 5–10% because of work and 5–10% because of other reasons (MOL, 2005). Three out of four are working age (15–64 years) and 22% less than 15 years of age. The gender ratios are equal regarding the migrant population as a whole, but there are significant differences between areas of origin (Statistics Finland, 2006f, 2006g). The general unemployment figure for foreign nationals was estimated at 24% among immigrants in contrast to 7.7% among the entire population (MOL, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2007b).

A closer look at the various groups of immigrants reveals that there are notable differences between them. Generally speaking, those who arrived because of work or marriage to a Finn are doing better than people who entered the country for other reasons. Groups that arrived mainly as refugees or asylum seekers are the worst off (see, e.g. Martikainen, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2006a, 2006b). In the following section, we will highlight the special characteristics of Indians and Nepalese in Finland.

4.2 Migration from India and Nepal

Migration from the Indian subcontinent to Finland has been a minor phenomenon until now. In 2006, there were altogether 4,764 people born in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka in Finland. They constituted 3% of all foreign born and 15% of all Asian born. This group has an imbalanced gender structure, and 64% of them were male. Indians are the largest group and form 52% of the group. The figures in Table 4.3 show that with the exception of Sri Lanka, all other groups are male dominated. In the following section we will look at some demographic features of the Indians and Nepalese living in Finland, whose number has grown especially in the 2000s. A major reason for this has been the recruitment of ICT professionals from India. The aim of the section is to contextualise the interviewed women within these national groups. We will also investigate whether the original male domination of Indian and Nepalese migratory flows is followed by a later increase in the number of female migrants, so that the imbalance in gender ratios becomes smaller.

Both the Nepalese and Indians are heavily concentrated in the Uusimaa region. Seventy-six percent of Nepalese and 68% of Indians lived near Helsinki, and most of the rest in the vicinity of the cities of Tampere, Turku and Oulu. These areas are also ones with the largest ICT companies. It has been estimated that most, at least male, migrants from India and Nepal came to Finland because of work. It appears that the main targets have been the ICT (Indians) and the restaurant (Indians and Nepalese) sectors of the economy. Female migration has not been examined previously, but we may presume that most women migrated because of family reasons, including marriage. These observations are confirmed at least in the qualitative data of this study (see Section 5.3).

Table 4.3. People from the Indian subcontinent in Finland 1990-2006 (Statistics Finland, 2007a).

Country of birth	1990		1995		2000		2005		2006	
	Total	Share of women %	Total	Share of women %	Total	Share of women %	Total	Share of women %	Total	Share of women %
Bangladesh	108	19	335	23	413	32	676	31	736	31
India	517	32	773	37	1172	37	2138	37	2479	37
Nepal	15	73	39	59	98	36	246	40	309	34
Pakistan	131	18	259	24	397	31	693	32	770	30
Sri Lanka	150	53	239	48	361	47	464	48	470	47
Total	921		1645		2441		4217		4764	

The vast majority of Indian and Nepalese migrants hold their native citizenship. This is not surprising, because as part of a new group, most have not yet even had the opportunity to apply for Finnish citizenship. The age structure of these groups is slightly older than of immigrants in general – also something to be expected in work-dominated immigration. Eighty-six percent of them moved to Finland aged at 15–64 years and only 13% under the age of 15. Men are well employed, approaching the national average, but unemployment is higher among women – a little below average among immigrants (Martikainen, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2006e-h).

Despite growing interest to promote work related migration to Finland, unemployment among the immigrant population has been a major issue during the last decade (Forsander, 2002). Besides a growing national infrastructure on issues of integration, the availability of European funding through various framework programs and funds has created a plethora of projects and other activities (Räty, 2002). An analysis of 139 immigrant projects revealed some important features of publicly supported Finnish immigration initiatives. Immigrant women were often identified as a vulnerable group and considered in need of emancipation and empowerment. However, only one of the projects was explicitly directed at marriage migrants, who nevertheless form the majority of all immigrants in the country (Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006). That the national integration policy seems to neglect marriage migrants as an explicit target group has been noted also by other researchers (e.g., Forsander et al., 2004; Martikainen & Tiilikainen, 2007; Raunio, 2005).

Among Indians, Nepalese and Sri Lankans, marriage usually occurs within the same national group, even though this is slightly more common for women (78%) than men (64%). Single mothers are uncommon; only 7% of women live alone with their children. Families with an Indian, Nepalese or Sri Lankan parent had 1,311 children in 2005, of which 385 were among the same national groups. This appears to be in contrast to the family situation, but can probably be explained by the later arrival of spouses from the countries of origin. We may thus expect that the proportion of children with two immigrant parents is going to rise in the coming years. Most of the children are still very young (Martikainen, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2006i-k).

There are several organisations that provide services for, in particular, Indians living in Finland. The Indian Embassy has operated in Helsinki since 1968 and serves both Finland and Estonia. *The Finnish-Indian-Society* was founded already in 1949, two years after India's independence, by Finnish India enthusiasts.⁷ The society

⁷ More on the activities of the Finnish-Indian-Society can be found on the society's website: <http://www.suomiintiaaseura.fi/>.

is mainly a friendship organisation, and has invited Indian artists and arranged various festivals over the years in Finland. The largest annual event is Diwali. The society's current membership is about 300, of which approximately 50 are of Indian origin (FIS, 2006). The *Saraswati Sindhu Cultural Association ry* (S3S) was founded in 2004 by Indian immigrants (five families) to promote the culture of India and the Indian subcontinent in Finland.⁸ S3S has organised, among others, *Diwali* and *Holi* celebrations that have gathered 100-200 participants. The society's membership is aimed at people originating from the Indian subcontinent and in 2006 it had about 25 members (S3S, 2006). Additionally, the *Aarambh Association* has some Indian members. Aarambh is involved, among other things, with development aid issues in India.⁹ *FINTIA* (F=Finland + India) is an electronic mailing list that subtitles itself as "Cyberspace for Indians living in Finland".¹⁰ The group was founded in March 2000 and had over 400 members in 2006. It provides services and up-to-date information on various issues of interest to its members (FINTIA, 2006). Cyber communities are effective in spreading information and news, and they also connect to other relevant forums of information, including *Finland Forum: Find information about moving to, living in and life in Finland*.¹¹

Whereas the above-mentioned organisations deal mainly with cultural and social issues, also religious organisations provide services for Indians and Nepalese in Finland. The temple of the *International Society for Krishna Consciousness* (ISKCON) is located in Ruoholahti in Helsinki and is used by many Hindu immigrants.¹² According to the temple president, some 350 Indians, mostly from Helsinki and Tampere, participate in one way or another in the temple's various activities, forming just under half of those in some way involved in the activities of ISKCON in Finland (ISKCON, 2006). Sikhism is another religion of Indian origin and there are probably 100–200 Sikhs living in Finland. The *Gurdwara Community of Finland* was founded in 1998 and has, since April 2006, had a temple in Sörnäinen in Helsinki. Its membership of 50–100 persons is exclusively Indian.¹³ Additionally, according to membership statistics of religious communities, the *Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland* had 148 Indian and 12 Nepalese born members and the *Catholic Church* 29 Indian born members in 2004 (Statistics Finland, 2005). It is not known whether the people in question are Finnish returnees (e.g., children of Lutheran missionaries) from these countries, but it is known that some Indians do

⁸ More on the activities of the S3S can be found on the society's website: <http://www.s3s.fi/>.

⁹ More on the activities of Aarambh can be found on the society's website: <http://www.aarambh.fi/>.

¹⁰ More on the activities of FINTIA can be found on the network's website: <http://www.geocities.com/fintiahome/>.

¹¹ More on the activities of the Finland Forum can be found on its website: <http://www.finlandforum.org/>.

¹² More on the activities of ISKCON in Finland can be found on the society's website: <http://www.saunalahti.fi/~krishna/>.

¹³ The authors visited the temple in Autumn 2006.

take part in the activities of the *International Evangelical Church in Finland*.¹⁴ Beyond the Hindu and Sikh associations, it is also likely that some Indians are Muslims, who may take part in the activities of Finnish mosques (e.g., Martikainen, 2004). Nevertheless, regarding official membership in religious organisations, the vast majority of Indian (90%) and Nepalese (92%) born belonged to Population Register in 2004, that is, they were not formal members of any religious group (Statistics Finland, 2005; cf. Martikainen, 2006b). In sum, there are already several cultural, ethnic and religious organisations providing a variety of services for the Indian, and to a much lesser extent, Nepalese communities in Finland, but none of them seems to have a reach over the whole population. The situation is in sharp contrast to the multiplicity of associations that serve, for instance, many refugee-origin immigrant groups (cf. Pyykkönen, 2003).

An additional question in this section was that the original male domination of Indian and Nepalese migratory flows is followed by a later increase in the number of female migrants, diminishing the imbalance in gender ratios. This is obviously not the case, as illustrated in Table 4.3. Indeed, the gender ratios for Indians have been stable (34%) in the 2000s, and even decreased for the Nepalese from 2000 to 2006 by 2 percent units. A plausible explanation is that, simultaneously with increasing female migration, a corresponding or stronger male migration has continued, so that the gender balance has not yet begun to stabilise. This notion is supported both by the relatively high rate of endogamous marriages and by the significantly higher ratio of male (48 %) versus female (24 %) single dwellers above the age of 15 (Statistics Finland, 2006i-j).

4.3. Finnish Migration and Integration Policy

Immigration policies in post World War II Finland have often been described as exclusionary. However, a gradual but steady movement of liberalisation of immigration and integration policies and legislation has occurred since the late 1980s. A major change was the official adaptation of a multicultural integration policy during the 1990s, formalised in the Integration Act of 1999 (Lepola, 2000; Paananen, 1999). Legislation has not settled into a status quo, and has been under constant revision. For instance, the Integration Act of 1999 has been revised six times and the Aliens Act of 2004 already fourteen times by April 2007 (FINLEX, 2007). A telling example of the complexity and changeability of the regulations is the following quotation from the brochure “Working in Finland”, intended for non-EU citizens.

¹⁴ More on the activities the International Evangelical Church can be found at: <http://www.church.fi/>.

Foreigners planning paid employment in Finland must usually get either a residence permit or an employee's residence permit. Self-employed persons intending to carry out a business in Finland must apply for a residence permit for a self-employed person. EU/EEA citizens must register their residence in Finland in accordance with the provisions that apply to them. There are, however, many exceptions to the regulations. You should check the latest provisions on the Internet. (MOL, 2006b: 21; Italics added)

As the interviewed women arrived between 1985 and 2005, it would be an extensive task to describe the legislative changes in detail. The following will present only the main features of the situation as it stands, with some reflections on earlier developments. The time period is very complicated on these issues, because it includes the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Finland's membership in the European Union in 1995, both of which have had extensive effects on many migration and integration related issues. Furthermore, it is important to note that, because, until very recently, the topic was low on the national political agenda, the decision-making processes and practices related to it have been in the hands of individual authorities and institutional cultures that make any description based on formal documents somewhat illusory. Moreover, there have been few studies of the relationship between policy intentions and *de facto* practices, thus making any secondary analysis only tentative.

According to Outi Lepola (2000: 28-38), there are three main barriers that immigrants face in their permanent settlement in Finland: the rights of entry, permanent settlement and citizenship. Let us take a closer look at the right of entry and permanent settlement. There are three main variables that affect immigrants' opportunities to enter the country. These are A) the country of citizenship, B) the reason for migration and C) Finnish ancestry. The first two are relevant in the case of Indian and Nepalese migrants. Currently, the main division in terms of the country of citizenship is that citizens of any European Union (EU) or European Economic Area (EEA) country face significantly less barriers regardless of their reasons for migrating. People from all other countries, including India and Nepal, face more regulations in all cases.

Indian and Nepalese citizens require a visa to enter Finland. If the stay is going to last longer than three months, they need a residence permit. There are three main types of residence permits: temporary (maximum one year, 'B-permit'), continuous (maximum three years, 'A-permit') and permanent ('P-permit'). In addition, the permits are different depending on the nature of residence: employment or self-employment, study or family relation. Both visas and first residence permits are usually obtained in the native country of settlement. The status of a family member applying for a residence permit is stated as follows.

A family member of a Finnish citizen or a citizen of some other country who is living in Finland can be issued with a residence permit on the basis of family ties. A family member is a spouse or cohabiting partner, a registered partner (of the same sex) or an unmarried child under the age of 18 whose guardian is a person resident in Finland. If the person resident in Finland is under 18 years old, then his or her guardian is considered a family member. In some cases, other relatives may also be considered family members. A person resident in Finland and their family members should have a secure source of income that must not rely on social welfare benefits. This requirement does not apply to family members of Finnish citizens. (DOI, 2007)

In order to apply for Finnish citizenship one has usually needed to be permanently residing in Finland for at least six years. In case the spouse is a Finnish citizen, the time is four years.

In practice, for the Nepalese and Indian women we interviewed, this means that their arrival depends on the status and position of their husband in Finland. Also, until receiving a permanent residence permit, an immigrant is not allowed to work without applying for a separate permit. Once the residence permit is continuous or permanent, there are no restrictions regarding work. The application for Finnish citizenship is only recently becoming possible for most Indians and Nepalese, as they have mostly migrated to Finland in the 2000s. Based on this, we may presume that residence permit issues were of importance to women in so far as they were related to their ability to work. We may also expect that they experienced some delay in their versus their husbands' immigration to Finland.

5 The Settlement of Indian and Nepalese Women

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the interviews (N=20) that form the core material of the study. Sixteen interviews were conducted with Indian (14) and Nepalese (2) women. The women are divided into two groups: *the wives of ICT professionals* (abbr. ICT, N=10) and *the wives of ethnic restaurant workers and entrepreneurs* (abbr. ER, N=6). In addition, interviews (4) were conducted with representatives of various cultural, ethnic and religious organisations. The following analysis is divided into eight sections from a variety of perspectives. These are (1) human capital, (2) migration process, (3) transnational relations, (4) family and home, (5) ethnic community and networks, (6) participation in Finnish society, (7) work and employment and (8) future prospects of living in Finland. Each section ends with a brief summary of the topic.

5.1 Human Capital

This section explores the human capital of the study participants – more precisely, how their educational background, age, family situation and linguistic skills have affected their opportunities to access Finnish society and the labour market. Table 3.1 summarises some of the main background features of the women.

All interviewed women are first generation migrants. Fourteen of them were born in India and two in Nepal. All were between the ages of 25 and 40 at the time of the interview, and the majority (11/16) were between the ages of 30 and 35, i.e., in the best working age. They had received their elementary, secondary and further education in their country of origin, even though some had taken additional courses in Finland. In one case, the interviewees' college education in India was interrupted by marriage. The ICT wives had a higher educational level. All of them had at least a bachelor's degree and four had a master's degree from an Indian university. Several had also studied technical and business sciences similarly to their husbands. The ER wives were less educated and both Nepalese women had only completed basic schooling in Nepal. All women spoke English and Hindi, and thirteen spoke three or more languages. Other languages mentioned were Finnish (10), Punjabi (6), Nepali (2), Bengali (1), German (1), Gujarati (1), Marathi (1), Marwari (1), Nagamese (1), Swedish (1) and Urdu (1). All ER wives spoke at least some Finnish, while only half of the ICT wives declared so. Linguistic acculturation is thus taking different paths in these two groups.

All women were married. Fifteen were married to a man from the country of origin and one was married to a Finn. Thirteen women had children. The number

of children was one or two in all cases. Five women were currently at home with children full time, the rest were working. Most of the children had been born in Finland. None of the women had migrated to Finland solely on their own initiative, but in almost all cases the move was in some way related to a husband's work or to marriage. As arranged marriages are still common in India, Mina (ER) reflects about her choice of partner: "Whatever my mummy and daddy decided for me, that was it". In one case the migration was related to family issues, but led to an eventual marriage with a co-ethnic. Sana's story is quite typical regarding the change that marriage brings to many women. As a suitable husband was found, usually with the help of relatives, it was expected that one should follow one's husband to his place of residence.

I am from North India. I have my mom, daddy, one sister and a brother. I did my schooling in India, and then I went to college and after that I did professional training, which was for two years. First I completed that course and then I went to college. So I got engaged when I was in the first year of getting my B.A., and then after completing my second year. [...] Got married. And then I came [with my husband] to Finland and I could not complete the final year of my B.A.. After coming here I started my married life. (Sana, ER)

Most of the women migrated in 1995–2005, and the majority moved directly from India to Finland. However, while the women do have certain differences, there are also many features that unite them, including their country of birth, age, married status and motherhood. The women also share the experience of coming through family unification or as a dependant from a geographically and culturally distant land outside the European Union (EU) and the European Economic Area (EEA), which has many implications regarding their experiences as well as rights and opportunities in the country. Most (15/16) are still nationals of their country of origin. However, several of the entrepreneur husbands already have Finnish nationality, indicating their earlier arrival to the country. No Indian-born husband of the ICT wives' had yet obtained Finnish citizenship.

In brief, it can be said that the women's human capital appears to suit Finnish labour market demands quite well, as most (11) were working. Those who were not were either on maternity leave or not interested in working. We should also note the fact that many of the women apparently did not have good Finnish skills. Even though the process of entering to the labour market will be explored in detail in Section 5.7, we can already say that the foreign educational background of these women did not appear to be a major obstacle to entering the workforce. This is an important observation, because both language skills and foreign education are often mentioned as barriers to labour market integration (e.g., Jaakkola & Reuter, 2007). While not challenging that observation, it does appear that in some segments of the workforce, human capital mismatch is less common, and other factors are of more importance (Forsander, 2002). Perhaps the Indian and

Nepalese background also has a role to play. Moreover, as many of the women are working either in ICT related or ethnic restaurant businesses, the results might not be that surprising, but rather highlight the different, segmented labour markets that are available to immigrants (Bommes & Kolb, 2006; Castles & Miller, 2003: 182-188). However, we cannot say that human capital alone explains the women's generally good experiences in the labour market, but rather that they have found their niche in the segmented labour market.

5.2 Migration Process

This section will discuss the migration histories, motives, routes, decision-making processes and initial settlement of the interviewed women. The process of selecting and eventually settling in a new country has many variations. It has already been mentioned that all women entered Finland mainly because of marriage or their husband's work. The main question is how and why Finland became the country of destination. The expectation is that Finland became the destination country as a consequence of existing connections and prior knowledge of the country.

Even though most women (15/16) initially entered the country because of their husband, the process itself took many paths. The majority of women came to Finland directly from India or Nepal. This was the case for all ER wives and for five ICT wives. Dove's story is quite typical.

I was born in India 1975. I did my schooling in a big city. Then I moved to another area for higher studies. Then I came back for a job, and after working for one year we moved to Finland. We came to Finland as my husband got a job at Nokia, so we all moved to Finland. My husband and I moved to Finland. I did not join any office [then], as I was expecting. I took up a job in another company and since then I have been working there. I have one daughter, who was born here in Finland in 2001. She goes to päiväkoti [day care] now. (Dove, ICT)

The rest of the ICT couples had one or more international settlements in-between, usually in a western country. This is connected to the greater global mobility and labour markets among ICT professionals. On the one hand, they have a global labour market with work opportunities in many countries. On the other hand, when they decide to settle, they are faced with much more restricted possibilities of finding opportunities for career advancement in their organisation. Therefore international career building is important for transmigrants. The following quotation by Rita reveals both the opportunities and constraints that ICT professionals face. In Rita's case, her husband wanted to work at Nokia's headquarters both in order to see how it is run as well as, presumably, to ensure a better future career. Of importance was also Rita's possibility for work.

Before coming to Finland we lived in a European country, one to one and a half years. The main reason for moving here was my husband's job. He has been working for Nokia in many countries. After my marriage, I also moved and worked there. [...] My husband had other options as well, but because both of us were getting a job here and my husband was also in favour of Nokia being a Finnish company and of at least once working in the headquarters of the company. [...] He wanted to work here and he got a good opportunity. [...] I knew quite a lot about Finland as my husband had been here before for some trainings etc. (Rita, ICT)

The decision to migrate is one of the sharpest dividers between the experiences and discourses of the wives of the ICT professionals and the entrepreneurs. All of the ICT wives had made a mutual decision to migrate to Finland, whereas the ER wives had migrated as a natural consequence of marriage. This also implies that the ICT wives were already married, often in India, prior to their journey, whereas the restaurant workers or entrepreneurs sought wives from India once they had secured their position in Finland. As Butterfly (ER) stated it, "I got married and came here". This is in sharp contrast to the experience of many ICT wives. In Dimple's (ICT) words, "It was mutual. Of course he got the job offer but he asked me, if I would like to go to such a country, and I said it is alright." Aarju's whole family had discussed the issue of migration even more thoroughly:

When he got the offer from the company, we discussed it, the whole family at home discussed this. We thought of going abroad when we got the offer to come to Finland, and we came to Finland. [...] We were mentally prepared to move out of the country, anywhere abroad. [...] First my husband came on a business visa for three months; then he got a work permit and I came with my son to join him. (Aarju, ICT)

Asha's case shows that the decision to migrate can take place in a fairly short time.

As I am telling you, in two to three months everything happened. Mummy-Papa were looking [for a suitable groom], obviously as I was 22 or 23, I do not remember exactly. [...] It was obvious that my parents were looking [for a suitable groom]. My elder sister had already got married. [...]. So his [husband's] mother and my mother, they talked about it. I came here in July, so in the beginning of February or January, my passport was already ready. [...] Then after coming here [Finland], my parents asked: "Do you like him? Do you want to marry him? It is not necessary to marry; it is not like it will be insulting for us, as we have come to them." As my parents are very frank about it, they do not think someone will insult us, as we have come here [comment: so far for marriage and the daughter might not getting married] or anything like that. They also asked him. They let us both sit down and talk to see if everything was okay with both of us. We were together for four days. I mean, I came here on the 23rd and I got married on the 27th as there was a weekend in between. The court was supposed to be open on Monday, and I came here on Thursday. (Asha, ER)

Parents had a central place in most considerations regarding the ER wives' decision to migrate. Either they decided the matter on their own or let their daughter make the final decision regarding whether or not to marry the man in question.

Often, there was a time gap between the husband's initial migration and the wife's subsequent arrival. Three of the ICT wives came a few months later, while the rest arrived with their husband. In the case of the ER wives, the migration gap was significantly longer, sometimes several years, and they all arrived after their husband had already been living in Finland. In their case, existing family relations in India played a major role in their eventual move to Finland, as Asha's quotation, above, illustrates.

Over half of the women had no or little prior knowledge of Finland. The main channels of information were their husbands or relatives already living in Finland. In addition, some had searched the web, read books or watched documentaries on television. Living costs and arrangements, work culture and other cultural issues were generally not well known to the women. Early on, weather was the greatest worry for several women, but information about everyday life was scant in almost all cases. In the words of Dove:

I read about Finland but as such it was not helpful. [...] It is an entirely different picture; I mean if you read a book, they just tell about things to see there. But actually, how people are there, and what type of people there are, that you will know only when you interact with them. I mean, there is a different way of saying 'yes', there is a different way of expressing 'no' and there is a different way of being neutral. It is something that you will come to know when you meet people. (Dove, ICT)

The general lack of information is vividly illustrated in the following quotations.

I did not even know where this country existed on the world map [laughs]. [...] I did not know anything about Finland, nothing. [...] We came here with two suitcases full of clothes [laughs]. (Anushka, ICT)

Before coming to Finland I never knew that Finland is a country. I did not know anything. (Dimple, ICT)

Nothing, we have one of our friends, who told us that Finland is very cold. We did not think anything else. (Sonam, ICT)

[I thought] it is a European country, it should be good. (Mina, ER)

Some migrants were better prepared and had thought seriously about the pros and cons of migrating (cf. on the difficulties of highly skilled migrants: Castles & Miller, 2003: 170-171). Available services and education were major concerns

for some. However, at the latest, the decision to move created an interest in the country and led to searching through whatever information was available. Several respondents mentioned Nokia's relocation service as a source of information.

The biggest problem was the schooling of my daughter. The second problem was: I was very afraid of the weather here, also in USA and UK it was cold. In US also it can reach even -23°C , but only for one or two days. But here, the weather was one problem, and the other was the schooling of my daughter. My husband came here a few times to meet the country manager, and after a while, he found out about the international school, and we sought admission there. So, I had two concerns: schooling and the weather. (Barbie, ICT)

I guess we read about it after the job was confirmed here. We read about it, what [all] it is, as we did not know about Finland then. [...] What kind of a country is this? What is the language [there]? What are its day-to-day practical things, which are necessary [to know]? Also we got an introduction package from Nokia. We read that and we got quite good information from that. [...] Work life was not written about in detail in the introductory package. In fact, there was nothing about work life in that, it was more about practical day-to-day life. E.g. how much bread could cost, and things like that. (Toni, ICT)

Migration triggers and activates many social-psychological processes, some of which are related to the self-image of the migrants. As most women had their background in extended families, the transfer closer to a *de facto* nuclear family has given them both new opportunities as well as new duties. As this is taking place at the same as the beginning of married life, it should be expected that the self-images of the women may change. Most of the women actually reported that they had become more independent, self-reliant and gained more self-confidence. Toni and Dimple describe this change as follows:

It is not so much, of course there is a little change, as earlier I was used to living at home, so there was a protected environment within the household. After that, when I got married, I lived with my in-laws, in other words there were elders at home. So in that situation you can take the help of elders in decision-making and things like that. That has changed a little that now we two, husband and wife, make decisions. (Toni, ICT)

After living here alone I have gained some confidence. (Dimple, ICT)

Loneliness and increased self-reliance can be seen both as advantages and disadvantages. Because of a lack of social relations, the initial phase of settlement was often experienced as more stressful. For Barbie, this has led to reconsiderations of native customs and understanding the situatedness of social rules. Butterfly has felt pressure as a result of the lack of social relations.

I think my way of thinking has changed a lot. And my attitude has changed, as now I have a positive attitude, and in many issues I have done well for myself. For me, every day is a learning day. My way of thinking has changed quite a lot, for example before, I was thinking that our social customs in India are very good and there cannot be other way besides them. And now, I still believe that they are good, but I live in a different way than before. (Barbie, ICT)

Change in the sense that it was difficult to get a job here, as the language is totally different here, so it was quite boring to sit at home all the time. I did not feel any other change as such. And we had [a joint] family [at that time] so I was involved with the family only and could not do anything. [...] There is no social circle, there is nothing, there is nothing at all, now slowly my friends and I have started a [social] circle and we meet each other every month now, otherwise there is nothing here. (Butterfly, ER)

Of major interest in this study is the way in which the women encountered the official migration and integration systems and authorities. It raises the question of how dependant migrants are both received and dealt with on the part of the Finnish state, and to what extent they are seen as a target group for information. It appeared that the women had received almost no information whatsoever at the time of their arrival, or later, in the course of their sparse contacts with the authorities. If any information was available, it was usually offered only upon request and in a language (Finnish) they could not understand. Complaints about the lack of information in English were an ongoing theme in many interviews. This can be viewed as a serious shortcoming in the official system, because most of the information about official services and such is disseminated – if at all – solely through employers, colleagues, friends and other social networks. Obviously large companies like Nokia have the ability to offer various resettlement services, but they are the exception, and based on the interviews, it is by no means self-evident that also the non-working spouse is able to obtain the information that it is necessary or useful to know.

Lalita Gola: Did you get anything from the officials?

Anushka (ICT): Nothing, nothing. No, no. [...] Whatever we got, it was from Nokia to my husband. [...] As to whatever information was available or whatever I wanted to know, it was in Finnish, so I never knew what it was. [...] When you come to Finland, there is no doubt that you get the information on the net, but everything is in Finnish. [...] One cannot understand anything. Everything is on the net, but not for us.

There was nothing in English. The secretary of my husband went with us. Also the people here do not understand English. [...] I do not know but altogether we had a very bad experience. The people here in Finland give more importance for the Finnish language. I mean that although people from other nationalities

come here, English is used here very little. Then, especially in offices where immigrants go, in these places, English should be used. [...] I even did not find any forms in English. The secretary filled the form and she also she talked with them. (Barbie, ICT)

One of my husband's colleagues, she helped us a lot [in getting information]. She introduced us to the local market and she helped us in getting registered everywhere. [...] We got ourselves registered at the immigration department; we did not get anything from there. [...] We got registered at KELA very late, we got KELA's book from KELA. (Sonam, ICT)

Our expectation in this section was that Finland became the destination country because of existing connections and knowledge of the country. This finds only partial support in the interviews. It is true that in many cases the initial trigger was related to existing connections, but they were usually only possible connections. In other words, prior knowledge of Finland was a necessary but not sufficient requirement in this context. In the case of marriage migrants, the potential husband used his existing networks in the country of origin to seek a partner. This applied especially to the ER families. Regarding the ICT professionals, the fact that Nokia's headquarters are in Finland and that many knew of the company was important. However, it can also be argued that most of the people could have ended up somewhere else. Moreover, even though we do not know the exact level of knowledge of Finland that the ICT professionals had, based on their wives' accounts we may presume that it was rather low in most cases. A more plausible conclusion therefore is that while prior connections were instrumental in most cases, they were by no means the deciding factor. The ICT professionals have a global labour market and in their case it appears that Nokia's reputation weighed more than Finland as such. Furthermore, it also appears that there is a serious lack of knowledge regarding Finland both prior to the migration and after it, especially in terms of local services (cf. Forsander et al., 2004: 200-202).

5.3 Transnational Relations

The study of transnational relations has been of extensive interest in ethnic and migration studies since the 1990s (Castles and Miller, 2003). Geographical distance is an important factor in the types and intensity of connections and in issues including economic differences and transport connections between the country of origin and settlement (Held et al., 1999). As India and Nepal are located quite far from Finland in terms of travel time, and the journey costs at least hundreds of euros, we noted this in the preliminary considerations. We did not expect intensive travel contacts between the countries. In this section we will take a closer look at visits to the country of origin, relatives living in third countries, ways of contact, remittances, media use and whether or not the migrants keep track of politics

in their country of origin. Our expectation is that transnational connections are rare because of the geographical distance between Finland and India. However, because of the better economic situation of Finland, we expected that remittances would be common and that all women would be supporting their relatives in the country of origin.

Almost all (14/16) of the women said that they visited relatives in India or Nepal. Annual visits were the most common, but gaps of up to four years were also mentioned. ICT families were more active in making visits, presumably because of more regular work schedules, greater income and more recent arrival in Finland. Nisha, who had lived in Finland since the early 1990s, has noted the difference:

Earlier we were used to go. I used to go every year. But it was very expensive; okay, initially we bore the costs. [...] There [in India] we also need to spend money. So I think in the initial five to six years I visited every year. [...] After that it was less frequent, like every two or three years. Then, when I started working, it became much less frequent. Now I have started my own business, so it will be more difficult to go. I have not gone [to India] in the last five years. [...] The children went with their father last summer. (Nisha, ER)

Beyond travel, contact was kept via telephone (14), the Internet (11; e-mail, chatting, Skype) and regular mail (1). The most common frequency of contact was once every week or two weeks. Many women also had relatives in other countries. Only three respondents said that they had no relatives outside Finland, India and Nepal. The most often mentioned countries with relatives were USA (6), UK (3) and Canada (2). The following were also mentioned: Australia, Austria, Dubai, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. Visiting relatives in these countries was less common, and only five study participants reported having done so. However, keeping in contact through the Internet and by telephone was quite common. This implies that most of the women are able to follow quite closely how their families and relatives are doing and what is happening in their country of origin. Additionally, nine women said that relatives from their country of origin had visited Finland at least once.

There are many relatives in the [extended] family, who live abroad. (Rita, ICT)

Just once when my younger daughter was born here, my in-laws visited us. Only they have visited, no-one else has visited as so far. (Dimple, ICT)

[We keep contact] by mail, by phone, we are in touch with everyone. (Ladybird, ICT)

In terms of remittances, ten women reported having supported their relatives at least occasionally, while six had not done so. Dove (ICT) was one whose family supported relatives in India: “We support both parents; we send [money for] monthly expenses through a bank”. Obviously all who had made visits to India

and Nepal had brought gifts to their relatives, but that was considered a normal obligation and not a special form of economic support. In Sana's (ER) words: "No, there is nothing like economic support. There is a difference in giving gifts and supporting someone economically." Many also noted that most goods are cheaper in India or Nepal, so there is not much sense in such support.

Remittances were not as common as expected, but still an existing phenomenon. Even though we did not make further inquiries about remittances, the issues connected to them appeared to be somewhat sensitive and often created an extensive discussion on the topic and about the differences between gifts and remittances. Moreover, there were no mentions of remittances from India or Nepal to Finland. Even though the majority viewed remittances in a positive light, the issue had also been a source of frustration for some.

In my experience all of our relatives come to meet us just for the sake of gifts. [laughs] And whatever gifts we get from India [from our relatives] are their rejected stuff. (laughs) [...] This is our experience. That's why gradually we have started hating the idea of visiting India. (Sonam, ICT)

We do not have to but you can say that in a way we do. There are two [of his] brothers for them as well, its not that they are not [doing anything themselves but still]. Of course whenever they say, we do not have this particular thing, he [husband] sends the money immediately. How should I tell you, you could say that we just end up doing that. [...] Money, clothes, things, everything. (Butterfly, ER)

Yes, as for the family of my husband. [...] We do, sometimes to my mother as for happiness. [...] especially from my husband's side, you know, the culture, so when you are in the family. [...] There is not any need as such, [...] we like to support the family, that's all. But it is not an obligation, you know, that you need to do it. (Kali, ICT)

The use of media and whether immigrants keep up-to-date through ethnic or national media are topical issues in migration research (Georgiou, 2006). Thirteen respondents said that they kept track of at least some forms of media from their country of origin. These included music CDs, movie DVDs, Internet and satellite television, especially Zee TV. Eight of the women reported that they had Zee TV, which they watched actively. Satellite television was more common among the entrepreneurs (4/6) than the ICT families (4/10). The media were used mainly for entertainment (serials, movies etc.), but also for following politics and other news. Almost all of the women said that they follow Finnish media at least to some extent, which, according to Georgiou (2006: 110), is a typical feature of diasporic media use. Obviously those with lesser Finnish skills only had an appetite for English-language programs. The need for media in one's native language can

also become actualised through children, with the family often viewing television-watching in the native language as a way for the family to relax together.

But we are planning [to get satellite TV], because of our child; his language skills will develop faster then. Otherwise we do not have so much time to go home and sit and watch TV, so that is the reason why we have not got it till today. [...] We watch movies by exchanging them with others, DVDs etc., whenever someone brings some new movie from India. (Rita, ICT)

We have Zee TV through dish antenna at home, that way my daughter also gets education about our culture. And it is good for us as well to pass our time. [...] Movie DVDs. [...] We listen to music, ghazals [poems that are intended to be sung] and all. (Dove, ICT)

I watch English serials only, on MTV3, on Nelonen, on SubTV. I watch English serials. [...] I watch sports in Finnish, I watch ice hockey. [...] Yes, I watch football, soccer; I can also watch lawn tennis, whoever is playing. I do not watch any [Finnish] serials, as I do not understand any Finnish. [...] Only my son watches cartoons, he enjoys that; I do not. (Ladybird, ICT)

All of us watch programmes. Children watch, I watch. [We] feel a little relaxed that way. Earlier we used to watch Finnish channels; on Finnish channels they do not have any of their own programmes, we used to watch all those American movies and serials. After that, when Zee TV became available here, then we got a connection. (Nisha, ER)

Eleven of the women reported following politics in their country of origin and three more said they heard the news through their husbands. There were significant differences in how intensively they followed developments in their native country. Some were only interested in major political events, such as elections, while others kept themselves up-to-date almost daily. The majority followed politics with less intensity.

I don't follow [politics]. My husband does, I don't. [...] He follows everything. (Barbie, ICT)

It is not that I go in-depth. [...] Whenever I get time, I listen [to news], and when I listen, I keep things in mind. When I went to India five years ago, there were elections going on. At that time I also cast my vote. (Sana, ER)

The expectation that transnational connections are rare because of the geographical distance between Finland, India and Nepal found support in the fact that travelling was not very frequent, usually only once every one or two years. Nevertheless, our expectation regarding other forms of transnationalism was not confirmed. Most women did stay in touch with their relatives in their country of

origin and also, to a lesser degree, in other countries. However, we may expect that the longer the time spent in Finland, the less frequent the connections may become. Regarding remittances, a small majority (10/16) of women said they sent at least some remittances. This was less than expected, but it nevertheless shows there is an informal flow of resources from Finland to the countries of origin. The only observable difference between the ICT and the entrepreneurs' wives was a somewhat more active contact with India on the part of the ICT women.

5.4 Family and Home

Migrants' family arrangements are an important and often overlooked theme in integration literature. Whereas transnational families are a growing field of interest (e.g., Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002), more attention could be directed at the arrangements of everyday life within the context of home and family in the new country. This is important, because it shows how work, family and social life are integrated. The main question in this section was, how the women experienced their family situation.

The conception of family is one of those features that differ quite extensively between Finland and India/Nepal. There are, of course, different types and perceptions of families in each country, but it is not an exaggeration to state that the family norm in Finland is the *nuclear family* whereas in India and Nepal it is the *extended family*. We asked the respondents about their views on their preferred family type, and eleven preferred an extended family and five the nuclear family. The ICT wives were more often in support of the nuclear family (4/10) in contrast to the ER wives, of whom only one preferred it. While all women noted the change in everyday social environment, as there are fewer people around in their Finnish household in comparison to the country of origin, they made rather strong arguments in favour of both ideal types. It should also be stated here that the role of the family and identities related to it appear to be very central in all discussions of culture in immigrants' self-perceptions in the country of settlement (cf. Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007; Tiilikainen, 2003).

The following quotations illustrate family ideals from a variety of perspectives. Some also questioned the prevalence of extended family as the ideal norm and "normal" type of family arrangement (Anushka). Much of the reflection was done with reference to one's personal history and the type of family one was brought up in (Dimple). There was also some weighing of the advantages and disadvantages of different family types (Ladybird, Sonam). Extended families were seen as lively, social environments, but also as arrangements that can lead to disharmony and quarrelling. Nevertheless, the extended family seemed to be the main reference point (Nisha, Sonam).

No, of course only husband, wife and children cannot make a family. Of course, in my opinion, elders [grandparents] are also important in a family. (Nisha, ER)

I have lived in a joint family since I was a child, so I always like joint family. [In India] we and five more uncles, we live together. So in one house, five or six families live together. And there were also my paternal grandparents, now they are dead, so it was very good. After marriage when I went to his [husband's] house, they lived as a nuclear family, so it was quite boring there, as if there was nothing. So when all live together, it is very good. (Dimple, ICT)

I prefer joint family. Okay, there are always advantages and disadvantages in everything, but I do not think that one should leave his/her parents. After all, parents have brought us up and then we leave them in their old age; this it is not good. I think one should live in a joint family only. (Ladybird, ICT)

I think nuclear families are better as I have seen problems [with joint families] both in my parents' house as well as in my in-laws' house. And that is the reason why I prefer nuclear families. And if you live in a couple system [joint family], then everyone wants to be independent and everyone wishes to have independence and does not want anyone's interference. It is only interference, what our parents and other old people in India [do], they want to give us some advice [or experiences] from their side, which today's generation do not want to accept and that gives rise to quarrels. And [therefore] I do not want to have such conditions for us, and that is the reason I believe a nuclear family is better. (Sonam, ICT)

We have always lived in a nuclear family till now. I was born and brought up in a nuclear family. So my concept [of a family] is nuclear family only unless a joint family or extended family is very tightly knit, which is quite rare to see. (Toni, ICT)

All of the women were married and thirteen had children. There were, however, differences between the ICT and entrepreneurs' wives. All ER wives had children and most (5/6) had two. Seven of the ICT wives had children; six of them had one, and only one had two. In other words, the ICT families were smaller households. Even though the ICT partners' average age was a few years younger, it appeared to be the case that the ICT families preferred smaller families. As we did not have a question regarding preferred or expected family size, the conclusion is only preliminary. It is also widely known that higher education – which the ICT wives had – leads to a delay in having children. Altogether five women were at home taking care of children.

The children (N=19) were mostly in day-care or kindergarten (5) and at school (10) and to a lesser extent at home (3). Six of the children were in English-language

and nine in Finnish-language day-care or schools. The ICT families had a clear preference for English-language education, whereas the entrepreneur families sent their children mostly to Finnish-language schools. Much of the everyday life in the families revolved around taking care of children's needs, taking them to day-care or school and meeting other families with children.

Interviewees often spoke a variety of languages at home, as in Aarju's (ICT) case: "[I speak] Hindi with my husband and Hindi with my child, but sometimes with the child, English too." The most common familial languages were Hindi/Nepali or a combination of Hindi and English. It should be noted that the language between the spouses and the children was often different. Many also spoke to their children in English, to give them at least elementary skills. This was motivated by a possible future move to some other country, as was the case with regard to the choice of English-language education. Finnish was the language used at home in only one family. During the field work, Lalita Gola observed that the children of the ER families spoke mostly Finnish to each other while playing.

We are not sure how long we are going to stay in Finland. Nothing is certain and English is an international language, that's why. (Aarju, ICT)

The majority of the families lived in two- or three-room apartments in suburbs in the capital region. All of the spouses of the interviewees were working. The ICT spouses worked mainly for Nokia, but also in a few other companies, and all ER spouses worked in ethnic Indian or Nepalese restaurants. The spouses' educational backgrounds were similar to those of their wives. The sharing of domestic tasks in families varied somewhat. There was some sharing in twelve families, but it was not common if the wife was at home. The most common activity in which the husbands did not participate was cooking. However, it appears that in about half of the families, all domestic tasks were divided fairly equally. Relationships between neighbours varied from nonexistent to warm.

[The only] problem is that it is very small, otherwise it is very good, and its location is very good for me. [...] Neighbourhood is also very good, very good neighbours. Neighbours are very helpful, very friendly. [...] One can ask anything, one can do anything, one can knock and ask them about anything, they will tell. (Ladybird, ICT)

In the kitchen, he doesn't know how to cook, otherwise I will get full help. (Barbie, ICT)

As I know all my neighbours; the only thing is that it took me six months to get to know them. Initially there was only one neighbour who used to talk to us. Most of the people there are old, and being old they might have been afraid of us, outsiders. So they did not talk to us at once. But they got used to seeing us. Slowly, after six months, I noticed that when my in-laws came [to visit us], they

become friends with everyone, and after they left [for India], everyone became our friends too. Now I feel [the kind of love of] parents we had to leave in India is what I am getting here from my neighbours, and that is the reason why I like to live here. (Sonam, ICT)

As in India, the people who live nearby come to visit and talk, and it happened a lot of the time. I mean, this is very important in India. Here the neighbourhood is definitely not important. I mean, people who live nearby don't come to visit others. [...] Who are the neighbours? I see them nowhere. Here, nobody is interested in the lifestyle of others. (Barbie, ICT)

The vast majority had kept their appetite for Indian food and were satisfied to see an increasing variety of Indian products both in ethnic shops as well as in local supermarkets. Also worth mentioning is that about two-thirds of the women were not particularly interested in Finnish food, which they considered tasteless. The fact that many followed a vegetarian diet certainly played a role in this, because vegetarian dishes are still not available in great variety in Finland. Nevertheless, a few individuals had also developed a taste for Finnish dishes.

Maybe [I do not like Finnish food] as I am a vegetarian and they do not have varieties, wide varieties, in that. (Anushka, ICT)

[Finnish food] does not have any taste to it. (Dimple, ICT)

Ethnicity and identity become both challenged and reconstructed as a result of international migration and resettlement. The women identified themselves mostly as Indian or Nepalese, especially the ER wives. The ICT wives had more flexible identities, as five of them identified themselves as Indian-international/European/Finnish. The division can also be understood as a reflection of the higher education and international experiences of the ICT wives. However, most women were clearly very proud to be Indian or Nepalese.

I think international [outside], but Indian at heart; that we do not want to leave our values. (Rita, ICT)

Of course to some extent we have really become Finnish. We cannot even maintain our culture. Diwali and Holi are just a formality now; we cook and eat something good on those days, that's all. Otherwise, when it is Christmas, we feel livelier and enjoy more as it is in the surroundings. [...] I have many Indian friends, who do everything just like in India, but I think I am very poor in that I cannot do it like that. I also do not feel sorry about it. (Anushka, ICT)

I am not going to call myself a Finn till the end of my life. Why should I call myself a Finn? My identity is Indian. (Sana, ER)

Homes are major sites in the construction and maintenance of ethnicity as well as the practice of religion (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). Most women reported having at least some artefacts in their homes to remind them of the country of origin. These included photos, paintings, carpets, religious pictures etc., but apparently in only a few homes they had a prominent position. However, at least one apartment was fully “Indian style” inside. Many women also mentioned that they represented culture at home through food and cooking and, apparently, the associated smells. A few women also mentioned that they liked to dress in Indian clothes while at home.

All my Gods and Goddesses are also here, they are [of] main importance to me. [...] Our way of dressing is Indian at home. [I] wear salwaar-kurta [Indian dress] at home, [I] do not wear jeans to walk around at home. (Ladybird, ICT)

One, by talking in Hindi, second, I have put many snapshots of my niece everywhere at my home, and third, as my husband likes to watch Hindi movies and loves to listen to Hindi songs, we have many DVDs at home, which we play all the time. And nothing else otherwise. Yes, sometimes also by wearing Indian dresses. (Sonam, ICT)

My taste [for decoration] is completely Indian. (Sana, ER)

Fifteen of the women were Hindu and one was Sikh. It is common in Hindu tradition that the home is the central place of religious practice, even though temples, sacred sites and festivals do have an important role to play. However, the role of the home becomes more accentuated in the diaspora, as Hindu organisations, shrines and festivals are few outside of India and Nepal (Baumann et al., 2003; Vertovec, 2000). Moreover, Hindus in diaspora appear to establish a collective religious infrastructure much later than, for instance, Christians and Muslims. Almost all of the women said that they were religious at least to some extent, and followed religious norms and practices. Some were very active in their religious observances, including daily worship and strict fasting. The most common religious practices at home were worship at the home shrine, fasting and celebrating religious festivals. Two women mentioned that they no longer fasted. Some children took part in the religious practises, but most children’s religious socialisation consisted of explaining the meaning of religious festivals, how to conduct home worship and the telling of religious stories. Even though no-one mentioned it, it is also more than likely that rules concerning what is pure/impure and what constitutes correct conduct in front of religious artefacts and so forth are a regular, self-evident part of religious socialisation.

[My daughter] is doing [pujas, religious rituals] with me. [...] I tell stories of India. [...] I told her the Ramayana. Now I will bring books from India. [...] I tell her stories of India, what is Ramayana, Mahabharata, How it was, what it is. [...] What fighting occurs in the Mahabharata, for what purpose it occurred, who is Sri Krishna, who was Ram. (Barbie, ICT)

I do not teach them [children] specifically, but when I worship God and they see me, then they too [...] learn and offer regards to God with joined hands [in the form of namaskaar]. [...] But I never teach them to say or recite this or that, but they have learnt themselves by seeing me. [laughs] [...] I do not make any special effort for that. (Dimple, ICT)

Karwa Chauth [fasting for a prosperous and long life for the husband], Teej [fasting for the prosperity of the family] on Mondays during the rainy season of India [fasting and worshipping of Lord Shiva], whatever is there, Janmashtami [fasting on the birth of Lord Krishna], Shivratri [fasting for Lord Shiva], all of those I do. (Ladybird, ICT)

We do teach [the children religious matters] [...] How worshipping is done, needing to keep fasts. For example, we ask the children to light a diya [lamp in front of God]. (Mina, ER)

At home we worship our God, in whom we have faith, so we do religious reading and offer prayers twice a day and also ask our son to do so, so that he should also know that this is the temple and we should offer prayers here. And of course we have made a proper temple and we have put photos of different gods inside that. [...] I have put [Lord] Ganesha's painting, or whatever you might call that. [...] But it is more like a decoration, you can say, rather than to show someone that it is from Indian culture. Worshipping god [is the main thing] in our small temple, which we have made. (Rita, ICT)

The main focus of this section was how the women experienced their family situation. The majority seemed quite satisfied with their family situation, even though many missed their extended family. They were generally quite satisfied with their housing and their spouses' participation in domestic tasks. Homes were important sites for the maintenance of Indian and Nepali identity and ethnicity, which took many forms. Even though not asked directly about it, it seems that religious practice is an important element in addition food and language. Additionally, it appeared that the idea of extended family provided psychological support to most of the women, even though the family form in itself had changed. The role of the family was also one of most important signifiers of their identity in contrast to the Finnish family ideal (cf. on a similar case regarding Somali women in Finland: Tiilikainen 2003).

5.5 Ethnic Community and Networks

Ethnic communities and networks have been frequently identified as important resources for immigrants (Castles & Miller, 2003: 228-229). In this section we ask whether they represent important resources for the respondents. This question brings together several questions from the interviews that queried about the number of contacts between co-ethnics, frequency of meetings, participation in ethnic

and religious events and participation in organisations. In addition, we shall see how the ethnic organisations view their role in terms of the Indian and Nepalese community in Finland (cf. Ahmad, 2005; Liebkind et al., 2004: 266–271).

All of the women stated unequivocally that contact with people of the same ethnic group or national origin was important to them, and all had at least some contact. The usual frequency of meetings was weekly or biweekly. Common places to conduct the visit were at home or various kinds of get-togethers. Some took part in a regular women's group.

Sometimes at work. At work all the people are Indians and Pakistanis, and that way I can talk to them. Or otherwise, if we go to some cultural event. Mostly I know Indians through my family [...] or otherwise through my work. Otherwise I do not have any other source for finding out about cultural centres or things that are happening around here. I do not have much time to get the information about other activities or what is happening [in the Indian community here]. (Sima, ICT)

The celebration of Indian festivals, especially *Holi* and *Diwali*, was considered of major importance.¹⁵ Children were often mentioned in the context of the get-togethers. It was considered important by parents that children could experience an “Indian atmosphere” and through that, appreciate their cultural heritage.

We realise this is a part of our customs, otherwise we would almost forget what is Diwali and what is Holi. I mean now the children can also understand the importance of Holi and Diwali. The main rituals are not done here the same way as they are done in India at that time, but at least they [the children] will come to know these are our main festivals, Holi and Diwali. (Dimple, ICT)

The role of cultural, ethnic and religious organisations was mentioned by many. Even if the women did not participate in their activities that often, the large festivals usually drew them together. There are several organisations that are important for this group of people. Alongside the Indian Embassy, there are the *Finnish-Indian-Society*, *FINTIA*, the *International Society for Krishna Consciousness in Finland* (ISKCON) and the *Saraswati Sindhu Cultural Association* (S3S). In addition, we can mention the Sikh Gurdwara in Sörnäinen, Helsinki, run by *The Gurdwara Community of Finland* and the *Aarambh Association*.

The central functions of the cultural and religious associations seem to be religious or cultural praxis, transmission of culture and religion to the next generation, socialising with fellow-ethnics and enjoying spare time. The socialising dimen-

¹⁵ Diwali (the festival of lights) is celebrated in October–November. It is dedicated to, among others, the return of Lord Rama and Sita from exile. The event is marked by lighting lamps, visiting relatives, feasting, and displaying fireworks. Holi (the festival of colours) is celebrated in February–March to mark the beginning of the summer season. Festivities include setting bonfires and throwing of coloured powder and water. Both festivals are celebrated by several religious groups, including Hindus and Sikhs.

sion is important, because the gatherings are among the few opportunities for children to learn to behave in a larger crowd that consists mainly of people of the same ethnic group. Participating in the associational life is also related to the reproduction of ethnicity, as Ladybird (ICT) notes: “Whenever we go to temple we get our Indian touch, at least there is something from India.”

[We go there] to learn about our own culture. When we meet each other, only then will the children know about our culture from each other. If we go to Finnish cultural events, then they will learn about Finnish culture only. When we meet Indians and keep contact with Indians, we are elders; whatever we do, the children see and learn from us and will then do the same. When we go to Gurdwara, the children do not cover their heads, they will learn it in two or three years. Like the way we bow our heads [in Gurdwara], they have also learnt it and do the same. How will they learn to bow their heads in Finnish church? (Butterfly, ER)

In temple we like the main function, not the usual weekend programmes. People go every weekend, but we do not. It is good once a while; it is also far away from our place. We like S3S programmes, as we come to know (more) about (our) culture and festival. And a feeling of festivity arises, like when there is a celebration for Diwali, and it feels good to see the different performances. There is some sort of change [of mood], in a way, that at least there is something different that one can do, and also it comes from our culture. (Rita, ICT)

The organisations providing services for Indian and Nepalese communities (see Section 4.2) have experienced a growth in demand for various kinds of cultural activities. Both the Finnish-Indian-Society and S3S have organised *Diwali* functions and the S3S also *Holi* festivities (FIS, 2006; S3S, 2006). The president of the Finnish-Indian-Society says that many Indian immigrants do partake in these events, but are not as interested in becoming members of the society. She also notes the different position of the ICT professionals living in Finland, confirming the already observed differences between ICT and ER migrants (cf. Section 3.2).

How the Indian community in Finland has changed. I mean it has grown a lot and now I think there is a sort of division between the IT people and the other people who are here for different reasons. I think that's really interesting, and these IT people are not so much, they are not hoping to adapt to Finnish society, they don't have the motivation to learn the language, because they can work in English and so forth, and they don't get lots of help from work [employer] in everyday things and when they come, so they don't need as much help from the Finnish people in this. [...] I wish we had more immigrant members and we will welcome them, but at least I know the Diwali festival is very important and after the last Diwali we received so many thanks and so many people said that we have to organise Holi as well. We have to organise bigger Diwali so that everybody can come, as all the tickets were sold out two weeks in advance, and then we had to take some people without tickets, who really wanted to come. So

I think these bigger events are important for the Indian community. I know the lectures are in Finnish, so I don't think they will be that [much] interested. This year we are also planning to have some kind of Bollywood or Bhangra music club thing going on, so I think that will attract Indian people. (FIS, 2006)

A member of the S3S emphasises the role of the organisation in socialising the children to Indian culture and tradition. Because there are few things in Finland to remind the families of their life and heritage from the subcontinent, volunteer work is needed. Again, the functions of *Holi* and *Diwali* take a central position (S3S, 2006). A similar viewpoint is provided by the temple president of ISKCON in Finland. The temple is a 'spiritual home' for immigrants, provides a place to get together and learn about religion and a place for children to learn Sanskrit and other Indian traditions (ISKCON, 2006; cf. Baumann et al., 2003b).

The main thing is for the kids of the Indian community, who are living here and who are unaware of the festivals and their importance. So the main aim of establishing this organisation is to promote Indian culture and the importance of Indian culture in the current generation, which we are lacking [in] because we are far away from our motherland. So we arrange mainly the festivals, which are of high importance in India. Like Holi and Diwali, which are celebrated in almost all parts of the Indian subcontinent, whether it is India or Pakistan or some other subcontinent. And whenever we conduct these kinds of events, we organise some activities for the kids. (S3S, 2006)

For immigrants the basic thing is, of course, that it's their spiritual home. It's the only temple in Finland. They feel that finally they can find a spark of spiritual India, and it's here. And then of course it's a place for them to gather together and have their different ceremonies, and where also bigger family meetings are sometimes arranged. And specifically it's to increase their spiritual practice of Bhakti-yoga and giving the facilities to study their own original scriptures, like the Bhagavad-Gita, and having it, as I said, is like a spiritual home for spiritual practices. But we don't have that many facilities, because we have to maintain it through whatever support we get, and therefore some of the aspects are lacking, like the farms. We don't have it yet, it's even challenging in these cold countries to have it like that. We have a Hindi school for the children; just now it's not there, but we teach them the Hindi language. And then we have Sanskrit studies and Bharatnatyam dance, and one of the main things, of course, for the children is that we are teaching in the schools; that once a week, there is religious teaching and it's part of the official religious teaching in the different schools. And we are very happy to facilitate them, so we are teaching now, I think, in four different schools and expanding that further so that all the Indian children can have the basic knowledge of their own original culture, spiritual culture, scriptures, the ethical values and Indian culture. (ISKCON, 2006)

However, not everyone was overly fond of all Indian-related meetings and events. They were, for instance, found repetitive. In addition, the role of these meetings varied in significance between families. For some they were of central importance, whereas others saw them more as one option among many.

I have gone to Indian functions two or three times, but after that they repeat the same thing again and again. There was nothing new for me. It is just a crowd. It is not like you feel quite refreshed to go there, that you feel good. Not so much. Sorry to disappoint you. (Anushka, ICT)

Social networks, be they friends or other acquaintances of the same ethnic/national group, were primarily forums for using the vernacular, discussing topical issues and sometimes seeking advice. Very few reported that they were important in finding employment, even though their usefulness in many other issues was noted. It was clear that the use of the vernacular, or at least some Indian language, was often associated with these events.

In my husband's office, there are get-togethers, there are picnics, so there are meetings. Also in my daughter's school there are around 10 or 12 Indian families. So the children meet there. My daughter speaks Hindi and she plays with those children. [...] And when our functions occur, I meet the Indian society there. (Barbie, ICT)

We have our Indian community here. We have our get-togethers here. We meet, we talk in our language. Otherwise, when you meet other people, you have to talk in English. I mean at least we get a touch of our own language when we talk to someone in Hindi; that is a totally different thing. Talking in English is entirely different. (Ladybird, ICT)

Some of the meetings were informal and gender-specific, and more common among the ER respondents. Our study brought to light women's friendship and religious circles, but it is also possible that men have similar groups. In Asha's (ER) words: "I must tell you one more thing if you are interested in going, here we have [a group of] some ladies, we meet on Sundays for "Satsang" [to sit and talk about religious preaching]." These types of informal religious gatherings are also common, for instance, among Somali women in Finland (Tiilikainen, 2003).

An important part in being able to express one's ethnicity is the availability of goods from the country of origin. Finnish supermarkets increasingly provide Indian food ingredients, which was noted by the interviewees. Although there are several ethnic shops, the variety in other types of goods, including clothing, is not very wide. In that context, one strategy for accommodating migrants could be to support business initiatives that aim to fill these gaps. Also in this context, the lack of services in English was again noted.

[We miss] Indian things, Indian dresses [laughs] that are not available here. And [if people here] could speak more English, it would be good. All the forms and so on are in Finnish, so whatever we get, we need to get translated, and it is quite difficult. If those forms could also be in English, it would be very good. (Dove, ICT)

Yes, there is a lot of development, not just some, but a lot of development. Earlier, when we came here, there were hardly two or three Indian restaurants here. Now there are many Indian restaurants, and even Nepalese restaurants are also serving Indian food. Those shops where one can buy Indian groceries, there were only one or two then, now there are five or six shops selling Indian groceries. So there is a lot of development. [...] Other things are available even in supermarkets here. Our beans and chickpeas are available in supermarkets. One can even buy Haldiram's Bhujia [a brand name of Indian snacks] here. So from a food point of view, there is a lot of development. (Ladybird, ICT)

Everyone has just taken one part of Indian cuisine, only North India. I have felt that the whole of Indian cuisine has not been brought here. [...] Southern Indian, the best food is from South India. I know this because there is less oil and more taste in that food. And it contains all those things that people here prefer, like coconut and so forth. [...] That is not available here anywhere. [Even though] I have seen that most of the people at Nokia are from South [India]. [...] The stuff is available, but these people have not thought about starting [that cuisine] here. It could be started here. (Sima, ICT)

This section was about the importance of ethnic networks as resources for social and psychological wellbeing as well as employment and information about Finland. While it is clear that ethnic networks are important in terms of psychological and social wellbeing in Finland, their role in providing labour opportunities was not strongly indicated (see also Section 5.7). Either they are not as important as expected or our methodology did not capture it (cf. Ahmed, 2005, who also found it very hard to track down the employment routes of Pakistani men in Finland). There is, however, no doubt that the existence of an Indian and Nepalese community as well as a number of organisations providing services to it is of major importance to the Indians and the Nepalese living in Finland.

5.6 Societal Participation

Participation in the activities of the host society is often seen as an indicator of positive immigrant integration. In this section we focus on the interviewed women's relationship to Finns, experiences of racism and discrimination and exposure to Finnish media. The question is: to what extent is there contact with mainstream society? Additionally, we asked whether they had favourite places in Finland, their opinion of the sauna and any new activities they had engaged in. We also asked

how Finnish authorities could improve the women's situation. The hypothesis was that the women have experienced racism and discrimination, because they constitute a visible minority.

Fifteen of the women responded that they had at least one Finnish friend. The usual number of friends was 2–5, and three mentioned having ten or more Finnish friends. The frequency of meeting them was a little less than with friends of the same nationality. The situation could imply that it is easier to form friendships with co-ethnics than with Finns. As the workplace was often mentioned as the place where Finns are met, this underlines the importance of work in social integration. Naturally, also school and day-care are important places of meeting Finns.

In daily life, I have many Finnish colleagues, so of course I meet them, of course I meet them daily and we have our lunch together and we also talk while walking here and there in the office. For example, if someone is wearing a nice dress, or if someone has bought something from somewhere, or sometime back when I was looking for some shoes somewhere – you know, this kind of talk happens everyday. Other than colleagues, we invite our friends to our home, but we do not meet friends every day. (Toni, ICT)

With Finns, we interact everyday. Daily at work [we interact] with Finns. Our business depends mainly on Finns. [...] I have many Finnish friends, but out of them only two or three are very close friends, those whom you can really call close friends. [...] Actually Finns have a different type [of interaction]. They have a way of calling you up for a cup of coffee. I have [an Indian] friend, and her husband is a Finn, he is a very good friend of mine. (Nisha, ICT)

Mainly I came in contact with people only when my daughter started to go to day-care. (Sana, ER)

Most women said that they had had some experiences of racism or discrimination, but only a few considered the majority population to be hostile. A more common response on the part of the majority population was a suspicious attitude toward what was seen as a minority. It also appeared that ICT wives had fewer experiences of racism than entrepreneurs' wives, even though the data does not permit a detailed analysis. If that is indeed the case, the explanation probably lies in the different social environments that the women inhabit. In particular, when children were targets of racism, the women felt easier powerless than with other people, as that could be easier neglected. In particular, when children were targets of racism, the women felt more powerless, as that was more difficult to ignore.

I mean kids do tease, saying things like, why is your complexion black [dark]? Her complexion is like my complexion; hers is rather fair, but not in comparison to Europeans. She is fairer than me; she has inherited [her complexion] from her father. So things like that, "why is your complexion black?" or "why are

you here?” and things like this. So she got scared: “why do they ask me such questions?” Slowly, it is adjusting. Now there are not as many problems, since the last two years there haven’t been any, but she encountered problems till third or fourth grade. (Asha, ER)

I feel that they [Finns] do not feel at ease while talking [to immigrants], I mean they hesitate while talking to foreigners. And some people, they do not like loud-speaking people, black people, people with black complexion, for them everybody is African [laughs]. [...] But, that’s on the one hand – on the other hand, people want to interact with foreigners, they want to know about their culture. There are both types of people. (Dove, ICT)

I think 80% [of Finns] are racist. [...] I mean their first question, which I could not understand for many years, was why that person would ask, “why have you come here?” The first question is, “why did you come here, what is the reason?” and “are you going to live here permanently?” It took me many years to understand these questions. (Asha, ER)

Discriminatory behaviour or outspoken racism appears to have a rather minor place in most people’s lives. Sana (ER) reported a rare case of outspoken discrimination: “Once, my husband went to *parturi* (barber), there was an old man, who said ‘Now these people are getting haircuts, the ones who go to the welfare office’. Several respondents wanted to emphasise that most people were pleasant or at least not rude, even though many were somewhat reserved. While that could be seen as a defence mechanism against negative attitudes, the lack of more negative examples makes it plausible that Indians and Nepalese do not generally experience much outspoken discrimination. It was also often noted that there are many enthusiasts who are highly interested in the lives and culture of people of foreign origin.

Finns are good, they are always good. One may go to any office, and they treat us very nicely. One or two times it has happened on the metro that someone who is drunk might behave badly, but he is a drunk, we can’t say anything to him even if he is saying bad things when he sees that we are Asians. We do not understand what they are saying but facial expressions tell a lot. And of course one can make out he does not like our presence here. (Aarju, ICT)

They do not show any racial discrimination or anything like that. I mean I am telling you about Helsinki only. Nobody has misbehaved ever [with us]. Even in our building everyone is nice and they talk nicely. Outside also, nothing like that has happened to us, so. [...] Finns have a good attitude, it is very good. It is rare to find someone, who will misbehave with you. [...] Sometimes it might happen, like when there is language problem, then if they do not understand, they make faces. When they cannot understand a language, they become rude. (Dimple, ICT)

Discussion of gender roles is a prominent part of the ethnicity discourse (cf. Saarinen 2007) in a manner similar to family relations. We asked respondents whether they saw any differences in the position of Finnish women and themselves. The majority said that differences did exist and that Finnish women were more independent, dominant, outgoing and self-reliant both in public and in domestic settings. This was not always seen in a positive light, though. Many respondents felt that Indian and Nepalese women had a more secure role as wives and thought of it as superior to the position of Finnish women.

I think maybe because of my cultural background I don't feel that insecure, I feel much better than any Finnish woman. Though they also work, they are also hard working, but still they have some kind of family-insecurity that is not there in our case. (Anushka, ICT)

They are dominating. They are more independent, even in making decisions they are more independent, which we are not. I am not [independent], I think many Indian ladies are not [independent in making decisions] [laughs]. (Dove, ICT)

Our culture and their culture are entirely different. I cannot dress up like them, I cannot drink like them, I cannot smoke like them, there are many [differences]. Their cooking, our cooking, all these things are different, so I cannot be a Finnish lady. I am entirely different. (Ladybird, ICT)

I have this feeling, I have felt it personally that these people [women] are far more depressed than us. [...] If you can see [feel] deep inside their hearts, you will see they are sad [depressed]. One is the habit of suspicion, they keep a close eye on their husbands; they cannot trust their husbands as they also do [untrustworthy things]. They themselves do things that are wrong, so they do not trust their husbands. (Asha, ER)

The women have also found new interests while living in Finland. The experience of Finnish sauna has been valued by almost all of the respondents (15/16). To quote Aarju (ICT): "Sauna is good, because in India sweating is something usual, but here the weather is cold round the year so it is good to have sauna here. It is important to use sauna." Whereas the sauna was generally valued, most felt uncomfortable with the idea of nudity in front of friends or children.

Winter sports and outdoor life were other positive aspects of life in Finland mentioned by several women. Understandably, ice hockey, skating and skiing are activities that are unfamiliar to most Indians, but many had enjoyed either taking them up themselves or seeing their children do so. That is also reflected in the growing interest in watching these sports on the television.

Actually our customers were used to watching, so we had to put on that [channel] on TV. So gradually by watching [we got used to it]. There is a lot of rushing [during ice-hockey matches]; they make so much noise. Like cricket [in India], we are now addicted to it. (Asha, ER)

Contrasting Finland and India or Nepal was done also in other ways. The purity of the natural and urban environment was noted by many. Finns were also considered rather honest. Smoking and the consumption of alcohol and problems related to it were named as unpleasant elements of Finnish culture.

There is honesty in this society; that is something I would like to take to India. [laughs] [...] People are helpful. People are very helpful, very honest. [...] Just the drinking and smoking are bad here, otherwise nothing else. (Ladybird, ICT)

First difference is our complexion. Secondly, we are very much dependent on our husbands, while they are not. Third, if the ladies here work, the income they get from their jobs is their own, while in our case if we are earning, our husbands think they have full rights to our salaries, and also vice-versa; if our husbands are earning, we think we have full rights to their salaries. This is something Finnish ladies do not accept. Here, if it is their salary, then it is their money; if it is their husband's salary, it is their husband's money. This is the major difference [I have] seen. Other than that, our Indian mentality is such that whatever we do, we always think about others, what others might say about us, if we do this or that what people might say about us? While these ladies [Finns] do not think that way, they do whatever they like. We do whatever we think others might like, we [do things to] satisfy others. (Sonam, ICT)

I have learnt punctuality here. [...] [In India,] if a bus or a train is 5 minutes, 30 minutes late it does not bother us. But here, if it is 30 seconds late, we start to look at our watches. (Sima, ICT)

There is no pollution. [...] There is no pollution; where can you find clean sugar in Nepal and India? [...] You can drink the water, nothing will happen, and facilities, for example here the travel facilities are good, they come in time, all this I will miss. (Kali, ER)

Our [role] is better than theirs. I have seen many Finnish families here, which are very good and take care of their children. But most of the time I have seen when they go out at night, I have even seen one lady leave her 2-year-old son with her 6- or 7-year-old son alone at home to go out drinking. (Nisha, ER)

at the study also examined whether the women experienced racism or discrimination, because they constitute a visible minority. While the respondents were aware that they could be seen as 'immigrants' and many noted that people made 'faces' at them, few mentioned, or at least divulged, experiences of outspoken racism or

discrimination. Instead, it appears that the majority population expressed suspicion and a cautious attitude. The strongest feelings of exclusion were actually related to the role of Finnish language in society and to the more restricted opportunities that English speakers have.

5.7 Work

Finnish society is based on a two-breadwinner model, where the normative expectation is that both parents are working, unless the children are very small. Thus, working is seen as a normative expectation of “a good person”. Working is, naturally, also important for financial security and prosperity, which is especially important for immigrants, as they lack many social support networks that most natives have. In this section we look at how the interviewed women viewed work and characterised their labour market situation. The question summarises several questions from the interviews that addressed topics such as previous and current employment status, ways of finding work, work’s relationship to educational background and the role of Finnish authorities. We will also look at the respondents’ use of the services of local employment offices.

About half of the women said they had work experience from India. When the women began to look for employment in Finland, they used somewhat different strategies, but only a few mentioned the role the employment office as important. Most had found work either through relatives or acquaintances or through their own initiative. One of the respondents named her residence permit status as a barrier when applying for work in the early stages of her stay in Finland.

[I got A-status] in 2004. Only after that I could get myself registered at the employment exchange. Without that (A-status), you cannot even get registered at the employment exchange. [...] I got this job because the previous employee is on maternity leave and I am working in her place. [...] My friend told me about this one. I applied last year also for the same job, but I found out that I could only work with A-status, not with B-status. The person before me must have got it through the employment exchange. The person who was working in this position before, I asked her that if there was any job like this, to please tell me in the future. [...] The woman told me about this, she told me she was going on maternity leave, and that I could apply for the job. So I applied for this job and got it. (Aarju, ICT)

I applied for it in [a company], they called me for an interview and I got it. [...] At that time we did not know so many people, as we were new here. [...] I sent my CV myself by post. [...] I searched on the web. I have done everything myself. (Dove, ICT)

Rita (ICT): That job I got even before coming here, as I told you about the interview.

Lalita: Okay, you gave the interview back in India.

Rita (ICT): But of course his job was sure, as he has worked so long for Nokia. He was just waiting for a work permit; here you can apply for spouse's work permit only after you get yours. So we waited, and when he got his, then we applied for mine. And when we both got it, we came together. It was not that he came first and then I waited for him.

There was a job published in the newspaper and I applied for it, then they called me [for an interview]. [...] And I gave the interview and after that they selected me. (Sonam, ICT)

Half of the ER ladies worked in an ethnic restaurant, often a family business. About half of the ICT wives worked in an ICT-related company, but there were also other professions. At the time of the interview, five of the women were at home with children. In other words, the same professions dominate among the women as among their husbands.

Finnish-language skills were named by many as an obstacle to finding work. Even when language skills were not necessary in their current job, the women understood that a lack of Finnish skills restricted their opportunities. Language skills are noted in much of the national research on the topic as one of the central barriers to employment (e.g., Jaakkola & Reuter, 2007), but beyond that they also restrict the kind of job one can have. Poor Finnish skills can also work as a mental barrier in attempting to activate oneself. This means that the Finnish labour market is, among other divisions, also segmented by language.

When I was taking Finnish classes, there was this training for two months. Then it all depends on you, which field you choose to work in. Then the teacher there can help you to find a suitable job. So I got this job in a company. [...] I think if I update my Finnish language skills, I can think of going to some other place rather than sticking to this my whole life. I can get better opportunities, I need to work hard for that, and otherwise it is quite good. (Anushka, ICT)

I did not try, you could say. I mean, I did not look for work with great effort. As I did not have time, or I did not think that I could get work like that; there was only one thought, that I must learn the language first. And because of family I never got the time for [learning] the language. (Butterfly, ER)

Several women said that they were getting bored staying at home, and wanted to find something else to do. For some, participation in volunteer work has represented such opportunity, but for many, work has been the first option. Even

women who are currently at home with children plan to look for work at some stage. The women rarely mentioned financial difficulties, but it is clear that with two people working, the family's financial situation is improved. Additionally, most of the women were satisfied with their salary at work.

Lalita: So how did you get this work, did you get help from someone or did you get it through your efforts?

Sima (ICT): No, I was getting bored at home, so I started dialling some numbers and I found my job.

There is no use sitting at home, as it gets very boring at home otherwise. There is not much social life, now slowly, after working for so long [we have a social life]. Then I worked for another restaurant, there I learnt [Finnish]. Then I got the post of manager there, they supported me quite a lot, so I learnt a lot [of Finnish] there. After that, I decided in 2004 to start my own business. But business is quite difficult, there are a lot of problems in having a business. There are taxes, very high taxes, and there are other problems besides that, related to [business] documents and small things, which are of no meaning. I do not understand where all these [problems] come from. And there are high rents, so I am not very satisfied with business. I was satisfied with my job. At least there was the certainty that I would get 2000€ a month in my hands. With an 8-hour day, one knows that one can go to his/her home after eight hours and sit and relax. One can do things. With your own business, you are not sure what might happen next. (Nisha, ER)

The interviewed women had apparently found it somewhat easier to find a job than Indian and Nepalese women in general, as was already suggested in Section 3.2., when comparing the interview data to statistical information. Thus, based on the material it is difficult to generalise on the difficulties in attaining work.

Others in my group have to struggle a lot to get a job. I have friends who have to work in kindergartens, they faced a lot of problems there, and they picked up infections there; so that was the problem there. Then they did some courses, then some joined as *myyjä* (salesperson), someone is working in sales, and another is working somewhere else. So they have done a lot [of struggling]. (Asha, ER)

When we came here for the first time I wasn't aware of the services provided by the employment office, that they suggest jobs to you according to your educational background and also suggest that you apply at different places for different jobs. So, that help from the employment office. [...] If I had known from the beginning, so much of my time would not have gone to waste like this. It is also there that we can take Finnish-language courses. [...] There is one Indian friend of mine, who went to the employment exchange and from there she got an opportunity to work, that's how I came to know, through her. What if I had never met her, I would have never known this. (Anushka, ICT)

In ethnic businesses, Indian employees were considered more loyal and better than Finnish ones. Nisha explains in the following quote the difficulties in finding suitable employees. According to her, once a Finnish employee has learned the trade, they often leave. That is one of the reasons why co-ethnics are preferred as employees. Östen Wahlbeck (2005) has found similar patterns among Turkish entrepreneurs in Finland.

Yes, for the time being only husband and wife. We have tried to get a worker, but what happens with Finnish workers is that first we need to teach them how to work, and in the end, when they have learned the work, they say goodbye [they are not permanent]. So it is not worth it, so that's why it is quite difficult. So that's why I have requested one person from India. [...] We have decided to get one person from India; we have applied two months before for that. We have not got any response about that to date. Let's see, maybe [we will get one]. (Nisha, ER)

High taxation was a common complaint among the entrepreneurs' wives, as well as the bureaucracy related to being an entrepreneur. Despite long hours, new business initiatives were being considered.

Everything goes to taxes and if we have talked to the bank [about having a loan], then [they say] there should be this and that kind of paper. First, so much time is wasted in all that, and then they say they can't do anything [for you]. So it is better not to hope for any help from them, and it is better to do it on our own. (Nisha, ER)

Finland is very expensive. Yes, and in Finland, not all items are available. I find Finland very conservative. I think that there is a lot of socialism in Finland. I definitely don't like the taxation here. If you have a job here, you get very little for your house. Basically it is enough, so much costs a lot, the taxation is a lot. I do think that the government should give so many benefits. There is so much tax on every item, so it is very expensive, and not that many varieties. Here, when you go shopping for something, all the shops have the same jacket. Even the standard of the vegetables and fruit is not good. It is maybe because the weather is like this. (Barbie, ICT)

About work, I dream of having a restaurant chain, like a franchise, as I have a kitchen [...]. It is very big. I have invested quite a good amount there. I have arranged big machinery and everything there. So I thought, now I am talking to [some people] at one or two places that... (Nisha, ER)

Discrimination in the workplace was not an issue brought up by the women. Only one respondent viewed it as a possibility in a promotion that occurred within an organisation.

When I was trying to change my job, there were only us two candidates, one was an Indian and the other one was a Finn, and the hiring manager was also a Finn. And it was a neck-to-neck fight [between the two of us] and in that one, the other person was chosen, as she could speak the local language. In other words, she was a Finn, which was not a requirement for the job. [...] [Local] language was not required for that job, that's why I applied for it, otherwise I would not have applied. So from that point of view I can say that as both of us were in a neck-to-neck fight and there came up this factor of Finn-to-Finn, that person was taken. So I cannot say if it was anti-Indian or anti-foreigner. (Toni, ICT)

We also examined whether those who were employed had used the services of local employment offices more extensively. This appears not to be the case. Employment offices were mentioned occasionally in the interviews, but more often in the context of courses and language education, as one needs to be a registered job seeker to participate in the courses. The role of Finnish authorities remained rather obscure in general in most of the interviews. It appears that the respondents have had very limited contact with employment authorities, which is rather surprising given their central role in national integration programmes.

5.8 Future Prospects

Moving to another country often brings major life changes. Social ties are cut or severely reduced, linguistic problems arise, everyday life is different to varying degrees, gender roles become under stress etc. Although today's migrants are increasingly mobile and many continue to further destinations or return home, it is a fact that migration often also leads to permanent settlement, preceded by plans regarding future stay. The question in this section examines how the women saw their future in Finland. The question summarises several questions from the interviews, including future prospects regarding permanent settlement in Finland, application for Finnish citizenship, expectations of future employment and considerations of children's future. The section also looks at whether plans regarding permanent residence are bound with the acquisition of citizenship and the children's future.

Seven women considered a permanent stay in Finland the most likely scenario, and saw no major obstacles on their way. Five also looked forward to applying for Finnish citizenship and one was already a Finnish citizen. Four women were quite sure that they would not continue living in Finland and would return to the country of origin no later than in retirement. Five women were still unsure about their future. Most women considered it useful to obtain Finnish citizenship, if they were to settle permanently, but gave it widely varying degrees of importance. Some even felt that citizenship was not necessary even in the case of permanent residence. This may imply that they had experienced no major obstacles as a result of non-citizenship. Many considered dual citizenship a good opportunity.

We have not made any decision about it, but sometimes we think the people and culture of Finland are good, we will live here as long as we can. (Aarju, ICT)

That means that we become emotionally magnetised to go to India, or suddenly my husband sees his career growth better somewhere else in that kind of situation. Otherwise, I have no problem living here in the future, in the long run. [...] Because in six years in Finland, everything has been established so much that going through the same process again... (Anushka, ICT)

I think in old age, if we are going to live here till old age, i.e. till 50. After that we will go back. In old age one wishes to live with one's family, close to one's own brother and sister. [...] Now we do not have any plans to move, now we are here only. (Dove, ICT)

Lalita: So do you think Finnish citizenship is important for you?

Sima (ICT): Yes.

Lalita: Why, why do you think so?

Sima (ICT): For getting nationality, and also I have got this good [option] of keeping my Indian as well as Finnish passports [dual citizenship]. So that is possible within this system. Also, if I want to travel around Europe or if I want to start a business of my own, then it is important to have a Finnish passport.

I would like to say that we are Indian. Our identity is only that we are Indian, even though I have Finnish citizenship. Finnish nationality is important here only for official purposes, otherwise it is not very important. If you have Finnish nationality, then at least they give you some importance if you go to some office or if you need any help in official paper work. (Nisha, ER)

The option of moving to a third country or back to India was more prominent among the ICT respondents. That was already clear in the language education of their children, where many preferred an English-language education in favour of a Finnish one. Minna Zechner (2007) has noted a similar trend among Chinese migrants in Finland. If the Chinese consider returning back to China at some stage, they need to start teaching their children the written Chinese language at an early age, because of the length of the language learning process.

That's what I am telling you, earlier we used to think, when we have our children, we will send them to study in our country, in our culture, everything will be done for them there, education and other learning. We used to talk about it, but it was not possible. We stayed here and the children are getting their education here. (Mina, ER)

I mean it is 50-50 with us. It also depends what situation we might be in, you never know about Nokia's situation. Nothing is sure, there are so many ups and downs in the industry nowadays. So that's why we are not making up our minds [to live here permanently], maybe just in case, if we have to go away from here, then we will feel very bad. [...] That we thought so and so, and it turned out be something else. So we are open [to all options]. [...] Yes, if both of us keep permanent jobs and will get good challenges to move up [in our careers], and there are more challenges and so forth in terms of studies, here it is possible to study [further] etc... (Rita, ICT)

Expectations regarding children's future were mostly connected to good education and them becoming "good adults". We also asked about preferred marriage partners. Five of the ER women preferred an Indian or Nepalese husbands for their daughters, whereas the majority of the ICT women had no preference regarding the ethnicity of their children's future spouse. This implies that among the less educated there are more traditional expectations regarding their children's future marriage patterns. However, it was implicit in all cases that the children were expected to marry for life and should not adapt to life patterns that are common in Finland, including cohabitation or multiple marriages.

Lalita: So now your daughter is quite young, so when she will grow up, whom do you expect her to marry?

Dove (ICT): It's up to her. It is not that she has to marry an Indian or she has to marry a Finn or someone else, it depends on her. [...] My parents never interfered, so I will also not interfere (laughs).

India, no. We are okay here. Now we need not to see our interests, now we need to see our children's interest. I accept that India is quite forward, quite progressive, but there is a lot of competition in India. (Butterfly, ER)

Some adaptation to a Finnish way of life can be seen in the following comments from Aarju and Rita, where *omakotitalo* (single-family house) and a summer cottage have become dreams. Both of these belong strongly to Finnish ideals about housing and lifestyle.

I want to learn Finnish and want to get a good job based on that or otherwise, and I want to have a good house, as they say in Finnish, *omakotitalo*, in Finland. [...] I want a good education for my child, that is my only hope. (Aarju, ICT)

Of course we do not have a summer cottage now, but Nokia has summer cottages, which one can rent so we went there as well. So this concept of a summer cottage or sauna, which are Finnish, we like them – that for a change, one goes out and one feels good and relaxed. Also it is good as it is a different environment than one's household environment. And of course sauna is good. (Rita, ICT)

Generally speaking, future developments did not appear to have a central role in the women's lives at the time of the interviews. Most were apparently living quite comfortably and were mainly occupied with work and family issues. Only a few expressed a clear discomfort with certain issues. The same respondents also appeared to have a lower threshold to moving somewhere else.

We also inquired about the women's wishes and expectations in terms of how they could be better served by local immigration service providers. The following comments by Rita summarise many of the issues. Authorities could be more proactive and should listen more carefully to the needs of immigrants, so that existing services could better reach their intended users. Information, according to Rita and many others, should be more widely available in at least English.

They are very calm and listening kind of people, not very talkative. [...] They listen to what [one is saying], but not only listen, they try to understand what you are saying, that's more, the most important thing. [...] I know there are exceptions also but in general they are respectful. [...] I think this is good, that's why you are more comfortable here. May be if you go to some other place where you get everything except for respect, I don't think you will like that place. [...] Too much is also not good. They should be more helpful; if you are not helping someone just because he or she is not speaking Finnish, as I told you they do not step forward to help, so their attitude should be a little more helpful. Especially, as you said in KELA offices and such places [of public services], where people go for immigration [related matters], police department [etc.], and at least they should offer help to people about what they can do. [...] Or they should have brochures [to hand out], which could be helpful for people. [...] About a few things, this idea I got from you. It should not be that only if someone asks, only then they will tell. [The authorities] should think about what could be required by a new person in Finland, as those who are new in Finland have no idea about how things are in Finland. [...] So instead of learning gradually through one's own experiences, it would be better to get first-hand information regarding what to do in different circumstances. I'll give you one example: I did not know till recently that one does not have to pay medical bills if they exceed a highest yearly limit. Of course that limit is so high that it cannot be exceeded easily. Still, we did not know this; we recently came to know this. These people do not tell you these things. (Rita, ICT)

I think the kind of work you are doing, they should also do something like this to find out immigrants' expectations. And they can make a database of the kinds of hobbies immigrants want to have or [what infrastructure should be there] for different hobbies, what should be done [for extra curricular activities], what activities should be arranged during weekends like that. [...] And especially for working foreigners, as those people cannot even learn Finnish as all the classes are during working hours, so it is not practically possible. Even if the employer agrees [to giving free time for classes], even then sometimes it is not possible. (Rita, ICT)

Additionally, we looked at whether the factors that were weighed in considering a permanent stay are closely bound with the acquisition of citizenship and consideration of the children's future. The future of children was obviously a major concern for all women with children, but the issue of citizenship provided more diffuse answers. Apparently, applying for citizenship was not a top priority for most women at the current stage. The value of citizenship was seen as rather instrumental, related to the opportunities it might provide. Dual citizenship, however, was valued by both groups.

6 Summary and Discussion

6.1 Summary

The aims of the study were (A) to present a holistic picture of the lives of women and families from India and Nepal in Finland that is (B) combined with a focus on labour market integration, (C) to identify good practices as well as problems with regard to the activities of Finnish authorities in migration and integration affairs and (D) to provide elementary background data about migrants from the Indian subcontinent for this study and subsequent research. The study's original material consisted of statistics provided by Statistics Finland and 20 semi-structured, thematic interviews conducted by Lalita Gola in the Helsinki capital region between January and August 2006. Sixteen interviews were conducted with Indian (14) and Nepalese (2) women. The women are divided into two groups in the analysis: *the wives of ICT professionals* (abbr. ICT, N=10) and *the wives of ethnic restaurant workers and entrepreneurs* (abbr. ER, N=6). The statistics were analysed by cross-tabulation. The interviews were analysed by thematic content analysis, mostly through a realist reading of the texts. It was expected that the interview sample over-represents women with higher education and those better off in general. These aims of the study were operationalised into nine research questions, to which the answers are provided in the following.

(1) What constitutes the Indian and Nepalese population in Finland?

Migration from the Indian subcontinent to Finland has been a minor phenomenon until now. In 2006, there were altogether 4,764 people born in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka living in Finland. They constituted 3% of all foreign born and 15% of all Asian born. This group has an imbalanced gender structure, and 64% of them were male. Indians are the largest group and form 52% of the group. With the exception of Sri Lanka, all other groups are male dominated. Both the Nepalese and Indians are heavily concentrated in the Uusimaa (capital) region. Seventy-six percent of Nepalese and 68% of Indians lived near Helsinki, and most others in the vicinity of the cities of Tampere, Turku and Oulu. These areas are also those with the largest ICT companies. The vast majority of Indian and Nepalese migrants hold their native citizenship. The age structure of these groups is slightly older than of immigrants in general – something to be expected in work-dominated immigration. Eighty-six percent of them moved to Finland at 15–64 years and only 13% under the age of 15. Men are well employed, approaching the national average, but among women unemployment is higher – a little below average among immigrants.

Marriage usually occurs within the same national group, even though this is slightly more common for women (78%) than men (64%). Single mothers are not common; only 7% of women live alone with their children. Families with an Indian, Nepalese or Sri Lankan parent had 1,311 children in 2005, of which 385 were among the same national groups. This appears to be in contrast to the family situation, but can probably be explained by the later arrival of spouses from the countries of origin. We may thus expect that the proportion of children with two immigrant parents is going to rise in the coming years. Most of the children are still very young.

We also looked at whether the original male domination of migratory flows was followed by a later increase in the number of female migrants, diminishing the imbalance in gender ratios. That did not find support in the material. The gender ratios for Indians have been stable (34%) in the 2000s, and have even decreased for the Nepalese from 2000 to 2006 by 2 percentage units. A plausible explanation is that, simultaneously with increasing female migration, corresponding or stronger male migration has continued, so that the gender balance has not yet begun to stabilise. This notion is supported both by the relatively high rate of endogamous marriages and by the significantly higher ratio of male (48 %) versus female (24 %) single dwellers above the age of 15.

(2) What is the human capital of the interviewed women?

All interviewed women are first generation migrants and were between the ages of 25 and 40 years at the time of the interview. Most of the women migrated between 1995 and 2005, and the majority moved directly from India to Finland. The majority (15/16) were still nationals of their country of origin. Fifteen were married to a man from the country of origin and one was married to a Finn. Five women were currently at home with children full time, the rest were working. Most of the children had been born in Finland. None of the women had migrated to Finland solely on their own initiative, but in almost all cases the move was in some way related to marriage or to their husband's work. They had received their elementary, secondary and further education in the country of origin, even though some had taken additional courses in Finland. The ICT wives had a higher educational level. All women spoke English and Hindi, and thirteen spoke three or more languages. All ER wives spoke at least some Finnish, while only half of the ICT wives did. Linguistic acculturation is thus taking different paths in these two groups.

The human capital of these women appeared to suit Finnish labour market demands rather well, as most (11) were working. Those who were not were either on maternity leave or not currently interested in working. In the case of these women, their foreign educational background did not appear to be a major obstacle to entering the workforce, as has often been suggested in research literature.

As many of the women worked either in ICT-related or ethnic restaurant businesses, the results may not be that surprising in the end, but rather highlight the different, segmented labour markets that are available to immigrants (Bommes & Kolb, 2006). Thus, we cannot say that human capital alone explains the women's generally good experiences in the labour market, but rather, that the women have found their niche in a segmented labour market.

(3) How and why did Finland become the country of destination?

The decision to migrate is one of the sharpest dividers between the experiences of the ICT and ER wives. All of the ICT wives had made a mutual decision with their husband to migrate to Finland, whereas the ER wives had migrated as a natural consequence of marriage to a spouse living abroad. There was often a time gap in migration, as the husband often came earlier. Three of the ICT wives came a few months later, while the rest arrived simultaneously with their husband. In the case of the ER wives, the migration gap was significantly longer, sometimes several years, and they all arrived after their husband had already been living in Finland. Even though most women (15/16) initially entered the country because of their husband, the process itself had taken different paths. The majority of women came to Finland directly from India or Nepal. This was the case for all ER wives and for five of the ICT wives. The rest of the ICT couples had one or more international settlements in-between, usually in a western country. This bespeaks the greater global mobility and wider labour markets among ICT professionals, some of whom could be described as transmigrants. On the one hand, they have a global labour market with work opportunities in many countries. On the other hand, when they decide to settle, they are faced with much more restricted possibilities of finding opportunities for career development in their own organisations.

Over half of the women had no or little prior knowledge of Finland. The main channels of information were their husbands or relatives already living in Finland. In addition, some had searched the web, read books or watched documentaries on television. Living costs and arrangements, work culture and other cultural issues were generally not well known to the respondents. Early on, weather was the greatest worry for several women, but information about everyday life was scant in almost all cases. Most of the women actually said that they had become more independent, self-reliant and had gained more self-confidence. As a result of a lack of social relations, the initial phase of settlement was often experienced as more stressful. Information about Finland upon arrival or soon thereafter was available, but it was usually offered only upon request and in a language (Finnish) they could not understand. Complaints about the lack of information in English were an ongoing theme in many interviews.

The selection of Finland as the destination country was in most cases related to existing connections, but they were usually only possible connections. In other words, prior knowledge of Finland was a necessary but not sufficient requirement in this context. It can also be argued that most of the people could have ended up somewhere else. The ICT professionals have a global labour market available to them, and in their case, it appears that the reputation of Nokia weighed more than Finland as such.

(4) How do transnational connections affect life in Finland?

Almost all (14/16) of the women said that they visit relatives in India or Nepal. Annual visits were most common, but gaps of up to four years were also mentioned. ICT families were more active in making visits, presumably because of more regular work schedules, better income and more recent arrival in Finland. Beyond travel, contact was kept via telephone (14), the Internet (11; e-mail, chatting, Skype) and regular mail (1). The most common frequency of contact was once a week or every two weeks. The women also often had relatives in other countries. Only three respondents reported having no relatives outside Finland, India and Nepal. Visiting relatives in these countries was less common, and only five respondents said that they had done so. However, keeping in contact through the Internet and by telephone was quite common. This implies that most of the women are able to follow quite closely how their families and relatives are doing and what is happening in their country of origin. Additionally, nine women said that their relatives from their country of origin had visited Finland at least once.

In terms of remittances, ten women reported having supported their relatives at least occasionally, while six had not done so. Many also noted that most goods were cheaper in India and Nepal, so there was not much sense in such support. Remittances turned out to be less common than expected, but existed nevertheless. Moreover, there were no mentions of remittances from India or Nepal to Finland. Even though the majority viewed remittances in a positive light, the issue had also been a source of frustration for some.

Thirteen respondents said that they kept up with at least some form of media from their country of origin. These included music CDs, movie DVDs, Internet and satellite television, especially Zee TV. Eight of the women reported that they had Zee TV, which they watched actively. Satellite television was more common among the entrepreneurs (4/6) than the ICT families (4/10). The media were used mainly for entertainment (serials, movies, etc.). Eleven of the women reported following politics in their country of origin and three more said they heard the news through their husbands. There were significant differences in how intensively they followed developments in their native countries. The majority followed politics with less intensity. Almost all of the women said that they followed Finnish media at least

to some extent. The need for media in one's native language can also become actualised through children, with the family often viewing television-watching in the native language as a way for the family to relax together.

Transnational connections between Finland and India/Nepal in terms of travel were not very frequent, usually only once every one or two years. However, other forms were rather common. Most women kept contact with their relatives in the country of origin and also, to a lesser degree, in other countries.

(5) What changes have taken place in family life as a result of migrating to Finland?

The conception of family is one of those features that differ quite extensively between Finland and India/Nepal. There are, of course, different types and perceptions of families in each country, but more often the family norm in Finland is the *nuclear family* whereas in India and Nepal it is the *extended family*. The ICT wives were more often in support of the nuclear family (4/10) in contrast to the entrepreneurs' wives, among whom only one preferred it. Nevertheless, the extended family seemed to be the primary reference point.

Thirteen of the women had children (N=19). All entrepreneurs' wives had children and most (5/6) had two. Seven of the ICT wives had children; six of them had one and only one had two. In other words, the ICT families had smaller households. Altogether five women stayed at home to take care of children. The children were mostly in day-care or kindergarten (5) and at school (10), and to a lesser extent at home (3). Six of the children were in English-language and nine in Finnish-language day-care or schools. The ICT families had a clear preference for English-language education, whereas the entrepreneur families sent their children mostly to Finnish-language schools.

People spoke a variety of languages at home. The most common familial languages were Hindi/Nepali or a combination of Hindi and English. The language between the spouses and the children was often different. Many also spoke to their children in English, to give them at least elementary skills. This was motivated by a possible future move to some other country, as was the case with regard to the choice of English-language education. Finnish was the language used at home in one family.

The majority of the families lived in two- or three-room apartments in suburbs in the capital region. All of the spouses of the interviewees were working. The ICT spouses worked mainly for Nokia, but also in a few other companies, and all ER spouses worked in ethnic Indian or Nepalese restaurants. The spouses' educational backgrounds were similar to those of their wives. The sharing of domestic tasks

in families varied somewhat. There was some sharing in twelve families, but it was not common if the wife was at home. The most common activity in which the husbands did not participate was cooking. The vast majority of respondents had kept their appetite for Indian food and were satisfied to see an increasing variety of Indian products both in ethnic shops and local supermarkets. It appeared that in about half of the families all domestic tasks were divided fairly equally. Relationships between neighbours varied from nonexistent to warm.

Homes are major sites in the construction and maintenance of ethnicity as well as the practice of religion. Most women reported having at least some artefacts in their homes to remind them of their country of origin. These included photos, paintings, carpets, religious pictures and so on, but apparently in only a few homes they had a prominent position. However, at least one apartment was fully “Indian style” inside. Many women also mentioned that they represented culture at home through food and cooking and, apparently, the associated smells. A few women also mentioned that they liked to dress in Indian clothes while at home.

Ethnicity and identity become both challenged and reconstructed as a consequence of international migration and resettlement. The women identified themselves mostly as Indian or Nepalese, in particular among ER wives. The ICT wives had more flexible identities, and five of them identified themselves as Indian-international/European/Finnish. Most women were clearly very proud to be Indian or Nepalese. Fifteen were Hindu and one was Sikh. Almost all of the women said that they were religious at least to some extent, and followed religious norms and practices. The most common religious practices at home were worship at the home shrine, fasting and celebrating religious festivals.

It appeared that the idea of extended family provided psychological support to most of the women, even though the family form itself had changed. The role of the family was also one of the most important signifiers of their identity in contrast to the Finnish family ideal and life in Finland in general. The majority of the women seemed quite satisfied with their family situation, even though many missed their extended family. They were generally quite satisfied with their housing and their spouses’ participation in domestic tasks.

(6) Are ethnic networks an important resource?

All of the women stated unequivocally that contact with people of the same ethnic group or national origin was important to them, and all had at least some such contact. The usual frequency of meetings was weekly or biweekly. Common places to conduct the visits were at home or various kinds of get-togethers. Some took part in a regular women’s group. Social networks, be they friends or other acquaintances of the same ethnic/national group, were primarily forums for using the vernacular, discussing topical issues and sometimes seeking advice.

Very few reported that they were important in finding employment, even though their usefulness in many other issues was noted. Some of the meetings were gender-specific.

The celebration of Indian festivals, especially *Holi* and *Diwali*, was considered of major importance. Alongside the Indian Embassy, the central cultural and religious organisations are the *Finnish-Indian-Society*, FINTLA, the *International Society for Krishna Consciousness in Finland* (ISKCON) and the *Saraswati Sindhu Cultural Association* (S3S). In addition, we can mention the Sikh Gurdwara in Sörnäinen run by *The Gurdwara Community of Finland* and the *Aarambh Association*. The central functions of the cultural and religious associations seem to be religious or cultural praxis, transmission of culture and religion to the next generation, socialising with fellow-ethnics and enjoying spare time. The socialising dimension is important, because the gatherings are among the few opportunities for children to learn to behave in a larger crowd that consists mainly of people of the same ethnic group. However, not all individuals were too fond of all Indian-related meetings and events. They were, for instance, found repetitive.

Ethnic networks were important for psychological and social wellbeing, and in terms of general information about Finland, but their role in providing labour opportunities was not strongly indicated. There is, however, no doubt that the existence of an Indian and Nepalese community as well as a number of organisations providing services to it is of major importance to the Indians and Nepalese living in Finland.

(7) To what extent is there contact with mainstream society?

Fifteen of the women reported having at least one Finnish friend. The usual number of Finnish friends was between two and five, and three women mentioned having ten or more. The frequency of meeting them was a little less than with ethnic friends. The situation could imply that it is easier to form friendships with co-ethnics than with Finns. As the workplace was often mentioned as the place where Finns are met, this underlines the importance of work in social integration. Naturally, also school and day-care are important places for such encounters.

Most women said that they had experienced some racism or discrimination, but only a few considered the majority population hostile. A more common response was that the majority population viewed them as a suspicious minority. It also appeared that ICT wives had fewer experiences of racism than ER wives, even though the data did not permit a detailed analysis. Discriminatory behaviour or outspoken racism appeared to have a rather insignificant place in most people's lives. It was also often noted that there are many Finns who are highly interested in the lives and cultures of people of foreign origin.

Discussions of family and gender roles are a prominent part of the ethnicity discourse. The majority said that differences existed and that Finnish women were more independent, dominant, outgoing and self-reliant both in public and in domestic settings. This was not always seen in a positive light, though. Many respondents felt that Indian and Nepalese women had a more secure role as wives and thought of it as superior to the position of Finnish women.

While respondents were aware that they could be viewed as ‘immigrants’ and while many noted that people sometimes made ‘faces’ at them, only few noted experiences of outspoken racism or discrimination – or at least divulged such. The strongest feelings of exclusion were actually connected to the role of Finnish language in society and to the more restricted opportunities that English speakers have.

(8) What is the women’s labour market position and relationship to employment?

About half of the women said they had work experience from India. When the women began to look for employment in Finland, they used somewhat different strategies, but only a few mention the role of the employment office as important. Most had found work through relatives or acquaintances, or through their own initiative. One of the respondents named her residence permit status as a barrier in applying for work in the early stages of her stay in Finland. Finnish skills were named by many as an obstacle to finding work. Several women reported getting bored staying at home, and wanted to find something else to do. For some, participation in volunteer work has been one way, but for many, work has been the number one option. Even women who were currently at home with children planned to look for employment later.

Half of the ER women worked in an ethnic restaurant, often a family business. About half of the ICT wives worked in an ICT-related company, but there were also other professions. In other words, the same professions dominated among the women as among their husbands. High taxation was a common complaint among the entrepreneurs’ wives, as was the bureaucracy related to being an entrepreneur. The women rarely mentioned financial difficulties, and most were satisfied with their salary at work.

The services of local employment offices were mentioned occasionally in the interviews, but more often in the context of courses and language education, as one needs to be a registered job seeker in order to participate in the courses.

(9) How do the women see their future in Finland?

Seven women viewed a permanent stay in Finland as the most likely scenario, five also looked forward to applying for Finnish citizenship and one was already a Finnish citizen. Four of the women were quite certain that they would not continue

living in Finland and would return to their country of origin in retirement age at the latest. Five of the women were still unsure about their future. While most women considered it useful to obtain Finnish citizenship if they were to settle permanently, they gave it widely varying degrees of importance. Some mentioned that even in the case of a permanent stay, citizenship would not be necessary. This may imply that they had not experienced any major obstacles in their lives as a result of being a ‘third country national’. Dual citizenship was considered by many as a good opportunity.

The option of moving to a third country or back to India was more prominent among the ICT respondents. That was already clear from the choice of English-language education for their children. Expectations regarding their children’s future were mostly connected to a good education and to the children becoming “good adults”. Five of the ER women expressed a preference for a future Indian or Nepalese spouse for their children, whereas the majority of the ICT women had no such preferences. This implies that among the less educated, there are more traditional expectations regarding children’s future marriage patterns. However, it was implicit in all cases that the children were expected to marry for life and not adapt to other life patterns that are common in Finland, including cohabitation and multiple marriages.

Generally speaking, future developments did not appear to have a central role in the women’s lives at the time of the interviews. Most were apparently living quite comfortably and were mainly occupied with work and family issues. Only a few expressed a clear discomfort with particular issues. The same respondents also appeared to have a lower threshold to moving somewhere else.

The hypothesis was that planning permanent settlement is closely bound with the acquisition of citizenship and consideration of the children’s future. The hypothesis found partial support. The future of children was obviously a major concern for all women with children, but the issue of citizenship provided more diffuse answers. Apparently, applying for citizenship was not a top priority for most women at the current stage.

6.2 Discussion, New Areas of Study and Policy Considerations

One of the main results of the study was the emergence of two rather distinct groups, identified as “the ICT families” and “the ER families”, with their rather different trajectories on several issues. Based on the results we argue that the “Indianness” or “Nepaleseness” of the respondents is important, but only secondary, if we want to understand their lives in Finland. Moreover, it seems that a majority of the identified differences relate to the women’s educational background, social

status and economic position in the globally segmented labour markets (cf. Baganha et al., 2006; Bommes & Kolb, 2006). The ICT families' opportunity structures are much wider and global than those of the ER families in the ethnic businesses. The good employment situation of the respondents may also be a sign of the gradual internationalisation of the Finnish labour market rather than of increasing "tolerance" among Finnish employers as such. This kind of perspective has been lacking in Finnish research on immigrant employment.

Another noteworthy finding was the pride with which the respondents related to their ethnic background and family life. This is important, because immigrant women are often portrayed as victims of international migration. A survey of Finnish immigration projects also noted this feature to be prevalent in Finland (cf. Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006). Nonetheless, ideologies and cultural values relating to gender roles and family structures are among the most guarded and valued elements among cultural groups, and also function as discursive spaces to negotiate one's position in a new social context. Within and behind the often highly stereotypical images of "gender" and "family", we still find an active search for new solutions to existing problems. Thus, the naïve essentialism that characterises much of the "culture talk" by immigrants should be seen as more of a discourse and less as a representation of reality (cf. Baumann, 1996). In this respect, the emphasis on Indian and Nepalese identity can be seen as a way to safeguard intrinsic values of family life and gender relations that seem to be lacking in Finnish society.

All in all, the study has brought to light a variety of experiences of Indian and Nepalese immigrant women in Finland, but beyond that it has highlighted certain themes that have not been broadly discussed or researched in Finland. These also contain seeds of change for certain elements of migration and integration policy.

The first theme is the role of **inter-ethnic marriage migration** in Finnish migration streams. The phenomenon is without doubt not well monitored, nor are its consequences well understood. Related to that is the fact that marriage migrants are not systematically regarded as targets of integration policy and measures. Thus, a closer **monitoring of the gendered structure of immigration** is necessary for any proactive policy as well as fundamental to any broader research on the topic (cf. Martikainen, 2007). Related to that is the **emigration of immigrants**, which has been a neglected field, but is of central importance in understanding, for example, the success of our own integration policy as well as understanding the transmigrants themselves. Furthermore, marriage migrants should be seen as a main target group of immigration policy, as they provide a pool of labour that is largely ignored.

Second, the ethnic segmentation of the Finnish labour market has already received some attention, but there has been much less interest in the **linguistically segmented labour market** that affects, for instance, most English speakers from many parts of the world, including the Indian subcontinent. Producing services in English and providing better information services in general were of central concern especially to the ICT respondents. That should be taken seriously, as it can be presumed that the number of professional **transmigrants** in various fields will grow, and English as a global *lingua franca* is their language of communication. This is related to the promotion of Finland in the labour-sending countries, which also needs improving. Immigrants note that the availability of goods from their native countries is a major attraction. Thus, support for ethnic businesses that first and foremost target ethnic minorities might be worth considering.

Third, **transnational connections** to the country of origin and other parts of the world are an area that, until now, has received scant attention in Finland (cf. Huttunen, 2006; Wahlbeck, 1999). A closer understanding of transnationalism is needed with regard to, for example, the consumption of **ethnic media** and the role of **homeland politics**, with respect to integration in Finland. **Remittances** are also relatively common, but even today, no systematic, large-scale studies have been conducted on the topic in Finland.

Fourth, contrary to a common understanding, the interviewed women were in general satisfied with their family situation, norms and gender ideals, which they often considered superior to Finnish ones. This lays a shadow of doubt to elements of the ‘emancipation mentality’ of Finnish public discourse on immigration, administrative practices and immigrant projects, where immigrant women are too often seen as victims of patriarchal rule. This is not to understate or underestimate the existence of real-life problems in these matters, but rather to underscore that immigration from around the world has also led to a proliferation of different value systems and ideals. If anything, at least a **clearer articulation of the ideals of integration** is needed, so that people can state whether they accept these or not on an equal footing. Good and solid policy can only be created once its subjects accept its ideals.

Nevertheless, the largest leap forward is to be made by understanding that marriage migration is a salient and numerically significant part of Finnish migration streams, and that it deserves to be a major area of study as well as an explicit target for migration and integration policy.

6.3 Epilogue

Ms. Lalita Gola wrote to me on June 15th, 2007 to say: “I want to inform you that my husband has got a good career move in England, so we will be moving to England in a month's time”. Her family had decided to move further in their career as transmigrants and they left Finland for the United Kingdom in July 2007. Altogether, the family stayed in Finland for three years and had to a son in the country. Both of the spouses are highly educated, their children already know some English and the spouses’ skills are in high demand around the world. While wishing Lalita and her family all the best a colleague can wish, the Gola family illustrate well the dilemmas of national states in a globalised economy. How to attract those to stay whom many others would like to wish welcome?

7 Bibliography

7.1 Data

7.1.1 Interviews

Fourteen (14) Indian and two (2) Nepalese women were interviewed in the Helsinki metropolitan region between January and August 2006. The material is archived at the Population Research Institute of the Family Federation of Finland (*Väestöliiton Väestötutkimuslaitos*). The respondents are referred to in the text with the following pseudonyms.

Aarju (ICT)
 Anushka (ICT)
 Asha (ER)
 Barbie (ICT)
 Butterfly (ER)
 Dimple (ICT)
 Dove (ICT)
 Kali (ER)
 Ladybird (ICT)
 Mina (ER)
 Nisha (ER)
 Rita (ICT)
 Sana (ER)
 Sima (ICT)
 Sonam (ICT)
 Toni (ICT)

Four (4) representatives of ethnic, cultural and religious organisations were interviewed in the Helsinki metropolitan region between January and August 2006. The material is archived at the Population Research Institute of the Family Federation of Finland (*Väestöliiton Väestötutkimuslaitos*). The respondents are referred to in the text with the following codes.

FINTIA (2006)=A member of the FINTIA mailing list.

FIS=Finnish-Indian-Society (2006) Karstunen, Katri. Finnish-Indian-Society, president.

ISKCON=International Society for Krishna Consciousness (2006) Kuivanen, Timo (Tattvavada dasa). International Society for Krishna Consciousness, Helsinki, temple president.

S3S=Saraswati Sindhu Sanskriti Sansthan (2006) A member of the Saraswati Sindhu Sanskriti Sansthan (S3S) organisation.

7.1.2 Statistics

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MOL=Ministry of Labour (2007) Unemployment rate among foreigners 2001-2006. Helsinki: Ministry of Labour. <http://mol.fi/mol/fi/99_pdf/fi/04_maahanmuutto/08_maahanmuuttotilastot/wulktyoll.pdf> [Read: 31.5.2007]

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Statistics Finland (2006k) The number of children in immigrant families by parents' country of birth in 2005. Unpublished data ordered to the MONIKKO Project. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.

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Appendix 1. Questions for the Women

Background – Human capital

- Tell me something about yourself.
- Which year you were born?
- What is your educational background?
- What languages do you speak?
- What is your mother tongue?
- What is your nationality?
- What languages do you speak at home?
- Do you speak different languages with your husband and your children?
- How do you see yourself, have you felt any change in your self-image after coming to Finland?

Migration process – How and why Finland is the destination?

- How did you come to Finland? (The motive or the reason and other alternatives)
- In which other countries have you lived before coming to Finland?
- What aspects did you consider before coming to Finland; please tell both good ones and bad ones?
- Whose decision was it to move to Finland?
- Which year did you come to Finland; did you come with the family or separately?
- Were you aware of Finnish life and work style before coming to Finland?
- What was the material or information provided to you on your arrival in Finland?

Transnationalism – How do transnational connections affect life in Finland?

- How often do you visit your relatives or your relatives visit you (country of origin)?
- In which other countries do you have relatives?
- In what ways and how often do you keep a contact with your relatives in other countries?
- Do you or your relatives support each other economically? (Ask for remittances, do you send money home... do you receive finances from home country?)
- Do you watch movies or any other programme from your country here?
- How do you represent your country at your home?
- Do you practice religious practices and fasting here?
- How much do you follow the politics of your country in Finland and how?

Family situation and home – How family situation affects her work possibilities outside home?

- How do you define a family?
- How many children do you have and where are they born?
- How old are they and of what gender?
- Are they studying or working?
- Where is your spouse working?
- What is his educational background?
- How do different family members manage life in Finland?
- Where do you live?
- Are you satisfied with your home and your neighbourhood? (Room-numbers, facilities at home)
- (In case of young children) Where are your children taken care of, at home or at day care? Does that satisfy you?
- How and what responsibilities at home do you share with your spouse?
- Did you get any help from the employer to integrate in Finnish society?
- How do you identify yourself as a national as you are born in a different country and live in a different country? (Indian, Nepalese, Sri Lankan, Asian, Finnish, international.....)

Ethnic community – How important resource ethnic networks are?

- How important is it for you to be in contact with people of your country in Finland?
- How often and where do you meet them?
- Can you tell some specific places?
- Do you also get information about work, culture and/or society etc. when you meet fellow country men?
- Do you know some organisations or places where Indians, Sri Lankan and Nepalese meet?
- What role do religious, cultural and social organisations play in your life in Finland?
- Could you tell me something about your participation in them?
- Is there something specific that you miss and you would like to have here?
- How do you teach your children your religious practices here?

Societal participation – Exposure and contact to Finnish society

- How and where do you interact with Finns in daily life?
- Do you have Finnish friends?
- How many?
- How do you interact with them?
- What do you think about the attitude of Finns towards you in particular and towards foreigners in general, good – bad – neutral, please give some examples?
- How do you picture yourself in comparison with Finnish women?
- Do you also have immigrant friends from other countries and which countries?
- Do you watch Finnish TV programmes as well?

Work issues – What is the labour market position, if at work, process of finding work

- Are you working or looking for a job and what kind of job are you doing or looking for?
- If not working, what is the reason?

- How did you find this work?
- Or why you could not find a work?
- Is your work related to your educational background or is it interesting for you?
- Do you think you have got sufficient – not sufficient help from Finnish authorities in getting a job?
- Are you satisfied with your income considering your family situation?

Future prospects – Person's aim regarding life in Finland

- Do you wish to settle permanently in Finland or go back in long run?
- Why is that so?
- Are you going to apply for Finnish citizenship when it is possible?
- Why do you think Finnish citizenship is important for you?
- What are your expectations regarding work, family and future ahead of you and your family?
- Do you think you can fulfil them in Finland?
- Whom do you expect your children to marry, when they grow up?

General

- Do you enjoy sauna or some other activities typical of Finland?
- What Finnish food do you like?
- What do you think to what extend the cuisine of your country is developing here?
- What is your favourite thing or place in Finland?
- What are your hobbies and have they changed after coming to Finland?
- What hobbies do you wish your children to have and why?
- Do you wish both boys and girls should have different hobbies?
- Do you think there is something special in here, what do you like to accept and what you do not like to accept?
- Do you go to some ladies groups or something special for women only?
- What can be done in Finland to make it a better place for immigrants?
Suggestions.
- Do you think I forgot to ask something important or do you want to add something more to the answers provided by you earlier?

Appendix 2. Questions for Organisations and Institutions

Basic information about organisation

- Name
- Purpose
- Contact information (address, phone number etc.)

Short history

- Year of foundation
- Central persons and events

Membership

- Definition of membership
- Immigrant members
- Gender structure (How many males and how many females approximately)
- Do immigrants become member (How many males and how many females)?

Activities

- Types of activities
- Places of activities
- Communication routines
- What is the meaning of activities for immigrants? Why do they attend in your opinion?
- Generally how many participants are there in programmes? How has this changed over the years?

Connections and transnational resources

- In Finland
- Outside Finland
- Do you know some more organisations where Sri Lankan, Indians and Nepalese meet?

Tiivistelmä – Abstract in Finnish

Arviolta kaksi kolmasosaa maahanmuuttajista on muuttanut perhesyistä Suomeen 1990- ja 2000-luvuilla. Avioliittomuuttajat ovat merkittävä osa perhesyistä muuttajien joukossa. Kyseessä ovat sekä etnisten suomalaisten että maahanmuuttajien kanssa avioituvat henkilöt. Työmuuttaja on henkilö, jonka pääasiallinen syy muuttaa Suomeen liittyy työhön. Erään erityisryhmän avioliittomuuttajien joukossa muodostavat työmuuttajien puoliset, jotka ovat yleensä muuttaneet puolisonsa kanssa joko samaan aikaan tai heidän jälkeensä. Heidät on myös mainittu hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittisessa ohjelmassa, sillä ilmiö liittyy olennaisena osana kasvavaan työperäiseen maahanmuuttoon Suomeen. Avioliittomuuttoon liittyen on tehty jonkin verran tutkimusta Suomessa, mutta kokonaisuudessaan kyseessä on vielä varsin hahmottomaton tutkimusalue, eikä työmuuttajien aviopuolisoihin ole toistaiseksi kiinnitetty paljon huomiota.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on (A) esittää kokonaiskuva intialaisten ja nepalilaisten naisten elämästä Suomessa, (B) tarkastella erityisesti naisten työmarkkina-asemaa, (C) identifioida hyviä käytäntöjä ja ongelmia maahanmuuton hallinnoinnissa ja (D) tuottaa perusinformaatiota Intian niemimaalta muuttaneista. Intialaisista ja nepalilaisista ei ole juuri tehty tutkimusta Suomessa, joten tämän tutkimuksen lähtökohta oli kartoittava. Intialaiset ja nepalilaiset naiset valikoituivat tutkimuskohteeksi, kun tuli mahdolliseksi ottaa Lalita Gola tutkijaksi MONIKKO-hankkeeseen. Golan omat verkostot ja kielitaito mahdollistivat varsin lyhyessä ajassa toteutetun tutkimuksen. Keskeiset tutkimuskysymykset olivat:

- 1) Keitä ovat Suomessa asuvat intialaiset ja nepalilaiset?
- 2) Minkälainen on haastateltujen naisten inhimillinen pääoma?
- 3) Miksi he muuttivat Suomeen?
- 4) Vaikuttavatko ylijärjestyneet suhteet heidän elämäänsä Suomessa?
- 5) Millä tavoin heidän perhe-elämänsä on muuttunut Suomessa?
- 6) Ovatko etniset verkostot tärkeitä?
- 7) Minkälaisia kontakteja heillä on valtaväestöön?
- 8) Mikä on naisten työmarkkina-asema?
- 9) Millä tavoin he näkevät tulevaisuutensa Suomessa?

Tutkimuksen keskeiset aineistot ovat Tilastokeskukselta tilattu aineisto ja 20 puolistrukturoitua temaattista haastattelua. Tutkimusta varten valikoitui ns. lumipallomenetelmällä 16 maahanmuuttajanaista. Heistä 14 oli syntynyt Intiassa ja 2 Nepalissa. Kutakin haastateltiin kerran. Haastateltavien valintakriteerit olivat 25–45 vuoden ikä, syntymämaana Intia tai Nepal ja vähintään vuoden asumisaika Suomessa. Haastattelut toteutti antropologi Lalita Gola joko hindin tai englannin kielellä.

Lähes kaikki aineisto oli hindinkielistä ja se käännettiin englanniksi. Haastattelut nauhoitettiin ja haastateltavat saivat itse valita haluamansa pseudonyymien julkaistavien sitaattien yhteyteen. Jo haastattelujen aikana oli selvinnyt, että kohderyhmäksi oli valikoitunut kaksi varsin erilaista ryhmää: informaatioteknologiaeteollisuuden palveluksessa olevien (lyhenne: IT) ja etnisissä ravintoloissa (lyhenne: ER) työkentelevien puolisoita. Naisryhmien välillä oli toki lukuisia samankaltaisuuksiakin, mutta he erosivat toisistaan muun muassa muuton ajoituksen, reitin ja muuttosyyin, aviopuolison ammatin, koulutuksen ja lasten määrän suhteen. Haastattelujen perusteella vaikutti myös siltä, että ryhmät näkivät itsensä erilaisina. Kaikki haastatellut naiset olivat 25–40-vuotiaita ja perheellisiä.

(1) Keitä ovat Suomessa asuvat intialaiset ja nepalilaiset?

Muutto Intian niemimaalta Suomeen on ollut melko vähäinen ilmiö aivan viime vuosiin saakka. Vuonna 2006 maassa asui 4 764 Bangladeshissa, Intiassa, Nepalissa, Pakistanissa ja Sri Lankassa syntynyttä, 64 % heistä on miehiä. Sekä nepalilaiset että intialaiset ovat keskittyneet selvästi useammin pääkaupunkiseudulle kuin maahanmuuttajat keskimäärin. Useimmilla heistä on yhä alkuperämaansa kansalaisuus. Ryhmät ovat myös keskimääräistä vanhempia ja heidän joukossaan korostuu työikäisten osuus; 86 % on muuttanut Suomeen 15–64-vuotiaana. Sekä miehet että naiset ovat työllistyneet paremmin kuin maahanmuuttajat keskimäärin. Intialaiset ja nepalilaiset ovat yleisimmin avioituneet samassa maassa syntyneen kanssa. Yksinhuoltajia on koko väestöön verrattuna keskimääräistä vähemmän, 7 % lapsiperheistä. Suurin osa lapsista on vielä varsin nuoria.

(2) Minkälainen on haastateltujen naisten inhimillinen pääoma?

Suhteessa muihin ikäisiinsä intialaisiin ja nepalilaisiin naisiin Suomessa arvioimme haastateltujen olevan jossain määrin koulutetumpia ja selvästi useammin työssäkäyviä. Lisäksi kaikki olivat perheellisiä ja asuivat pääkaupunkiseudulla. Enemmistöllä naisista oli syntymämaansa kansalaisuus. Viisi naisista oli kotona lasten kanssa, muut olivat töissä. Kaikki olivat saaneet peruskoulutuksensa Intiassa tai Nepalissa. IT-puolisot olivat korkeammin koulutettuja kuin ER-puolisot. Kaikki naiset puhuivat hindiä ja englantia ja kolmetoista ainakin yhtä muuta kieltä. Kaikki ER-puolisot puhuivat ainakin jonkin verran suomea, IT-puolisoista puolet. Naisten inhimillinen pääoma vaikutti soveltuvan melko hyvin Suomen työmarkkinoille.

(3) Miksi he muuttivat Suomeen?

Yli puolella naisista ei ollut juuri mitään käsitystä Suomesta ennen muuttoa maahan. Keskeiset tietokanavat olivat heidän aviopuolisonsa ja Suomessa asuvat sukulaiset sekä vähäisemmässä määrin Internet, kirjallisuus ja televisio. Sikäli kun tietoa oli, siihen sisältyi vain harvoin tarkempia käsityksiä elämäntavasta, työelämästä, yms.

Naiset kokivat kasvaneensa Suomessa itsenäisemmiksi ja itsevarmemmiksi. Yksinäisyys oli monen riesana etenkin muuton jälkeisenä aikana. Viranomaisilta naiset eivät olleet kokeneet saaneensa juuri mitään tietoa Suomesta ja monet valittelivat vähäistä tiedotusta ja palvelua englannin kielellä.

Suurin osa heistä on muuttanut Suomeen vuosina 1995–2005. Enemmistö on muuttanut suoraan Intiasta/Nepalista, joskin puolet IT-puolisoista muutti jonkin muun maan kautta. Kukaan naisista ei ollut muuttanut Suomeen omasta aloitteestaan, vaan kaikkien kohdalla miehen tai perheen muutto oli ratkaiseva muuttopäätöstä tehtäessä. Muuttosyyt ja -prosessi olivat varsin erilaisia IT- ja ER-puolisoiden kohdalla. Kaikkien IT-puolisoiden kohdalla kyseessä oli yhteinen päätös, kun taas ER-puolisoiden kohdalla kyseessä oli avioitumiseen liittyvä luonnollinen siirtymä. Ajallisesti naisten muutto tapahtui IT-puolisoilla samaan aikaan tai muutaman kuukauden viiveellä, kun taas ER-puolisoiden kohdalla viive oli pidempi, enimmillään kuusi vuotta.

(4) Vaikuttavatko yllirajaiset suhteet heidän elämäänsä Suomessa?

Suurin osa naisista (14/16) piti yhteyttä sukulaisiinsa Intiassa ja Nepalissa, yleisimmin sähköpostin ja puhelimen välityksellä. IT-perheet vierailivat hieman useammin Intiassa, mutta vierailuja tehtiin yleensä vain kerran vuodessa tai harvemmin. Yllirajaisia yhteyksiä ylläpidettiin myös muissa maissa asuviin sukulaisiin, joskin vähäisemmässä määrin kuin syntymämaahan. Käytännössä naiset pystyivät melko hyvin seuraamaan vanhempiansa ja sukulaistensa kuulumisia. Kymmenen naista ilmoitti tukevansa tavalla tai toisella sukulaisia kotimaassaan, oli kyse sitten rahalahetyksistä tai muusta tuesta. Yhteyttä lähtömaan kulttuuriin ja yhteiskuntaelämään pidettiin yllä myös kuuntelemalla cd-levyjä, katsomalla dvd-elokuvia ja seuraamalla satelliittitelevisiota. Kahdeksan naista kertoi perheessään olevan tilattuna *Zee TV*, suosittu intialaisperäinen satelliittikanavayhtiö. Satelliittitelevision kautta seurattiin pääasiassa viihdettä, mutta myös lähtömaan politiikkaa ja uutisia. Yksitoista naista kertoi seuraavansa ainakin jossain määrin kotimaansa politiikkaa. Lähes kaikki naiset kertoivat seuraavansa jonkin verran – lähinnä kielitaidosta riippuen – suomalaista mediaa, erityisesti televisiota ja englanninkielisiä ohjelmia.

(5) Millä tavoin heidän perhe-elämänsä on muuttunut Suomessa?

Yhtä lukuun ottamatta kaikki olivat avioituneet maanmiehensä kanssa. Yhden puoliso oli suomalainen. Yksitoista naista oli töissä ja viisi kotona hoitamassa lapsiaan. Enemmistö lapsista oli syntynyt Suomessa. IT-puolisoilla työssäkäynti oli yleisempää (8/10) kuin ER-puolisoilla (3/6). Naiset ovat enimmäkseen tyytyväisiä ja ylpeitä perheistään, niiden sisäisestä vallanjaosta sekä naisen ja miehen rooleista. Toki suomalaisen naisen havaittua itsenäisyyttä ja vapautta arvostettiin, mutta vain tiettyyn rajaan asti. Kun puolisoiden vapaus uhkasi perheen yhtenäisyyttä tai moraalikärsityksiä, koettiin vapauksien ylittävän velvollisuudet, eikä vapauksia nähty

tavoiteltavina asioina. Itse asiassa useimmat haastateltavista pitivät asemaansa ylivertaisena suhteessa suomalaiseseen naiseen, koska he katsoivat pystyvänsä luottamaan puolisoihinsa enemmän ja heidän asemansa vaimoina oli näin parempi.

(6) Ovatko etniset verkostot tärkeitä?

Kaikki haastatellut olivat yhtä mieltä yhteydenpidon tärkeydestä omaan etniseen tai kansalliseen ryhmään kuuluvien kanssa. Kaikilla oli myös näitä yhteyksiä Suomessa tapaamistiheyden ollessa kerran viikossa tai kahdessa. Yleisimmät tavat olivat vierailut toisten luona ja erilaiset kokoontumiset - muun muassa eri yhdistysten toimesta - tai juhlat. Erityisesti *holi*- ja *divali*-juhlat olivat tärkeitä ja näitä onkin Suomessa järjestetty jo usean vuoden ajan. Holia vietetään maaliskuussa kaksi päivää ja sitä kutsutaan myös ”värien juhlaiksi”. Viisipäiväistä diwalia vietetään lokakuussa ja sitä kutsutaan myös ”valojen tai lamppujen juhlaiksi”. Tässä yhteydessä mainittiin myös joukko yhteisöjä, joilla on tärkeä rooli erityisesti intialaisten palvelemisessa. Näitä olivat *Suomi-Intia-Seura ry*, *FINTLA*, Helsingin Ruoholahden Krishna-temppeli, *Saraswati Sindhu Cultural Association ry (S3S)* ja *Aarambh*-yhdistys. Sikheille keskeinen paikka on *Suomen Gurdwara Yhdyskunnan* ylläpitämä temppeli Helsingin Sörnäisissä. Näiden keskeinen merkitys tiivistyy etnisyyden, kulttuurin ja sosiaalisten suhteiden ylläpitoon, lasten kasvatukseen ja erilaisiin uskonnollisiin ja muihin tarpeisiin. Kaikki naiset olivat uskonnoltaan yhtä sikhiä lukuun ottamatta hinduja.

(7) Minkälaisia kontakteja heillä on valtaväestöön?

Viisitoista naista kertoi, että heillä on ainakin yksi suomalainen ystävä. Suomalaisia ystäviä tavattiin hieman harvemmin kuin omanmaalaisia ystäviä ja osin toisissa paikoissa: töissä ja lasten välityksellä koulussa tai päiväkodissa sekä jonkin verran myös naapureina. Enemmistöllä naisista oli ollut rasistisiksi tai syrjinnäksi luettavia kokemuksia, mutta vain harva nosti ne kovin merkittäväksi tekijäksi elämässään. Yleensä kyseessä oli epäluuloisuutta, tuijottamista kadulla tai palveluissa, yms. IT-puolisoilla näitä kokemuksia oli vähemmän kuin ER-puolisoilla.

(8) Mikä on naisten työmarkkina-asema?

Puolet ER-naisista työskenteli miestensä tapaan intialaisessa tai nepalilaisessa ravintolassa ja puolet IT-puolisoista oli niin ikään IT-alalla työssä. Ne jotka eivät olleet haastatteluhetkellä työssä, toivoivat työllistyvänsä kun lapset ovat vanhempia tai kun kielitaito on kohentunut. Puolella naisista oli työkokemusta Intiasta. Suomalaiset työpaikkansa he olivat löytäneet joko oman aktiivisuutensa tai etnisten verkostojen kautta. Työvoimaviranomaisten panoksella ei näytä olleen juurikaan vaikutusta. Tämä johtunee osin myös siitä, että monet olivat saapuneet perheenjäsenen oleskeluluvalla, johon ei automaattisesti sisälly työnteko-oikeutta. Tosin

vain yksi nainen mainitsi oleskeluluvan ehdot rajoitteena aikaisemmalle työnhau-
le. Keskeisimmäksi syyksi työnsaantivaikeuksiin mainittiin puutteellinen suomen
kielen taito.

(9) Millä tavoin he näkevät tulevaisuutensa Suomessa?

Seitsemän naista piti todennäköisimpänä vaihtoehtona jäämistä pysyvästi Suomeen.
Neljä oli puolestaan varmoja, etteivät tule jäämään maahan. Erityisesti IT-puolisoi-
den ajattelua sävytti IT-alan tuleva kehitys, joka saattaa vaikuttaa muuttohaluihin
suuntaan tai toiseen, teollisuuden suhdanteista riippuen. Suomen kansalaisuuden
hakemista oli vakavasti harkinnut viisi naista, yhdellä jo oli maan kansalaisuus.
Kaksoiskansalaisuutta pidettiin yleisesti ottaen hyvänä asiana. Suhtautuminen
Suomen kansalaisuuteen oli instrumentaalinen, eli se nähtiin lähinnä käytännön
asioita helpottava tekijänä, ei niinkään identiteettikysymyksenä. Intian ja Nepalin
kansalaisuudesta ei mainittu olevan haittaa Suomessa asumiselle.

Mahdollisena pidettiin myös muuttamista kolmanteen maahan, erityisesti IT-puo-
lisoiden keskuudessa. Tämä heijastui myös heidän lastensa koulutusvalinnoissa,
sillä monen lapset kävivät englanninkielistä päiväkotia tai koulua. Kokonaisu-
udessaan voidaan todeta, että naisten kotoutuminen Suomeen on sujunut melko
hyvin. Enemmistön suhde suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan on myönteinen. IT- ja
ER-puolisot eroavat kuitenkin monissa kohdin toisistaan varsin merkittävästi.
ER-puolisot olivat selvemmin jo ankkuroituneita Suomeen, kun taas monen IT-
perheen horisontissa siinteli mahdollinen muutto kolmanteen maahan tai takaisin
Intiaan. Osan IT-perheistä voidaan katsoa edustavan ylijäisiä etappimuuttajia,
eli henkilöitä, jotka muutaman vuoden oleskelun jälkeen jatkavat uuteen maahan,
usein uran vuoksi.

Vaikka diskursiivisella ja identiteettien tasolla perhe ja naiseus ovatkin naisille
tärkeitä ja niiden avulla määritellään omaa asemaa Suomessa, vaikuttaa näitä kes-
keisemmäksi nousevan naisten ja heidän perheidensä yleinen yhteiskunnallinen
asema. Tämä puolestaan pohjautuu naisten ja heidän puolisoitensa koulutukseen,
työmarkkina-asemaan, luokkastatukseen ja taloudelliseen asemaan. IT- ja ER-vai-
mojen maahanmuuttoa ja kotoutumista voidaan kumpaakin tarkastella suhteessa
globaalisti jakautuneisiin työmarkkinoihin, joissa etniset ravintoloitsijat ja infor-
maatioteknologian palveluksessa olevat ovat hyvin erilaisissa asemassa. IT-perheille
on tyypillistä avoimempi tulevaisuushorisontti ja mahdollinen muutto muualle,
mikä heijastuu kaikkeen lasten koulutuksesta ja naisten kielitaidosta lähtien. Suomi
on heille yksi vaihtoehto muiden joukossa. ER-puolisoiden kohdalla tilanne on
varsin toisenlainen. Suomi on ja mitä todennäköisemmin pysyy heidän ja heidän
lastensa pysyvänä asuinpaikkana.

Tutkimuksessa nousi esille useita suomalaisessa tutkimuksessa vähälle huomiolle jääneitä aihepiirejä, joihin olisi syytä jatkossa panostaa. Näitä ovat maahanmuuttajien keskinäiset avioliitot, sukupuolittuneiden muuttoliikkeiden seuranta, maahanmuuttajien jatkomuutto kolmansiin maihin tai takaisin kotimaahan, kielellisesti jakautuneet työmarkkinat, raha- ja tavaralähetyksen entiseen kotimaahan ja kotoutumispolitiikan toteutus mm. työllistämisen osalta. Kohderyhmän kannalta keskeisenä näyttäytyi myös englanninkielisten palvelujen ja tiedottamisen tärkeys. Ylipäätään avioliittomuuttoon tulisi kiinnittää enemmän huomiota sekä ilmiönä että avioliittomuuttajina tärkeänä resurssina.

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