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IMMIGRANT-NESS AS (MIS)FORTUNE?

IMMIGRANTISATION THROUGH INTEGRATION
POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN EDUCATION

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation looks inside educational institutions to examine how integration policies and practices in education function and participate in the making of immigrant subjectivities. Drawing on two ethnographic studies conducted in a multicultural lower secondary school and pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA programme) in the Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland, it asks: how does integration function in education as a form of policy and practice; how do integration policies and practices in education designed to enhance integration of immigrants serve to constitute immigrant subjectivities and with what consequences; and how do gendering and racialising dynamics intersect in integration policies and practices in education.

The research data produced for the dissertation include interviews with 20 students (named as immigrants by the education system and beyond) and 14 education professionals working with them, observation notes from the above-mentioned educational contexts, over 90 policy documents related to immigration, integration and education, as well as other data, such as teaching and learning materials and media texts. Methodologically, the dissertation both builds on and challenges feminist ethnographic research. Theoretically, it relates to the postcolonial and poststructural theoretisations and utilises the concepts of subjectification and racialisation with intersectional frame.

The dissertation consists of five research articles and a summary report. Together they form an entity that is linked to the broader debates on immigration and integration, as well as multiculturalism and (anti-)racism in Finland. The dissertation arrives at four main findings.

First, the dissertation argues that while the official, well-intentioned aim of integration is to make people named as immigrants active and equal members of Finnish society, to prevent their social exclusion, and decrease their unemployment, integration measures actually reinforce rather than redresses marginalisation and exclusion of people named as immigrants. For example, despite the investment in integration, the employment situation of immigrants remains chronic and racism is a constant part of everyday life of racialised people. As such, integration becomes an individual venture through which a better life and fortune is available for some, while others face exclusion and misfortune regardless of their efforts, hard work and dedication to integration. This leads to precarious life where success or failure is personal, not societal blame.

Second, the dissertation argues that education, which is one of the main contexts for integration, officially promotes multiculturalism and tolerance, and aims to achieve equality. In practice, however, education participates in creating racial and gendered segregation both in education and the labour market. For example, pushing immigrants in general, and young immigrant women in particular, to the care sector regardless of their personal interests,

experiences and needs, simply because they are considered to be immigrants (and young and women), is interpreted in the dissertation as exploitative racism. This is intertwined with the marketisation of immigration, which prioritises the needs of the economy over those of immigrants.

Third, the dissertation shows that while policymakers and the majority population, including education professionals, do not consider the term “immigrant” insulting but a neutral term, simply capturing people from “other cultures”, people named as immigrants interpreted the term as stigmatising and equivalent to inferiority: in oftentimes to be named as an immigrant meant to be worth less than. This injurious naming was resisted, for example, by naming the self and others in the “inner circle” with self-chosen terms in order to escape the racialised subject position as immigrants, in which they were positioned in educational settings and beyond.

Fourth, the dissertation develops a concept of immigrantisation to describe how through integration policies and practices in education a group of people from various backgrounds, experiences, interests and needs become constituted and treated as one, as immigrants. The process of immigrantisation can be, however, resisted and troubled to open ways to act against the expected, “suitable”, gendered and racialised integration routes, and as such, against the racist integration policies and practices. Yet, the dissertation reminds us that resistance strategies that require inventiveness leave little room for indecisiveness. Emphasising capability, assertiveness and cleverness when confronting racism, can then turn against itself when these qualities become a new requirement that everybody who faces racism must fulfil.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkin tässä väitöskirjassa sitä, miten kotouttamispolitiikka ja kotouttamisen käytännöt toimivat ja osallistuvat maahanmuuttajasubjektiviteetin rakentumiseen. Väitöskirja perustuu kahteen etnografiseen tutkimukseen, jotka toteutin monikulttuurisen peruskoulun yläkoulussa ja maahanmuuttajien ammatilliseen koulutukseen valmistavassa koulutuksessa (MAVA) pääkaupunkiseudulla. Väitöskirjassa kysyn, miten kotouttaminen toimii koulutuksen kentällä politiikan ja käytäntöjen muodossa; miten kotouttamispolitiikka ja kotouttamisen käytännöt, jotka on suunniteltu kotoutumisen edistämiseen, rakentavat maahanmuuttajasubjektiviteettiä ja millaisin seurauksin; sekä miten sukupuoli- ja rodullistavat dynamiikat risteävät kotouttamispolitiikassa ja kotouttamisen käytännöissä koulutuksen kentällä.

Tutkimusaineistoni sisältää 20 (maahanmuuttajaksi nimetyn) opiskelijan ja 14 koulutuksen ammattilaisen haastattelua, havaintomuistiinpanoja, yli 90 maahanmuuttoa, kotouttamista ja koulutusta koskevaa poliittista asiakirjaa sekä muuta aineistoa, kuten opetus- ja opiskelumateriaaleja sekä mediatekstejä. Metodologisesti tutkimus sekä pohjaa että haastaa feministisen etnografisen tutkimuksen. Teoreettisesti väitöskirja kiinnittyy jälkikolonialisiin ja jälkistrukturaalisiin teoretisointeihin hyödyntäen subjektifikaation ja rodullistamisen käsitteitä intersektionaalisesta näkökulmasta.

Väitöskirjani koostuu viidestä tutkimusartikkelista ja yhteenvedosta. Yhdessä ne muodostavat kokonaisuuden, joka liittyy maahanmuuttoa ja kotouttamista sekä monikulttuurisuutta, rasismia ja rasisminvastaisuutta koskeviin laajempiin keskusteluihin. Esitän väitöskirjassa neljä keskeistä tutkimustulosta.

Ensiksi, väitän, että vaikka kotouttaminen pyrkii tekemään maahanmuuttajista aktiivisia ja tasavertaisia suomalaisen yhteiskunnan jäseniä, pyrkii ehkäisemään heidän sosiaalista syrjäytymistään, ja vähentämään heidän työttömyyttä, kotouttamistoimenpiteet voivat pikemminkin vahvistaa kuin ehkäistä maahanmuuttajien syrjäytymistä ja marginalisointia. Esimerkiksi huolimatta investoinneista ja panostamisesta kotouttamiseen, maahanmuuttajien työllisyystilanne Suomessa on edelleen heikko ja rasismi osa rodullistettujen ihmisten jokapäiväistä arkea. Kotouttaminen esitetään yksilön seikkailuna, jonka kautta joillekin tarjotaan parempaa elämää ja onnea, kun taas toiset kohtaavat ulossulkemista ja epäonnea riippumatta heidän ponnisteluistaan ja kovasta työstä pyrkimyksissä kotoutua. Tästä seuraa prekaari, epävarma elämä, jossa menestymisestä tai epäonnistumisesta syytetään yksilöä, ei yhteiskuntaa.

Toiseksi, väitän, että koulutus, joka on yksi kotouttamisen keskeisimmistä konteksteista, virallisesti edistää monikulttuurisuutta ja suvaitsevaisuutta, ja pyrkii saavuttamaan tasa-arvon. Käytännössä kuitenkin myös koulutus

osallistuu rodullistetun ja sukupuolitetun eriytymisen vahvistamiseen koulutus- ja työmarkkinoilla. Tulkitseen tutkimuksessani maahanmuuttajien, ja erityisesti nuorten maahanmuuttajanaisten, työntämisen hoiva-alalle hyväksikäyttävänä rasismina, sillä houkuttelu hoivatyöhön tehdään usein heidän henkilökohtaisista toiveistaan ja kokemuksistaan riippumatta pääasiassa siksi, että maahanmuuttajina (ja nuorina ja naisina) heidän ajatellaan sopivan hoivatyöhön ikään kuin luonnostaan. Hoivatyöhön houkuttelu kietoutuu maahanmuuton markkinoitumiseen, jossa talouden tarpeet ovat ensisijaisia verrattuna maahanmuuttajien henkilökohtaisiin tarpeisiin.

Kolmanneksi väitän, että vaikka päättäjien ja valtaväestön keskuudessa termiä maahanmuuttaja ei välttämättä pidetä loukkaavana, vaan neutraalina terminä, joka kuvaa ihmisiä ”muista kulttuureista”, ihmiset, joita tällä termillä nimitetään, tulkitsevat sen loukkaavana ja leimaavana: usein maahanmuuttajaksi nimetty tarkoittaa jotakuta vähempiarvoista. Tätä loukkaavaa ja vahingoittavaa nimeämistä voidaan vastustaa esimerkiksi nimeämällä ”itse” ja muut ”sisäpiirissä” itse valituilla tavoilla, joilla vastustetaan kotouttamispolitiikan ja kotouttamisen käytäntöjen rodullistavia nimeämisiä.

Neljänneksi, kehitän väitöskirjassani käsitteen maahanmuuttajaistaminen kuvaamaan sitä, kuinka kotouttamispolitiikan ja kotouttamisen käytäntöjen avulla joukko ihmisiä, joilla on hyvin erilaiset taustat, kokemukset, intressit ja tarpeet muodostetaan ja käsitetään yhdeksi (ryhmäksi), maahanmuuttajiksi. Maahanmuuttajaistamista voidaan kuitenkin vastustaa ja hankaloittaa toimimalla odotettuja, ”sopivia”, sukupuolittuneita ja rodullistettuja kotoutumisreittejä vastaan, ja siten, rasistista kotouttamispolitiikkaa ja sen käytäntöjä vastaan. Muistutan kuitenkin tutkimuksessani, että nämä kekseliäisyyttä korostavat ja edellyttävät vastarinnan muodot jättävät vain vähän tilaa mielikuvituksettomuudelle. Kyvykkyyden, itsevarmuuden ja kekseliäisyyden korostaminen rasismia kohdatessa voi siten kääntyä itseään vastaan siinä mielessä, että nämä ominaisuudet muuttuvat uudeksi vaatimukseksi, joiden mukaan kaikkien, jotka kohtaavat rasismia, tulee toimia.

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In Helsinki on Bilal’s birthday, 8 November 2018

Tuuli Kurki

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following publications:

- I Kurki, Tuuli (2008) Sukupuolittuneita ja rodullistettuja koulutusreittejä. Maahanmuuttajataustaiset tytöt siirtymässä toisen asteen koulutukseen [Gendered and racialised educational routes: transitions to upper secondary education of girls with immigration backgrounds], *Nuorisotutkimus*, 26(4): 26-51.
- II Kurki, Tuuli & Brunila, Kristiina & Lahelma, Elina (in press) Constituting immigrant care workers through gendering and racialising practices in education, *Nordic Journal of Migration Research (NJMR)*.
- III Niemi, Anna-Maija & Kurki, Tuuli (2013) Amislaiseksi valmistettu, valmennettu, kuntoutettu ja ohjattu? [Prepared, trained, rehabilitated and guided for VET?]. In K. Brunila, K. Hakala, E. Lahelma & A. Teittinen (eds.) *Ammatillinen koulutus ja yhteiskunnalliset eronteot [Vocational Training and Social Differentiations]*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, pp. 201-215.
- IV Kurki, Tuuli & Brunila, Kristiina (2014) Education and training as projectised and precarious politics, *Power and Education*, 6(3): 283-294.
- V Kurki, Tuuli & Masoud, Ameera & Niemi, Anna-Maija & Brunila, Kristiina (2018) Integration becoming business: marketisation of integration training for immigrants, *European Educational Research Journal (EERJ)*, 17(2): 233-247.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

1 INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I am migrant.

I'm migrant.

Im-migrant.

Immigrant.

I like to think that this is how the word immigrant was created. It seems kinder. It takes the harshness and edge off a word that can so easily sound abusive. It makes me feel like a bird that has temporarily flown the nest, meaning to return home one day. Albeit a rather foolish bird that has confused the concept of migration, leaving a warm land for one that is decidedly not. Perhaps that's why, at first, I was floundering in the plumage department, my feathers ill-equipped for the country I found myself in.

Malaka Raman, "Immigrant"

1.1 Immigration as a Powerful Imperative

In everyday language, the term immigrant is often considered neutral and used "to describe people who have left one country to settle in another" (Bhavnani et al., 2005: 215). In academic research and political and everyday language, the term is used frequently and interchangeably with other migration-related terms, such as migrant, foreigner, refugee and asylum seeker. In attempts to define "who" the immigrant is, the distinction is made, for example, between "humanitarian" and "economic or labour-based" or "legal" and "illegal" immigrants, which is shown to be one of the most common descriptors for the term (Migration Observatory, 2013). Consequently, societies appear to deem some immigrants as bad, while others are regarded as more acceptable (Shukla, 2016).

In Finland, which is the empirical context of this doctoral dissertation, the term immigrant is used oftentimes as a generalising term in a similar way as, for example, the term "ethnic minority" in the UK context, referring to "all foreign figures" (Ahmed, 2000a). Thinking of immigrants as one group is clearly erroneous as this "group" is composed of people with a wide range of differences, including race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, religion, language and the reasons for migration, to mention a few. Failure to recognise these differences subscribes to a fixed definition and can reinforce racism (Bhavnani et al., 2005) and dissolve people's individuality and result in the conception and treatment of people named as immigrants as "faceless others" (Huttunen,

2004) when presupposing that there is some sort of a universal “immigrant experience” or a shared “immigrant identity”, which overrides all other differences.

In this dissertation, the term “immigrant” and “immigrant-ness” are examined and troubled. Throughout the dissertation, I keep coming back to the questions of who are named and considered as immigrants, who seeks to identify them as immigrants and for what purposes, and how and into what are people named as immigrants integrated. The use of quotation marks around the term “immigrant” signals that I assume immigrant-ness as a site of political debate (Bacchi, 1996; 2017) rather than as a natural category and that as a researcher, I keep myself constantly alert to the ways in which I use the term (see also Vuolajärvi, 2011 on race). Instead of simply rejecting the term immigrant, I put it under scrutiny as my interest lies in the ways in which it is imagined, understood, utilised and politized in integration policies and practices of education. Also, instead of substituting it with another term in the hope that the new term would leave its problems behind, I wish to trouble it and refuse its too easy use in order to search for alternative ways of considering immigrant-ness that engages with power relations that produces it (Mazzei & Jackson, 2009; Arnot & Reay, 2007: 312). I agree with Gayatri Spivak (1997: xv) that to make a new word would run the risk of forgetting the problems of the term or believing that they have been solved.

In this dissertation, I consider the naming of people as immigrants as a form of governing, which constitutes the ways in which certain people are seen and confronted in integration policies and practices in education. I understand that the term “immigrant”, just like any other concept or term, is produced within discourses in which certain statements are privileged, while others are silenced and excluded. Therefore, I consider it of vital importance to examine how people are encouraged to fit into the category of immigrant and how the constraints of this categorisation can be unsettled, unmade and remade. As such, my research interest is not in examining “being an immigrant” but in “becoming an immigrant” where the term itself is more open for resistance, challenge and change (cf. Bacchi, 2017 on gender).

Another key concept of this dissertation is that of “integration”, which also remains as an ill-defined yet powerful concept. Gurminder Bhambra (2009; 2016), for instance, has written about how integration as a practice is inherently problematic from decolonial point of view as integration takes place in societies which are shaped by colonialism and structural racism. In this dissertation, integration is understood as a field of complex and heterogeneous strategic relations, constructed through the policies and practices it involves. With integration policies, I refer in a broad sense to ongoing processes of governance, involving plural and contingent practices of integration (cf. Bacchi, 2017: 27). With integration practices, I refer to the official practices of integration defined at the policy level, such as immigrant specific programmes and projects in education, but also to the informal integration practices that

take place in everyday encounters inside educational institutions and beyond, between “immigrants” and the majority population.

The title of this dissertation, *Immigrant-ness as (mis)fortune*, is inspired by the story of Wheel of Fortune, *Rota Fortunae*, as the symbol of the capricious nature of Fate. In the medieval and ancient philosophy, the story goes that the wheel belongs to the goddess Fortuna, who spins it at random, changing the positions of those on the wheel: some suffer great misfortune, while others gain windfalls. The title alludes to similar randomness in integration policies and practices in education. The term “immigrant-ness” points to the fact that the central concern of research here is the constitution of certain people, or subjects, as immigrants and how immigrant-ness then becomes attached, even frozen, into these subjects, which is then used as a basis for integration (cf. Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000; Lahelma, 2004; Ahmed, 2000b).

The second part of the title, *immigrantisation through integration policies and practices in education*, refers to the focus of this dissertation, which is integration policies and practices in education that are designed to enhance immigrants’ integration but can actually serve to constitute certain kinds of immigrant subjectivities and therefore mis-integrate rather than integrate people involved in integration. It also introduces the concept of immigrantisation, developed in this dissertation, to describe how a group of people from various backgrounds, experiences, interests and needs become constituted and treated as one, as immigrants, through educational integration policies and practices.

1.2 Research Setting and Research Questions

This dissertation has been conducted in a particular historical time and place, from 2006 to 2018 in the Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland. During this period, at the heart of the European-ness and Finnish-ness has been the us-and-them logic. This has included ferocious immigration politics with active border control, racial profiling and “cherry picking of refugees” (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005), where the educated and skilled people from outside the EU have been warmly welcomed while the uneducated and unskilled from the same countries rejected with a strong hand. During this time in Finland, the official starting point of the integration policy has been the promotion of good ethnic relations, multiculturalism, tolerance and diversity, and the aim of integration to provide immigrants with advice and guidance to function as equal members of the society and guarantee them the same educational and employment opportunities as for the majority population (Integration Act, 2011; FMEAE: Finnish Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016a). The number one priority of the current government is to speed up the integration process, especially in its initial stage, and to increase its efficiency, while the costs must be kept under control (FMEAE, 2016a: 14-15). One of the proposed solutions

to do this has been to strengthen the collaboration between the state and the private sector (e.g. FMEAE, 2015). In education, which is considered as the key sector of integration, the greatest weakness has been the implementation of integration policy and overlapping and inappropriateness of integration services as well as too long waiting times to access further education, training and employment (e.g. FRA, 2017; Huddleston et al., 2015; FMEAE, 2017a). Therefore, efforts have been made by the current government in order to make integration more flexible and effective and to serve the interests of Finnish society “as the alternative is that immigrants are trapped in a life of social security without work and education” (FMEAE, 2016: 15).

In the international comparisons, Finland’s policy approach to integration has been considered as one of the best and most multicultural integration policies in Europe (e.g. Huddleston et al., 2015). At the same time, however, other studies have shown that Finland is one of the most racist and discriminatory countries in Europe (FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017; 2018) and that immigrants in general, and the so-called second generation immigrants¹ and people of African descent in particular, living in Finland face racism and racial discrimination on a daily basis both in their encounters with the majority population as well as in the governmental services and public institutions, including education (see also Keskinen et al., 2009; Rastas, 2009; Tuori, 2009; Souto, 2011; Repo, 2017).

To examine integration policies and practices in education in the Finnish context, I draw together a theoretical framework from postcolonial and poststructural feminist theoretisations. I utilise concepts of subjectification (e.g. Fanon, 1967; Foucault, 1975/1991; Butler, 1990; Youdell, 2006) and racialisation (e.g. Fanon, 1963; Miles, 1989; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2017) with intersectional perspective (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006; Mirza, 2009b) to examine the processes through which certain people are constituted as immigrants and consequently become subjects and objects of integration, and how social categories of gender, race, ethnicity and immigrant-ness intersect in integration policies and practices in education. As subjectification also includes the possibility of resistance, I address subject formation also through the question of how the making of immigrant subjectivity can be unmade, remade or recuperated (see Mirza, 1992; Phoenix, 2012). Methodologically, I both build upon and challenge feminist (educational) ethnographies with poststructural frame (e.g. Mirza, 1992; Gordon et al., 2000; Youdell, 2006; Tuori, 2009).

This dissertation is formed by five research articles (Articles I-V) and the summary report at hand. Together they provide a critical and profound

¹ The term “second generation immigrants”, widely used both in academic research as well as in political and public debates, implies that they are descendants of people who have immigrated but do not themselves have a migration experience. As such, the term is contradictory and absurd, similar to the widely used (including this dissertation) notion of “immigration background”. (E.g. Schneider, 2016.)

analysis of integration policies and practices in education in Finland and the making of immigrant subjectivities through these policies and practices.

The dissertation discusses and answers the following research questions (RQs):

- RQ1: How does integration function in education as a form of policy and practice?
- RQ2: How do integration policies and practices in education designed to enhance integration of immigrants serve to constitute immigrant subjectivities and with what consequences?
- RQ3: How do gendering and racialising dynamics intersect in integration policies and practices in education?

To answer these questions, I have conducted two ethnographic studies: one in a multicultural lower secondary school in 2006 and one in two groups of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA programme) in a vocational institution in 2009-2011. Both contexts were public educational institutions in the Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland.

The data produced through these studies include interviews with 20 students (named as immigrants in the educational settings and beyond) and 14 education professionals, observation notes from both educational contexts, over 90 policy documents on immigration and integration in education as well as other data, such as teaching and learning material and media texts (see in detail Chapters 4 and 5, and Annexes 5-8). As the data, particularly the interviews and observations, draw from Finnish educational institutions, this means inevitably that Finland is this dissertation's empirical focus. However, I also look beyond Finland and discuss the international, especially the EU level, debates about immigration and integration (in education) as the trends and tendencies happen to be European, even global, in many ways (see Youdell, 2011: 3-4).

I have conducted these studies as part of two research projects funded by the Academy of Finland: *Citizenship, Agency and Differences in Upper Secondary Education – with a Special Focus on Educational Institutions* (AMIS) (2010-2013) led by Professor Elina Lahelma and *Interrupting Youth Support Systems in the Ethos of Vulnerability* (CoSupport) (2017-2021) led by Associate Professor (tenure track) Kristiina Brunila. The aim of AMIS project was to analyse how citizenship and differences are constructed in upper secondary education, and how teachers and students are positioned and position themselves as agents in this field. The ongoing CoSupport project examines the cross-sectoral policies and practices of youth support systems in the ethos of vulnerability to create more room for young people's own interpretations, responses and actions. By participating in these two research projects, I have had the opportunity to discuss and write about shared

interests, including social justice, marketisation of education and intersectionality, with my colleagues.

1.3 Structure of the Summary Report

This summary report is organised in seven chapters. **Chapter 2** offers an overview of the Finnish integration policies and the development of integration practices in education since the 1970s. **Chapter 3** details the theoretical framework and the concepts that are being put to work in the research articles of this dissertation. **Chapter 4** provides a discussion of the methodological and ethical questions. **Chapter 5** presents the main research results of the individual articles and **Chapter 6** brings together the main findings and brings out the contribution of this dissertation to research on immigration and integration in education. Finally, **Chapter 7**, an epilogue, concludes this dissertation by reflecting a range of antiracist actions in relation to integration and immigration.

2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINNISH INTEGRATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN EDUCATION, 1970-2010S

Making sense of practices of integration in education requires an account of the broader policy context that frames them. In Chapter 2, I map some of the main contours of integration policies in Finland and practices implemented in the education sector since the 1970s. I identify certain key turning points that appear to be important in understanding the current (political) situation related to immigration and integration. I have chosen the 1970s as the starting point for the overview as that is when the first refugees under the refugee quota arrived in Finland followed by the development of national immigration and integration policy. With this mapping, I aim to understand how Finnish national integration policies have been made, remade and legitimised, and what practices of integration have been developed in the education sector. As the main data production for this dissertation has taken place in lower secondary school and vocational institution, these educational contexts are also the focus of this overview. Highlights of the overview can be found in Annex 1.

2.1 “From Monoculture to More Multicultural Finland”²: 1970-1990s

The myth of Finland as ethnically homogenous country with exceptional gender equality (e.g. Tervonen, 2014; Lahelma, 2012) often overshadows the fact that Finland has always been an ethnically diverse country that has also colonised and discriminated against its indigenous people (the Sámi) and ethnic minorities (the Roma and Tatars) (e.g. Kuokkanen, 2007; Pietikäinen & Leppänen, 2007; Seikkula & Rantalaiho, 2012; Helakorpi et al., 2018). The development of active immigration and refugee policy took off, however, only in the 1980s when the first post-World War II refugees arrived in Finland in 1973 from Chile and in 1978 from Vietnam (Rinne, 1989). The first Aliens Act, enacted in 1984, dealt mainly with residence regulations and other licensing practices of people with refugee status who Finland had committed to receive under the refugee quota, recognised by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The first refugee quota, enacted in

² In 1994, the Advisory Board on Refugees and Immigration declared that “Finland has come to a new stage of development, which is characterised by the need to develop from monoculture to more multicultural Finland” (FMEE, 1994: 1).

1986, was included in the annual state budget, involving 100 refugees. (Lepola, 2000.)

A larger number of people immigrated to Finland in the beginning of the 1990s, including people from Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. This happened at the same time as Finland was suffering from economic recession, which caused worry of the lack of public resources among the majority population. The media reinforced the idea of immigration and immigrants as a problem by portraying the new-arrivals, especially the Somalis, as healthy- and wealthy-looking young men, which made the Finnish public to question their motives to seek refuge and ask where the women and children were (e.g. Allas, 1997; Alitolppa-Niitamo & Abdullahi, 2001; Mubarak et al., 2015). Soon after the arrival of the “new” immigrants, Finland became to be described as a multicultural society, where “multicultural” was understood as an increase in the number of immigrants and “multiculturalism” as a characteristics of a country inhabited by people of many cultures (e.g. FMJ: Finnish Ministry of Justice, 1990: 43). It was emphasised that the aim of multicultural society was not simply to assimilate immigrants but to accept and support their culture and identity (FMEE, 1990: 46).

In addition to immigration policy, a need for a more coherent integration policy was expressed in the political arenas, followed by the development of the first integration policy based on the examples from the Netherlands and other Nordic countries (Saukkonen, 2016). A report of the Immigration and Refugee Policy Commission, issued in 1995, resulted in the adoption of the first governmental Refugee and Immigration Policy Programme in 1997. Accepting the programme eventually led to the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and the Reception of Asylum Seekers, which came into force in 1999 (Integration Act, 1999). As the status of most immigrants of that time was “refugee”, the Act was drawn up according to the assumed needs of humanitarian immigration.

To implement the new integration policy, a three-level system was created. Its top level constituted a nationwide integration policy, about which the government reported to Parliament in the annual report. At the municipal level, each municipality was obliged to draw up an immigration policy programme and a municipal integration plan that was to define the goals and measures of integration, as well as resources and cooperation issues at the municipal level. At the individual and family level, the idea of personal integration plan was introduced, including measures to promote personal integration, life management skills and “reconciliation of the new and immigrants’ own culture”. (FMI: Finnish Ministry of Interior, 1997.)

At the national and municipal level, integration was presented as a two-way process through which immigrants would learn how to live in Finland, while the Finnish society and its majority population should accept multiculturalism and diversity as the new norm. Social institutions, such as school, the police and health and employment services, were expected to adapt to the new circumstances and treat everyone living in Finland equally, irrespective of

religion, ethnic background or cultural identity. Immigrants' new cultural influences were expected to spice up the "relatively homogeneous Finnish culture and change the attitudes, services and the life of majority population" (FMI, 1997: 174) but maintaining Finnish cultural traditions was still regarded as primary importance. This idea of integration as a two-way process with common multicultural interests concealed, however, contradictions in societal power relations. Outi Lepola (2000) has described this integration policy as "mosaic policy" where different cultural groups lived side by side but separately and at the end integration required activeness only from immigrants (see also May, 1999; Huttunen et al., 2005; Honkasalo & Souto, 2007).

According to the Finnish Ministry of Interior (1997), the aim of the new integration policy was to give immigrants a message that emphasised their own activity in integration. Integration was thus based on the idea (and ideal) of "an active immigrant who aspires to adapt to new circumstances, has a strong personal experience of life and the ability to solve the challenges of life" (ibid.: 174). The personal integration plan involved measures that required immigrants to engage with the plan and were concentrated on the first three years of residence in Finland, as it was estimated that this would result in both economic savings and the prevention of social exclusion of immigrants. The plan included also a right to integration allowance to compensate for social security paid in the form of unemployment benefit and social security. (Ibid.: 19.) Integration allowance was not, however, a social support without charge as if one was to deny the adoption of personal integration plan their integration allowance was to be reduced (Integration Act, 1999: 15§).

Integration in the education sector, 1970-1990s

Since the 1980s, the starting point of immigrant education in Finland has been "equality, functional bilingualism, equivalence of qualifications and studies, and multiculturalism" (FMI, 1997: 184). In practice, this has, however, meant oftentimes politically correct tolerance towards immigrants, reflecting the idea of liberal multiculturalism that recognises cultural diversity and aims to deal with "multicultural encounters" in everyday life but reinforces the idea of "other cultures" in "our space" (e.g. Gordon & Lahelma, 2003: 274; Lahelma, 2001: 2; Harinen & Suurpää, 2003: 9). According to Leena Suurpää (2002), this tolerance approach has also included a hidden racist tone when other cultures have been considered as the recipients of benevolence of the majority population, and hence remained indebted to their "hosts".

The first forms of integration training for adult refugees started in the 1980s as language training, organised by the Finnish Red Cross. Little later also a state-maintained training, *Guidance to working life and training* (TYKO programme, *Työelämään ja koulutukseen valmentava koulutus* in Finnish) started (FNBE, 1993: 10-11). The purpose of the TYKO programme was to guide the unemployed Finns back into the workforce but since there

were few refugees in Finland and they also needed guidance to find employment, they were included in the same programme as other unemployed. Integration training for adult refugees was thus joined with other “risk groups” from the beginning.

In the 1990s, in align with the overall starting point of the immigration and integration policy, the aim of immigrant education was to grant immigrants with the right to maintain their home language and culture, as it was presumed that immigrants, and immigrant children in particular, would learn Finnish easier if they were learning their home language properly at the same time. While education for children and young people from immigrant families was provided mainly in mainstream education, training for adults was offered as language training and complementary vocational training in specific immigrant groups. Adults were also provided with support and training for entrepreneurship and building up entrepreneurial (immigrant) networks. The purpose was to ensure that all adult immigrants would have access to integration training, vocational education and recognition of prior learning and competence in order to get employed (FMI, 1997: 20-21).

In 1993, the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE) published the first curriculum recommendation for integration training for adults under the heading *Adult immigrants: a recommendation for the curriculum for adult immigrant education*, directed specifically for integration training of people from the former Soviet Union. The recommendation was created to harmonise the fragmented integration training field and the same function has remained with its followers. In addition to language skills, the recommendation stated that integration training for adults should include social and cultural information, as well as guidance for further studies and labour market. (FNBE, 1993: 9-10.)

In 1997, a new recommendation, *Goals and principles of adult immigrant education*, was created to replace the old one as the number of immigrants, their countries of origin, and employment situation had changed. Now, the aim was not only to harmonise the fragmented training field but also to facilitate cooperation between training providers, including public and private educational institutions and agencies, NGOs and associations. The study content remained similar compared to the 1993’s version, including studies in Finnish (or Swedish) language as well as skills’ training for further education and employment. (FNBE, 1997: 12-14.) While employment remained the key goal of integration for adults, preventing social exclusion and marginalisation was added to the new recommendation.

In 1999, as part of the overall development of educational measures to prevent social exclusion and marginalisation of “youth at risk”, a training programme of pre-vocational training for immigrants (the MAVA programme, *Maahanmuuttajien ammatilliseen koulutukseen valmistava koulutus* in Finnish) was initiated. Originally, the MAVA programme was intended for “immigrant youth at risk”; that is young people from immigrant families in their early 20s outside education and work. The aim of the MAVA was to

support young people's personal growth, increase knowledge of study and work cultures in Finland and prevent social exclusion. After MAVA, young people were expected to continue studies in vocational education and training (VET) and, eventually, get a profession. (FNBE, 1999.)³ However, as the number of immigrants continued to increase in Finland, and the number of study places in VET remained limited and access to the labour market was difficult, also adult immigrants started to seek their way into MAVA.

2.2 Control-Based Immigration for Labour Market Needs: 2000s

At the beginning of the 2000s, immigration to Finland began to grow considerably and the foreign population nearly doubled with the diversification of the reasons for immigration compared to the 1990s. In addition to family and humanitarian reasons, people started to immigrate to Finland seeking education and work. Consequently, a reform of the legislation governing immigration was considered necessary, and the priorities for immigration and integration policies were to be changed.

In align with the new EU-level immigration policy, the focus shifted also in Finland to promote labour-based immigration in order to meet the needs of the labour market and to prevent a labour shortage in certain labour market sectors (Finnish Government, 2006: 3). The so-called China phenomenon; that is, the gliding of employment, investments and skilled workforce to Asia, was considered as a major threat to Finland too and labour-based immigration as one of the means to control it (Horsti, 2005: 14). According to the Government's Migration Policy Programme (Finnish Government, 2006), in order to obtain a skilled foreign workforce, Finland would need to exploit its attraction, including clean nature, stability, security, functional public services and reasonable income levels, and demonstrate itself as a multicultural country. The Government started to plan collaboration with selected countries in order to recruit a "suitable" workforce from abroad to meet Finland's labour market needs. The need for immigrant workers was heralded especially in the construction, service and social and health care sectors.

A novel idea that all immigrants who planned to stay permanently in Finland needed integration measures in settling into the society, not just refugees and asylum seekers was proposed by the government. The idea was that this way everyone could ultimately achieve equal membership in society.

³ In addition to MAVA, two other pre-vocational training programmes were initiated, namely Preparatory and rehabilitative instruction and guidance for disabled students (the AVA and TYVA programmes) and Vocational Start (for youth at risk in general). For more information, see Article III of this dissertation. Similar pre-vocational programmes have been developed in a number of European countries as well as in Hong Kong, India, Israel, Japan, Mauritius and the US. The ways in which pre-vocational training is understood and arranged has varied between countries but what is shared is the aim to prepare students for VET and labour market. (E.g. Gebhardt et al., 2011.)

(Finnish Government, 2006; see also FNBE, 2005: 3; FME: Finnish Ministry of Education, 2007b: 14). For labour-based immigrants, a needs-based guidance system was created that included language training and studies about employment possibilities in Finland.

Behind the façade that embraced multiculturalism discussions about racialised categories and hierarchies among immigrants were in action. Soon it became clear that labour-based immigrants, especially people with recognised formal education and professional experience from Western countries, had more value and quality than people with refugee and asylum seeker status from the Global South and East (cf. Tannock, 2011: 1). Certain nationalities and cultures were thus welcomed more eagerly than others were, even if the official starting point of the Finnish immigration policy was multiculturalism, tolerance, diversity and non-discrimination (Finnish Government, 2006: 13-14; Forsander, 2001). There were even discussions about the possibility to develop a points system to control immigration, where the idea was that the system could create profiles of people immigrating to Finland from outside the EU, which would help the authorities in making evaluations of the pros and cons of the new arrivals based on their age, educational backgrounds and professional skills (e.g. Family Federation of Finland, 2004: 40; Tanner, 2003). Nira Yuval-Davis et al. (2005: 518) have described this kind of immigration policy that is based on selection and hypothetical suitability of certain people as “cherry picking of refugees” (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005: 518) where the starting point is that the receiving country chooses the “best” people with “suitable profile”, considered to be more easily integrated. Instead, people who are assumed to need social and financial assistance and support are considered as less wanted and troublesome, as less able to integrate.

In tandem with these discussions about the selection criteria, the regulation and control of immigration were put on the governmental agenda with a particular interest in controlling the size and composition of immigrants, and fighting against international crime, terrorism and religious extremism. Effective integration was considered essential in order to preserve society’s social order and to ease the fear of the majority population of social unrest. In the public anti-migration debates, multiculturalism became depicted as a “bad souvenir” (Lepola, 2000: 381; Huttunen et al., 2005: 16; Horsti, 2005: 11) and immigrants as abusers of the Finnish welfare system (cf. Lundström, 2017 in Sweden). Following the global rise of Islamophobia and racist movements, the representations of Muslims and Islam were couched in Finland within the broader discourse of national security (cf. Rizvi, 2005; Keskinen et al., 2009: 33): young Muslim men were depicted as potential terrorists (Archer, 2004: 98; European Council, 2003: 3; see Mervola, 2005) and Muslim women as powerless victims in need of empowerment and saving from honour killings, female genital mutilation and forced marriages (Huttunen, 2004; Dahlgren, 2004).

Integration in the education sector, 2000s

In the beginning of 2000s, following the overall objectives of the official immigration policy, the starting points of immigrant education were equality, tolerance and cultural pluralism, and human rights, democracy and multiculturalism the value base of all work done in education (FNBE, 2004: 14). The objective was to develop a comprehensive and coherent education policy that would take into account the various backgrounds of all students at all levels of education. The recognition of foreign qualifications and possibilities for re-training was to be developed in order to facilitate, increase and promote work-related immigration. (FME, 2007a.)

The increase in the number of immigrant students in educational institutions was expected to bring multiculturalism but also new multicultural challenges to the educational institutions and the education system at large (FME, 2004). Schools with a high number of immigrant students became to be considered as multicultural and as such as scenes of cultural collisions (e.g. Huttunen et al., 2005; Huttunen, 2005; Honkasalo & Harinen, 2007: 51).

While children and young people from immigrant families continued to be settled in the mainstream education, adult immigrants, including the unemployed adults, parents at home and the elderly people, were guided through municipal services and the labour administration to different forms of integration services and training. To be entitled to participate in integration training, adult immigrants had to be registered as unemployed jobseekers with the Public Employment and Business Services (TE Services, *Julkiset työ- ja elinkeinopalvelut* in Finnish). Personal integration plan continued to be the main document that guided integration and a mutual agreement on integration activities between immigrants and TE Services. In addition to the language skills, improvement of social, cultural and life-management skills, as well as access to further education and/or employment were expected to be gained during the first three years of valid integration plan. Integration allowance was remunerated in such a way that it was not a definite social right, but something that required commitment from immigrants.

Guidance and counselling as well as supplying information about immigration and integration services available required new flexible forms of working as well as effective cooperation between authorities. The availability of basic services, staff knowledge and the identification of needs of immigrants were considered to be the prerequisites for good integration (Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2017.) Educational institutions providing integration training for adult immigrants were obliged to prepare a general plan for integration training as well as personal study plans for their students. Both plans were to be based on the recommendations of the FNBE so that students' individual choices and effective guidance was implemented in an appropriate manner.

A note-worthy phenomenon in the education sector in the beginning of the 2000s was that of projectisation (Brunila, 2009) and how project-based

activities became an important way of organising education, including integration training. While the amount of projects had increased already in the 1990s, the 2000s has been described as the golden age of projectisation of welfare services, which was part of the overall change in social policy from a state-led social system towards market-led service economy. (Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006; Rantala & Sulkunen, 2006; Tuori, 2009.) Consequently, activities in relation to integration training were to be organised as projects and funded with short-term funding, especially from the European Social Fund (ESF) through the Ministry of Employment and the Economy (FMEE) and Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY Centres).

As this dissertation shows, besides efforts of producing “best practices” and making integration more effective, the fragmentation of integration training into short-term projects actually hinders immigrants to proceed forward from the integration phase to further education and employment as repeating different kinds of short-term integration training projects and not “moving forward” is likely for many (Articles III; IV; V; Niemi & Kurki, 2014; see also Romakkaniemi & Ruutu, 2001; Aunola, 2002; Aunola & Ruuskanen, 2004; Aunola & Korpela, 2006; Kilpinen & Salonen, 2011; Korpela et al., 2013; Teittinen, 2017).

2.3 Refugee Crisis and Integration Becoming Business: 2010s

The 2010s started with a renewed Integration Act (2011). The renewed Act was intended to “promote the integration of immigrants, equality and freedom of choice with measures that support the achievement of key knowledge and skills needed in society” (ibid). The idea of integration as a two-way process, including the promotion of positive interaction between different cultural groups, continued to be at the heart of the Act. Also, the principle of “normal services”, which meant that immigrants and their affairs were managed in the same facilities and offices as the majority population and not in separate establishments, was strengthened. (Saukkonen, 2013.) In spring 2016, the government published an action plan regarding the integration of immigrants, and later accepted the official integration programme. The main purpose was to get refugees and asylum seekers with a residence permit from reception centres into “normal” accommodation, education and training as soon as possible, and subsequently into the Finnish labour market. The aim was to make the integration system more flexible and better oriented towards the individual needs of immigrants, but also more effective in terms of time and resources.

The purpose of the renewed Act was also to intensify and speed up the integration process, and clarify – once again – the division of responsibilities among different authorities at all levels of government and to enhance the

cooperation between municipalities and TE Services. In the search for faster integration, so-called fast-track initiatives were launched. In the social and health care sector, for instance, a fast-track nursing assistant initiative was developed, which, was considered as a good option for immigrants “who often do not want to commit themselves to education and training for several years” (Laiho & Lith, 2011). Policymakers expressed a “desperate need” for immigrants in the social and health care sector “to help trained nurses to feed, bathe and dress up the patients” (ibid.).

The nursing assistant initiative was also part of the overall reform in the social and health care sector, where the costs of elderly care were cut by creating new professional titles and faster training in order to ensure an affordable and more flexible labour supply. In addition to financial arguments, the lowering of training requirements was justified by the idea of care work as “mission in life” where care work was not a formal profession that required long-term training but a job for which the main prerequisites were a positive mind, active attitude, empathy, and engagement, attributes culturally associated with immigrants. (Hoppania et al., 2016: 122; Olakivi & Niska, 2016; Olakivi, 2018; Articles I and II.) The active recruitment of immigrants to care work was to change the historically gendered and classed nature of care as in addition to immigrant girls and women, also men were actively recruited into care work with campaigns such as “Not just for hags – men for practical nurses” by the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (2010)⁴.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (FMEAE) continues to launch new fast-track initiatives, including a pilot programme to take integration training directly into the workplaces. This programme has been tested in car factories in the city of Uusikaupunki and if successful it will be expanded nationwide and across industries. In the programme, integration training resembles an apprenticeship training but is, according to the FMEAE, tailored to meet immigrants’ needs. The ultimate goal of the programme is to reduce the time that it takes for immigrants to find a job, as “the labour market integration has been a very long process for many immigrants partially due to the integration system itself, which typically consists of integration training, language classes, and pre-vocational and vocational training. The entire integration path can take up to seven years.” (European Commission, 2017.)

The FMEAE has collaborated actively also with the Finnish Innovation Fund SITRA (SITRA, 2015; 2016a; 2016b; FMEAE, 2016b) to team up with several private companies in an effort to encourage their willingness to train immigrants, especially refugees, and to facilitate their integration and access to work. As for the Ministry of Education and Culture (FMEC) has participated in funding fast-track initiatives, including a project to reinforce the role of the higher education institutions in supporting the integration of immigrants. This project provides immigrants with information on Finnish higher

⁴ Interestingly, the link for the campaign has disappeared from the website of the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment.

education and aims to streamline the recognition of previous education. A similar support framework has been proposed for vocational education and training.

Integration in the education sector, 2010s

In the 2010s, the number of immigrants, and refugees in particular, continues to increase in all European countries due to the prolonged conflicts and wars in the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. This is reflected also in Finland. The new situation has been debated widely in the media and other public arenas, largely from the society's point of view, highlighting – again – the problems, threats and challenges of immigration but considerably also its costs: how to integrate all new arrivals and are the financial resource adequate? The Finnish government has acted by temporarily amending the Act on the Financing of Education and Culture to increase funding for municipalities preparing immigrants for basic education, while the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment allocated supplementary funding of €10 million to accelerate access to integration training for adult asylum seekers who had received their residence permit (FMEAE, 2016c). The Ministry of Education and Culture also announced €9.2 million extra funding to provide apprenticeship and work-based training for refugees granted international protection (FMEC, 2016).

While the FMEAE has had the main responsibility for labour market training for unemployed adult immigrants, the FMEC has been responsible for immigrant education in pre-primary, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary and vocational education and training. The FMEAE is currently preparing a new implementation model for integration training in collaboration with the National Board of Education (FNBE). The target level and scope of education is not to be changed but the intention is to increase the ability to tailor and individualise integration training and, for example, to allow participation in voluntary work or in language training and other studies by using electronic tools. (FMEAE, 2017b.)

In the education sector, a remarkable change of course occurred in spring 2015 when the ELY Centres, responsible for financing integration training, shifted their strategy according to the guidelines of the FMEE and reduced the importance of the quality of training to 25% while that of price was increased to 75%. This change gave an immediate rise to the public concern, as what followed was that the private companies swept away the incumbent public educational institutions in the competition, and a large number of teachers lost their jobs to private sector consultants. The procurement system was justified by saying that it could be used for bidding and to obtain integration training flexibly and to direct the procurement to where the greatest need for training was. According to the public educational institutions, however, price competition and uncertainty of operation reduced their willingness to invest in the development of integration training.

These changes in the education sector, including integration training, reflect the changes in social and welfare politics more broadly since the 1990s, with a transition from social democratic thinking to the neoliberal ideology with the demands of effectiveness and the state institutions losing their resources and standing to the private sector (e.g. Rose, 1999; Julkunen, 2006; Komulainen et al., 2010; Brunila, et al., 2013). This change has included the idea of individualisation, which refers to the increase in the individual responsibility for anticipating and coping with the risks involved in life. In the context of integration, this has increased the insecurity, temporarily and precariousness in the lives of immigrants, while at the same time, they have had to take more responsibility for all personal actions, including finding education and employment (cf. Butler et al., 2016; Näre, 2012; Article IV). In this ethos of marketisation, integration has become an individual project where immigrants must be able to guide themselves towards integration while demonstrating devotion and gratitude towards Finnish society. This seems to be convenient for the integrating society as in the debt of gratitude, immigrants can be integrated more easily according to the needs of the society instead of those of immigrants. Furthermore, the responsibility for integration remains on immigrants' and not on society's shoulders: if one fails to integrate, it is their personal fault.

In the political rhetoric, the Finnish society continues to describe itself as inclusive and multicultural, and integration policy written through great goals, such as the idea of integration as a two-way process. A relevant question is, however, has the two-way integration ever really been the goal, even if it is mentioned in the policy documents and legislation, or are the ideas of inclusiveness and tolerance meant to calm down the skepticism towards integration measures while making no actual attempts to address the central problem of racism in Finnish society?

3 INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON SUBJECTIFICATION AND RACIALISATION

In Chapter 3, I present my conceptual and theoretical approach to examine integration policies and practices in education. I draw on a range of theoretical perspectives, including poststructural and postcolonial theoretisations (e.g. Fanon, 1963; Foucault, 1975/1991) and feminist researchers utilising these (e.g. Butler, 1990; 1997; St. Pierre, 2000; Brunila, 2009) some of whom have also conducted ethnographic studies (in educational contexts) (e.g. Davies et al., 2001; Youdell, 2006; 2011; Hakala, 2007). It is worth noting that when using the theoretical categories of “postcolonial” and “poststructural”, I understand that they are inadequate for describing the ways in which researchers named as postcolonial and/or poststructural work within (and also against) these categories (see also Ikävalko, 2016: 63). A general feature, however, of both postcolonial and poststructural theoretisations is to “trouble” (Butler, 1990; Youdell, 2011) the taken-for-granted “truths” and to prioritise differences over (fixed) identity. In addition, they share a deep commitment to radical politics and scepticism towards humanistic, modern, Eurocentric representation of rationalism, which continues to define the rest of the world as uncivilised, irrational other (e.g. Boehmer, 1995: 4-6; St. Pierre, 2000). Thus, the focus in postcolonial and poststructural studies is often in the criticism of submission mechanisms based on social categories and in challenging, reinterpreting and subverting the hegemonic Eurocentric discursive strategies (Tiffin, 1995; Ilmonen, 2014: 21).

As “postcolonial” and “poststructural” are both umbrella terms for a vast amount of literature and research (e.g. Boehmer, 1995; St. Pierre, 2000), I discuss in this chapter which of the concepts developed within these theoretisations have been particularly important in this dissertation when “thinking with theory” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

3.1 Intersectionality

In this dissertation, my way of asking questions stems from postcolonial and poststructural theoretisations with intersectional perspective. In the research articles of this dissertation, I have not necessarily described my research approach and analysis intersectional but the focus has been on examining, for instance, if and how integration policies and practices in education take into account social categorization and differences, including gender, race and ethnicity and to some extent also religion and age.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Black feminist activists, including Angela Davis, bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins, called attention to the multiplicity of

oppression, however, without using the term intersectionality. The term itself was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 1990s to discuss the issues of black women's (un)employment in the US. With intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991) referred to the simultaneous multiplicity of differences and the importance to reveal them in order to understand the overlapping of systems of oppression. Intersectional approach was needed both in the academia, political arenas and everyday life to explain the ways in which power, ideology and identities intersected to maintain patterns and processes of inequality, discrimination and oppression, which structured the lives of black, coloured, racialised women (e.g. Brah & Phoenix, 2004). The concept intersectionality was thus developed to make visible the multiplicity of oppressions but also to develop new collective counter-strategies for liberation.

Bringing the concept intersectionality to feminist and gender studies was also a wakeup call for the white middle-classed feminism, which had historically excluded black, coloured, racialised women and situated the issues relevant to the white privileged women at the centre of feminist activism. Black, postcolonial and antiracist feminist researchers and activists stressed the importance to develop an intersectional approach to mainstream feminist analysis of women's social disadvantage (Mirza, 2009b). The key message was that the need to dismantle and deconstruct the idea of "third world women", represented predominantly both in academic research and public debates as an uneducated and poor subaltern in need of white wo/man's saving, had not disappeared from the mainstream feminist research (e.g. Mohanty, 1984/1999; Spivak, 1988; 1990; see also Hirsiaho, 2007: 244). This perspective was outlined in discussions about who the marginalised othered women were in racialised societies (Vuorela, 1999: 17-18).

When utilising intersectional approach, researchers (inevitably) shed light on certain social categories and differences, while taking no account of others. Researchers utilising intersectional approach have been criticised for adding the "never ending list" of categorical differences in their studies, which Judith Butler (1990), for instance, has called the "embarrassed etc." While the most common categories in intersectional analysis have been those of race, gender, class and sexuality, in some studies the spectrum has grown to include up to twenty different categories (Pellander, 2017). Ann Phoenix and Pamela Pattynama (2006) argue, however, that the term intersectionality itself signals a move away from the additive models of double or triple jeopardy and the seemingly meaningless listing of a never-ending hierarchy of multiple, additive social positions and identities.

In this dissertation, the importance of the concept of intersectionality has been in understanding the multiple inequalities within the "racial regimes" (Mulinari & Neergaard, 2017) built in the integration policies and practices in education. The idea of intersectionality has guided me to examine the experiences of becoming an immigrant and immigrant-ness as constructed and intermeshed with other social categories. I have focused on the social categories of gender, ethnicity and race (Articles I; II), and how they intersect

with religion (Article I), special education needs (Article III) or criminal background (Article IV). I understand that regardless of which social categories and differences the researcher utilises and focuses on, the aim of intersectional research/er is to show how (the selected) differences and categories are not separate but mutually created, interdependent, and internally homogeneous. In addition, the ways in which many social justice issues, such as racism, sexism, homophobia and ableism often overlap and create multiple levels of injustice have been at the heart of feminist researchers engaged with intersectionality (e.g. Hill Collins, 2000; de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006; Mirza, 2009b). I agree with Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) who argues that we need studies that separate out the different levels in which social divisions are constituted and analyse how they are intermeshed with each other in specific historical situations.

Regardless of the critique towards the concept of intersectionality, it remains important to conduct studies that consider the multiplicities of social injustices. In the 2010s, the need to trouble the totalising representations of racialised women, for instance, has not disappeared, at least not from the European mainstream media and public debates. The “third world woman” has been replaced largely with the image of Muslim women, represented as vulnerable victims, covered in hijab, dedicating their oppressed lives to home, childcare and religion (Hirsiaho 2007; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). These images invite the white audience to rescue these “poor women”, not in equal relations, but as paternalistic benevolence in what Gayatri Spivak (1988) calls “the saving of brown women from brown men” (see also RASTER network, 2018). In this dissertation, this thematic is discussed in Article I, where I explain how in educational guidance to upper secondary education gender intersects with ethnicity, race and religion and with what consequences. With intersectional analysis, I render visible the mechanisms through which racialised hierarchies are generated and maintained in education and produce advantages and disadvantages, fortunes and misfortunes, based on the co-constitutive effect of gender, race, ethnicity and religion. Article II also draws on the intersectional perspective in examining how integration practices in education institutionalise racism and constitute and reconstitute racial hierarchies in the labour market, and in particular within the social and health care sector.

3.2 Subjectification

(French) Poststructuralism, in particular the analysis of discourses and subject formation (Foucault, 1975/1991) as well as understanding power as productive and rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari 1988/2004) has influenced intersectional research in many ways (Ilmonen, 2011). In this dissertation, I am interested in examining how people are subjected, categorised, classified, hierarchised, and normalised as immigrants, and consequently, surveilled and provoked for self-surveillance (cf. Foucault, 1975/1991). As my interest is on subject formation,

my attempt is to recapture the term intersectionality and ask how intersectional dynamics of gendering and racialising interact with each other in subject formation (see Dhamoon, 2011; Bacchi, 2017: 34). I follow the poststructural understanding of the discursive constitution of subjectivity where a subject is constituted through discursive practices; that is, the meanings through which the world and the self are made knowable and known (Foucault, 1975/1991). I am interested in the processes in which the subject is constituted and constitutes itself in relation with the surrounding reality, where different kinds of positions of agency, resistance and intersecting subject positions are constituted (see Ilmonen, 2011: 2). When thinking about the “making of the subject” and “becoming a subject” simultaneously, it becomes clear that one cannot resist subjectification but it can be troubled, remade and reformulated.

I understand immigrant-ness and “being” an immigrant as socially constructed in the discourses of immigration and integration. The idea of this dissertation is to explore the power structures that constitute and subjugate the individual and collective immigrant subjectivity and to reveal the consequences of this constitution. The idea of “making of” and “becoming” immigrant subject also creates the background against which I have developed the concept of immigrantisation (see in detail Chapter 6).

My interest is thus in examining both how the immigrant subject is made in educational settings and how the immigrant subjectivity might be challenged and remade. According to Alison Jones (1997: 267), subjectification is always an ongoing and always incomplete process: the subject is never fixed but always in “becoming”. Therefore, the effects of subjectification are neither determined nor predictable (Bacchi, 2017: 28) as subjectivities become possible in certain discourses which are by no means arbitrary, something that one can choose. Besides describing the ongoing processes whereby certain people are categorised as immigrants, I also discuss how they then come to experience themselves as immigrants and to “occupy these subject positions” (Butler, 1990) in the discursive practices of integration. Understanding this ambivalence of submission and mastery in subjectification is of vital importance, as Butler (1990) states, as the subject is not possible without these simultaneous acts. This dual nature of subjectification is easily misunderstood in the binary structure of western language as necessarily either submission or mastery, but not both (Davies et al., 2001). The subject might resist and agonise over the powers that dominate and subject the self, but at the same time, the subject also depends on them for its existence (Davies, 2006: 426). Power cannot be opposed or possessed; it is something, which we depend on (Butler, 1997: 2).

When utilising the concept of subjectification in the research articles (I-V), I mainly refer to Michel Foucault (1975/1991), Judith Butler (1990; 1997; 2004), Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (2000), Bronwyn Davies (2000; 2004; 2006) and Deborah Youdell (2006; 2011). However, when writing this summary report, I found texts (e.g. Phoenix, 2012; Phoenix & Phoenix, 2012)

pointing out that Foucault, who is often considered and referred to as the “first reference” of the concept of subjectification (or subjectivation or subjection or *assujetissement* in French), built the concept on Louis Althusser’s (1977) ideas about ideological state apparatuses and interpellation, which were prefigured by Frantz Fanon (1963; 1967) and his ideas on the ways in which coloniser-colonised relationship is normalised by the psyche. From the decolonial viewpoint it is interesting to notice that while Fanon’s influence on the concept of subjectification has clearly been fundamental it is paradoxically left quite marginal in poststructural research and debates on the concept.

Since the issues of power and resistance are central to both poststructural and postcolonial theoretisations, together they have offered me possibilities to question the contradictions related to the intersections of gendering and racialising processes of integration. In the research articles I argue that the process of subjectification that take place through integration policies and practices in education gender and racialise the subjects of integration (or immigrants as they become to be called in these practices) through the neo-colonial inscription of Otherness. To analyse this further, I have utilised in my analysis the concept of racialisation.

3.3 Racialisation

There is a continuous debate among social and educational researchers on the use of the concept of race. Paul Gilroy (2000), for instance, has stated that using the term race simply maintains social categorisations based on external features, whereas David Gillborn (1990), for instance, has defended the use of the term race by stating that making visible and improving the position of racialised groups requires their designation and gathering information about racialised positions in society.

When used in research, “race” is often written in quotation marks in order to emphasise the understanding that race is socially constructed category and not biological. The quotation marks are expected to explain that there are no different human races, but because people are categorised in social encounters based on their skin colour and other external features, we have to talk about “race” and its consequences in one way or another (e.g. Huttunen, 2002: 103-104). According to Anoop Nayak (2005), this poststructural way of using race allows a detailed and critical analysis of the making of race and makes it clear that race does not exist before the discourse but is produced and renewed in many simultaneous and controversial racialising discourses. Poststructural approach emphasizes also the potential of deconstructing racialised categories and revealing their historical and context-specific constitution. Nonetheless, race, understood as a socially and culturally constructed category, has real material effects on people’s lives and the societal processes in which they are involved in (Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017).

The concept of racialisation emphasises these processes through which the ideas of race are turned into practices at different levels of society, including education. The concept of racialisation was developed and introduced by Frantz Fanon in his book *Les damnés de la terre* (1961) but it was not until the 1990s that the concept gained wider influence in the academia following the theoretical elaboration of Robert Miles (1989). With racialisation, Fanon referred to the failure of European colonialists to recognise that “Africans” had a distinct culture that were unique to them when Europeans tried to “set up white culture to fill the gap left by [what they believed was] the absence of other cultures” (Fanon, 1965: 171). Thus, with racialisation, Fanon highlighted the ways race was understood and perceived, how racial differences were created and understood historically, how the violent process of racialisation functions and its consequences on the racialised body and psyche (Barot & Bird, 2010; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2017).

While some scholars, including Miles (1993), have argued for a substitution of the concept of race with that of racialisation, others have stated that both concepts are needed to analyse effectively both the histories of and the current social processes in societies. More recent scholars, such as Irene Molina (2005), have defined racialisation as processes that differentiate people, stabilises these differences and legitimates power that differentiates them. Therefore, racialisation is not only about ideas, representations and discourses, but involves material processes and their material effects. Similarly, Ylva Habel (2012) points to how the concept of racialisation emphasises racial and ethnic subordination caused by societal, political and historical processes, which have constituted racial identities, privileges, and discriminations. Racialisation can occur based on alleged biological differences, skin colour and cultural differences, often combining elements of these. According to Laura Huttunen (2002), through racialisation other attributes, such as inability or unsuitability, are associated with external features, such as thinking that immigrants would be unsuitable and incapable for certain professions (Article I-IV). As such, people’s perceived biological differences are presented as reasons for classifying them into distinct groups (Article I) and combining non-interrelated things, which produces an unchangeable linkages between race, nature and biology. Olli Löytty (2005) states that racialisation is one of the most powerful forms of othering, for example in the form of exoticism and stereotyping. Racialisation legitimates those power relations that are based on the idea of racial differences.

Racialisation makes sense also in Finnish society, but needs to be contextually applied. The Finnish history of racism is less linked to external colonialism compared to the classic colonial powers of France and the UK, for instance, although colonialism has always played a role in the Finnish “racial regime” (e.g. Keskinen et al., 2009; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2017). The Finnish racial regime is characterised by many parallel micro-processes of racialisation that produce the “immigrant other” with this derogatory naming. In Finland, where speaking about race is often considered to be politically

incorrect, racialised categorisations are often made with ethnonyms of “ethnic”, “cultural”, and “immigrant” (Rastas, 2005). Also in the Finnish academic research, the study of racism, racialisation and racial inequalities continues to be marginal to mainstream scholarship and the social construction of race has often been replaced with terms of culture and religion (see, however, e.g. Lahelma, 2001; Rastas, 2007, 2009; Souto 2011; Alemanji, 2016; cf. Hübinette & Lundström, 2014).

I have brought the concept of racialisation into the analysis, for example, when people named as immigrants became subjects of assumptions, stereotypes, and prejudices due to their skin colour, culture, ethnic background, or religion (Articles I; II). I also analyse how integration practices appear to be racialising and how racialised subjectivities are made through integration policies and practices in education (Articles I-V). The term “racialising” adopts a verb form of the noun “race” to capture the active, ongoing, and always incomplete processes that constitute specific kinds of unequal subject positions (cf. Jones, 1997: 265 on gender). In a verb form, race is something in “becoming”, which signals the non-fixity of the category shaped through ongoing, contested, and contingent processes and practices of integration (cf. Chia, 1996 in Bacchi, 2017: 21). As a constitutive process, racialising, the making of races, intersects with numerous other active and activating processes of oppression and subordination, such as gendering, heteronorming, classing, disabling, and third-worldising (see Annfelt, 2008; Spivak, 2009; Bacchi, 2017). When analysing the practices of integration alongside the questions about their racialising effects, I have asked how these practices are potentially also gendering and disabling people named as immigrants (Articles I-III). The idea of these verb-forms is an attempt to shift the focus from the subject to the dynamic processes involved in how the subject is “done” (Dhamoon, 2011). As Carol Bacchi (2017) states, we need verb forms to capture the ways in which inequalities are done. The verb forms are better able to draw attention to practices of subordination than fixed categories, as they tend to hide or render invisible the processes and practices, the politics involved in the formation of those categories, and hence installs them as “real”, natural and unchallengeable (ibid.: 22). When describing racialising as a verb, I do not mean that the people involved in my studies have race but that practices racialise them so that it appears that they “have” race.

The strength of the concept of racialisation is in understanding the ways in which racial categorisations are both neglected and acted on (Mulinari & Neergaard, 2017). Although the concept of racialisation has been criticised for its imprecise nature, its use has been successful in directing research into reviewing processes and questing of racial categorisations and classifications, and how they are produced, re-produced and utilised in everyday encounters (Rastas, 2005: 87).

4 FEMINIST ETHNOGRAPHY WITH POSTSTRUCTURAL FRAME

In Chapter 4, I discuss my methodological approach to immigration and integration. I have limited the discussion to the methodological questions and texts that have been essential in constituting “my methodology”, which I have named as feminist ethnography with poststructural frame. As the empirical context of this dissertation covers two educational contexts (lower secondary school and vocational institution) and spans more than six years (2006-2011), it has not been possible within the scope of the research articles (Articles I-V) to produce a full picture of the “ethnographic field” where I produced the data. Therefore, I provide in this chapter a more detailed description of the events from the field and the people involved in the studies, the data production, as well as reflection of research ethics and in particular of my position as a (ethnographic) researcher.

4.1 Constituting the Methodology

In constituting my methodological approach to examine immigration and integration in education, the methodological discussions taking place within feminist poststructuralist (ethnographic) research, especially those on the formation and legitimacy of researcher’s knowledge and researcher’s subjectivity in the data production, have been particularly important to me (e.g. Young, 1997; St. Pierre, 2000; Hakala, 2007; Hakala & Hynninen, 2007). I have been particularly inspired by feminist ethnographies conducted in Finland produced within educational institutions and concerned with differences and inequalities (e.g. Gordon et al., 2000; Lappalainen et al., 2007). Ethnographic studies focusing on the questions of immigration, multiculturalism and (anti-)racism in Finland have also been an important source of inspiration (e.g. Rastas, 2007; Tuori, 2009; Honkasalo, 2011; Souto, 2011) when planning both my theoretical and methodological research approach. In addition to the feminist ethnographies conducted in Finland, ethnographic studies conducted in the UK concerned with institutional racism and the experiences of inequalities in education of Black and other racialised students (e.g. Gillborn, 1990; 1995; Mirza, 1992; Youdell, 2006; 2011) have inspired my work in many ways. Heidi Safia Mirza’s study *Young, Female and Black* (1992) and Deborah Youdell’s *Impossible Bodies, Impossible Selves: exclusions and student subjectivities* (2006), for instance, have had a particular effect on the ways in which I started to examine the making of gendered and racialised immigrant subjectivities in educational settings. Inspired by these studies, I found it important to examine not only the role of education in shaping and constituting immigrant subjectivities, but also the

possibilities to resist and act outside this gendered and racialised subject constitution.

As has been typical for a number of feminist ethnographies, in particular those with a poststructural frame, I have critically examined the general cultural beliefs and perceptions, the so-called truths, in this case, about immigration, integration and immigrants, and aimed for being sensitive and reflective of my position as a researcher (cf. Mirza, 2006: 138; Lahelma & Gordon, 2007: 22; Honkasalo, 2011; Tuori, 2009). I understood ethnography to be a research methodology through which, in addition to producing the data for my studies, I have been able to make visible my conceptualisations and approaches to the issues of power, ethics and researcher's responsibility (Lappalainen et al., 2007). For me, ethnography has meant an ethical encounter with my research participants and setting myself to listen them, respecting their knowledge and experiences, while acknowledging that their knowledge can never fully be mine (Ahmed, 2000b; Hakala & Hynninen, 2007).

Later, I also saw the benefits of ethnography with poststructural frame being in the possibilities to "trouble" ethnography itself as a methodology and myself as an ethnographer, and to move from concerns with authenticity and truth towards processes of subjectification and representation (Lather, 1991; St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000; Youdell, 2006). During the research process, my methodology started to move (or better say wander, drift and stumble) from a rather straightforward ethnography towards a critical reading of ethnography. I travelled through the multi-sited, feminist ethnographies in educational and non-educational contexts, to arrive somewhere what I have called nomadic methodology. Together with my colleague Elina Ikävalko, we have started to look for other ways of thinking and conducting (ethnographic) research and have found the concept of "nomadic" excellently to describe research process as multiplicity, as multi-directed and rhizomatic, as endless movement of thought (e.g. Deleuze & Guattari, 1988/2004; Lather, 2007; Precarias a la deriva, 2009; Braidotti, 2011a; 2011b; Guttorm, 2014; Hohti; 2016). In short, with nomadic methodology, I (and we) refer to the constant movement between and within different theoretical approaches, between and within the production of a wide range of data and the constant movement and change during the research process in researcher's thinking and positions (Ikävalko, 2016; Ikävalko, 2015; Ikävalko & Kurki, 2014; Kurki et al., 2016; Ikävalko & Kurki, submitted). These thoughts to intertwine ethnographic and nomadic research approach have taken place "on the edges" of this dissertation (Articles II; IV). I feel, however, that it is important to write about them here in this summary report to show the constant movement in my thinking and to show that writing and thinking that has taken place at some point, might happen differently now.

4.2 Constituting the Data

Education has a special role in implementing the national integration policies. As such, education is implicated also in the making of educational social exclusions and inequalities, as well as the making of immigrant students (cf. Youdell, 2011: 1). Therefore, I found it interesting to go inside educational institutions to explore the everyday practices and observe detailed accounts of everyday life inside them. I was curious to see if ethnographic approach would offer me a particular insight into and understanding of the ways that educational practices of integration worked and constituted certain students as immigrants. My research approach to immigration and immigrant-ness was also underpinned by understanding of the educational institutions as “disciplinary institutions” that constitute the subjects and include “disciplinary technologies” of categorisation, classification and normalisation (Foucault, 1975/1991).

While ethnography cannot simply be reduced to a set of research methods, the use of certain methods is an enduring feature of ethnography (Youdell, 2006: 59). Individual and group interviews along with observations and collection of policy documents are commonly found within accounts of how to do ethnographic research. Next, I will discuss where, when and how I have produced the data, and what the data include.

4.2.1 Finding and Observing the Ethnographic Fields

The first ethnographic study included in this dissertation was carried out in 2006 as part of my master’s thesis (Kurki, 2008). Inspired by a discussion afternoon “Ask what you ask” organised at the Caisa Cultural Centre in Helsinki, Finland, I started to think about the conditions for belonging and making “the immigrant self” heard in multicultural Finnish society. The purpose of the discussion afternoon was to give the (Finnish) audience an opportunity to ask young people named as immigrants about their life in Finland. In the event, the issue of naming young people as immigrants became the key topic of the open discussion. The standpoint of young people on the platform was clear: the concept immigrant should not be used, especially if one was born or had lived all their life in Finland.

After the event, I decided to focus my research on the politics of naming and the constitution of immigrant subjectivity in educational settings. I was interested in examining what distinctions (racialised) naming produced within educational institutions and what meanings young people named as immigrants gave to “their” immigrant-ness. I also wanted to examine what meanings immigrant-ness would get in educational policy documents and among educational professionals, teachers in particular, and was the naming (as racialising practice) problematised or taken for granted. In addition, as I had examined in my bachelor’s thesis how the newspaper texts depicted

immigrant youth (Kurki, 2005), I was interested in examining if in the everyday encounters of education, the picture was as problem-driven as in the media, with the negative news getting much more visibility than the positive news. I conducted a new search in the daily paper *Helsingin Sanomat* web archive, which strengthened the negativity of the coverage on immigrant youth: the keyword “immigrant girls”, for instance, resulted in a great deal of news about honour killings, forced marriages and female genital mutilation.

Following these discussions, I contacted a number of lower secondary schools in the Helsinki metropolitan area. As I was interested in immigrant education and the educational transitions from comprehensive school to upper secondary education, I narrowed down the search for schools to those with immigrant students in the 9th grade (students aged 15-17), which, in Finland is the last grade of compulsory education.

Soon, I found a school with a suitable profile. It was a suburban lower secondary school in an area where the age, income and educational level of the population were slightly lower than the average, and the proportion of inhabitants with immigrant backgrounds (7%), was higher than the average in the Helsinki metropolitan area in year 2006. The school had about 300 students of which one third had a mother tongue other than Finnish. These students, named as immigrants “for language and administrative reasons”, as the head teacher described it, spoke twenty mother tongues. Each class level had a group of immigrants integrated into mainstream education. In addition to mother tongue education, the school provided preparatory training for compulsory education, temporary special education for immigrants, and Finnish as a second language teaching.

When my ethnographic period started, I first met with the head teacher, and then two weeks later with all other teachers of the school in their spring meeting. The first time I met with the students was on the Africa theme day, which I was invited to participate in. Below is a description of that day written down in my observation notes:

It is my first day to visit the school. It's Africa theme day. I wander around different classrooms with the teacher. Hallways and classrooms are decorated according to the Africa theme. In one classroom, there is Africa Café with a large map of Africa on the wall. I am told that they are serving coffee and African delicacies. In another classroom, students are making small savannah animals of leather, drawing colourful paintings and listening to rhythmic music (“African”, I presume). Teachers are dressed in African dresses. “Ooh, isn't it beautiful here”, the teacher sighs. “There are lots of immigrant students in this class”, she whispers and starts pointing them one by one. One of the students passes us, the teacher stops him and asks “James, where are you from?” The student flips his eyes and replies “Nowhere.” The teacher looks at me and seems confused and a bit

embarrassed: “they are sometimes like that...” (Observation notes, spring 2006)

This episode describes the situation, which I faced as a researcher interested in multiculturalism. I had been invited to visit the school specifically on Africa theme day, apparently because my research was about multiculturalism. This event has travelled with me through the research process as I have reflected on my first contacts with the multicultural “reality” in educational institutions. Multicultural theme days are typical representations of cultural diversity that often exoticise non-white cultures and ethnicities. They have been and still are typical educational methods for implementing multicultural education and knowledge in schools (Huttunen et al., 2005: 24) and in society as a whole (Horsti, 2005). By highlighting external elements, such as food, clothing and music, the representations of “other cultures” are, however, often exotic, stereotypical and essentialising. As such, multicultural representations, despite good intentions, may establish subordinating and othering views of ethnic minorities and undermine structural inequalities (Troyna & Carrington, 1990; Cottle, 1993; Räsänen, 2005; Honkasalo & Souto, 2007). The backdrop of the theme days is that, in most cases, they offer the majority population an opportunity to rejoice and consume the “exotic otherness” while this “carnival of multiculturalism” does not include the fact that this multiculturalism is already here, in our everyday life.

The second ethnographic study took place between 2009 and 2011. I had started as a doctoral student in autumn 2008 and was part of a research project *Citizenship, agency and differences in upper secondary education – with special focus on educational institutions* (AMIS) (2010-2013) led by Elina Lahelma and funded by the Academy of Finland. One of the shared interests in the project was educational transitions from compulsory school to upper secondary education (see Brunila et al., 2013). With my colleague Anna-Maija Niemi, we became interested in the pre-vocational training programmes intended for immigrants, disabled young people and youth at risk in general (see Niemi, 2015; Niemi & Kurki, 2014; Article III).

I started new negotiations to access “the field” and contacted a few educational institutions and educational projects in the Helsinki metropolitan area that provided either pre-vocational training for immigrants (the MAVA programme) or other forms of integration training for (young) immigrant adults. I visited two educational institutions and one “youth at risk” project and conducted the first interviews with education professionals (three project workers and two youth workers). It seemed that while in the lower secondary school, immigrant education had been quite “structured”; that is, certain students were named as immigrants, but they studied in the mainstream education, the field of integration services, measures, programmes and projects provided for (young) adult immigrants was chaotic, to say the least. I found out, for instance, that integration-related education and training was provided both in private and public institutions but there was a confusion

among education professionals which institutions provided which kind of training and for whom. In addition, if people dropped out from one project they continued in another or kept repeating same courses and programmes without moving forward. Also, according to the education professionals, refugees and asylum seekers had different needs (such as psychosocial support) compared with those who were merely unemployed immigrants. The “youth at risk” project, which I visited, had clients who had just finished compulsory education but had no study place in further education, they had migrated to Finland as teenagers or were born in the country, but among clientele there were also young adults close to their 30s, in a precarious position without a residence permit, working from time to time in the black market, and trying to find a “legal place” in the Finnish society. I could sense the confusion from education professionals and project workers’ faces when they tried to explain me this complex field of integration training for (young) adults.

After these meetings, I contacted a public vocational institution, which provided MAVA programme, which had been described by the education professionals in the project sector as the “final step of integration training”. The institution I contacted was a rather large suburban VET institution in an area with a high proportion of habitants with immigration backgrounds. The institution had more than 4,000 students of whom also a large number had an immigrant background. In addition to basic vocational qualifications, the institution provided different types of training for immigrants (such as integration training, pre-vocational and vocational training for immigrants, and literacy training for immigrants), pre-vocational training for youth at risk and/or with special needs, apprenticeship training, youth workshops, basic and academically-oriented upper secondary education for adults, and continuing education.

When my ethnographic period started, I first met with the head teacher who authorised me to conduct the research in their institution and the MAVA teacher who welcomed me to her classroom for the whole school year. In the end, I ended up spending two years in this VET institution observing two MAVA groups (2009-2010 and 2010-2011) and interviewing the students and staff, and “working” closely with my informant teacher.

After spending one week at the institution, I wrote down the following notes in my notebook:

This was the first week at the VET institution. Besides observing the lessons at MAVA, I participated in teachers’ training event on multiculturalism. Nothing new really, discussions about the problems of immigrant students, how they (women) dress, cultural differences, lack of language skills, high number of absences (rebel boys and women with small children). Honestly, striking (though unsurprising) parallels between my notes from lower secondary school four years ago... My informant teacher evoked a discussion about the

discriminatory practices in student selection but at the end, there was no longer time to discuss that. Also discussion about how to “name” immigrants. One teacher suggested that they should not be called “mamus” but “kikus”⁵. (Observation notes, autumn 2010)

After the meeting, I was frustrated because of the repetition of the same discussions on immigration and immigrants I had observed in lower secondary school four years earlier. The themes were almost identical: the discussions about problems of immigration and problems of (young) immigrants living in Finland.

After a few weeks of observing the MAVA group, I noticed that both students and teachers were stressed from the beginning of the school year about where the students would continue after the MAVA year. Teachers, especially my informant teacher, seemed frustrated and tired; in addition to her basic work tasks and the pressure to get her students to further education after the MAVA year, she and her colleagues were obliged to participate in various extra-budgetary projects within and outside the VET institution.

In the lower secondary school, my observation schedule had been quite systematic: I spent every day in the school during the last 16 days of the school year. Concerning the MAVA groups, I went whenever I could during the two school years, on average 1-2 days a week, sometimes with longer breaks between the visits as the implementation of a more intense and systematic ethnography was impossible alongside my other tasks at the university. At the same time, however, I felt obliged to produce “rich data”. As a researcher, I could not observe everything that was happening around me, so due to my interest in feminist postcolonial and poststructural studies, I decided to focus on a few themes: educational choices and guidance from gendered and racialised perspectives.

As my fieldwork continued, it started become clear that the “purpose” of MAVA was to guide immigrant students to certain VET sectors in order to produce certain kind of workforce, especially to the service and social and health care sectors. Immigrant students’ “natural suitability” to care work was repeated, now with the change that *all* students of the MAVA group were considered potential care workers, while as in lower secondary school, it had been mainly young Somali Muslim women. At the end of the fieldwork period in the MAVA programme, I wrote the following notes about some of the students in my notebook:

- *“Anna” in her late 20s from Estonia, high school diploma with excellent grades, interested in becoming a psychologist, has applied for practical nurse training;*

⁵ “Mamu” is a shortened version (and offensive depending on who is speaking and how) of the word “maahanmuuttaja”, immigrant. Apparently, the suggested “kiku” was a shortened version of the word “kieli- ja kulttuuriryhmät”, language and cultural groups.

- “Rafia” in her 40s from Bangladesh, university degree and work experience as a researcher from her home country, wants to continue studies in higher education, did her on-the-job training in a nursery (but says she did not like working with children), has applied for practical nurse training;
- “Mark” in his 40s from the Philippines, has worked in Dubai and Saudi Arabia as a nurse, has worked in a hospital in Finland as a nursing assistant without pay, has applied for practical nurse training;
- “Gloria” in her 40s from DRC, high school diploma with excellent grades, interested in industrial business and management, has applied for practical nurse training;
- “Ruweyda” in her early 20s, parents from Somalia, wants to get Finnish citizenship, which is a requirement for the Police University College, has applied for a safety and security and practical nurse training (but simply as a stepping-stone to Police University College);
- “Olga” in her late 40s from Russia, previous degree in engineering, has applied for practical nurse training;
- “Tony” in his early 30s from Nigeria, previous degree in engineering, has done his on-the-job training in elderly care; has applied for practical nurse training. (Observation notes, spring 2011)

My position in the MAVA groups was mainly a silent observer. I wrote notes in my notebook and collected teaching and learning material that were passed around to the students. Later, as I became more familiar with the students and teachers, I started to participate a bit more and was involved in group work, or helped students with their tasks, especially with language. In addition to observing the lessons, I also participated in teachers’ meetings, had coffee with teachers or students during lesson breaks, and participated in school staff training. The aim to generate different kinds of data was in getting information from different perspectives on the same phenomenon, immigration and integration, and thus to seek “rich” analysis. At the end, however, there was even “too much” data for one doctoral dissertation and especially for a dissertation written in the format of research articles, which leaves very little space for a complete description of the ethnographic research process.

Above all, the significance of observations was in understanding the everyday practices of integration in educational settings, and getting to know the students and teachers before I conducted interviews; seeing how integration in education “happens”. In the research articles (Articles I-IV), I do not really offer episodes or stories of ethnographic genre, where I have described encounters from the field written down in my observation notes, “ethnographic details” in Deborah P. Britzman’s (2000) terms. This has not been a conscious act but probably partly because I have not been comfortable

with writing “descriptive narratives from the field” even if I was doing ethnographic research.

Throughout the research process, I have generated ethnographic observations not just in these two educational, but everywhere where I have gone in relation to my research interests. I have, for instance, participated in (political) discussion events of multiculturalism and taken part in an antiracist art experiment where we visited a number of immigrant NGOs and a reception centre, and participated in “Welcome to Finland” info organised for the newly-arrived refugees. These sites have been important in order to understand immigration and integration as well as multiculturalism and racism in the Finnish society more broadly.

4.2.2 Interviews

In both educational contexts, I started conducting the interviews at the end of the ethnographic period. According to Laura Huttunen (2010: 43), in many cases, the analysis of interview data forms the plot or the spine of ethnographic studies. However, it is essential for the interviews to be contextualised and tied together with other data, and their reading and analysis intersect them.

The particular feature of interviews within ethnographic studies is that the researcher and the research participants know each other at least a little bit. In the interviews, we both could come back to the things and events of everyday life in the educational institutions we had experienced “together”. It was certainly easier to discuss my research interests with students and teachers when I was able to refer to the events in everyday life of educational institutions. It was also important to be able to discuss educational policy decisions and reforms with both students and teachers, such as the effects the cuts in study places in VET had for the future plans of the students and their employment prospects, as well as the effects of external funding on the daily lives and workload of teachers.

As I was interested in the practices of integration and the constitution of immigrant subjectivities in educational contexts, I found it important to conduct interviews with both students and professionals working with them.

Interviews with students

The lower secondary school class I observed had 18 students, of whom seven had immigrant status as their parents had migrated to Finland from Somalia (2), Kosovo (2), Estonia (1), and Vietnam (1). One student had a Kurdish background. Regardless of living (most of) their lives in Finland and some being born in Finland and thus holding Finnish citizenship, they were named as immigrants in the school context and beyond. Although the students at the lower secondary school participated in the mainstream education, they were named as immigrant students and as such, I have interpreted that they were

targeted to integration practices, such as when making further education choices. Integration thus “happened” in school even if it was not officially called as integration.

I described the interviews for the whole class but interviewed only students with immigrant status. I sought permission for the interviews from the parents of the students by sending them a letter in which I explained what my study was about. Initially, my intention had been to interview only girls with immigrant status but as two boys asked to be interviewed, I interviewed them as well. In this dissertation, I have utilised only the interviews conducted with young women with immigrant status (Articles I & II).

The length of the interviews ranged from 15 minutes to one hour. In general, the interviews were fairly free form, but more “official” than our discussions during lessons and breaks had been. I started every interview by briefly explaining about my research interests and the themes of the interview, which included family and family background; leisure time and friends; school and teachers; and future plans (Annex 2). I asked more about issues related to immigration, integration and racism, when these topics rose in the discussion. I also explained the idea of anonymity, that I would change their names and other possible identifiers while talking about my research and writing the research report and articles.

The MAVA group of 2009-2010 had 16 students (10 female, 6 male) and the 2010-2011 group 14 students (7 female, 7 male). In both groups, students were 19 to 46 years old and their countries of origin varied greatly but reflected the main “immigrant groups” in Finland. Students’ backgrounds were in Democratic Republic of Congo (5), Russia (5), Somalia (4), Estonia (3), Thailand (2), Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Finland, Latvia, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Turkey. Four students had dual nationality, three with Finnish and one with Danish. Also their educational and employment backgrounds varied greatly as there were compulsory school graduates, dropouts from vocational training and higher education, long-term unemployed adults seeking a route to further education or work, people looking for second (or third or fourth) chances, adults improving their Finnish language skills, and people close to retirement. Those students who had already participated in working life before attending the MAVA programme had professional backgrounds in teaching, science, research, music, art, hairdressing, nursing, plumbing, and construction. Most of them had lived in Finland for three to 15 years, while some were newly arrived and had spent only a few months in Finland before attending the MAVA programme. For one reason or another, they had been guided by the employment office or study counselling to apply for the MAVA programme. These different backgrounds, needs, interests, and reasons to participate in the MAVA programme and the consequences for negotiating future possibilities are discussed in Articles II, III, and IV.

I offered the opportunity to participate in the interviews to all students in the two MAVA groups but stressed that participation was voluntary and could

be refused (Souto, 2011; Lappalainen, 2006). Overall, the themes of the interviews started by reflecting on past and recent events in MAVA programme and with me describing my research topic and interests. After this, I briefly mentioned the interview themes that I had thought we could discuss but emphasised that other themes could be brought into the discussion if they were important from the students' point of view (Annex 3). I also told them that with their permission, I would record the interview, and after the transcription, would anonymise the data so that neither they nor the VET institution could be identified.

The atmosphere in the interviews with some of the MAVA students started somewhat coldly as I was asked if I would be reporting my findings to the immigration authorities. I did my best to explain research ethics and encouraged them to think and talk critically about integration. This was due to my observations, in which I had noticed that in the informal discussions they easily talked about their gratitude to Finnish society and its education and integration system. This was most likely due to my position as a white Finnish researcher in the Finnish racialised structures, which produces a certain kind of talk, for example, this gratitude talk. I therefore spoke in the interviews about the problems I had noticed in the integration practices or referred anonymously to other students of the programme or my "immigrant" friends and acquaintances who had talked about the pitfalls and inconsistencies of the Finnish integration policies and practices (see also Gordon & Lahelma, 1998; Mietola, 2007). These stories seemed to be crucial in opening up discussions about racism and discrimination and the challenges of integration. This "interfering" or my "emancipatory interest" (Rastas, 2010) could be seen to be problematic, but I found that it was more of my duty and obligation to clear the air for "speaking otherwise" than within the gratitude talk. As a result, some students started to highlight the problematic practices of integration, the challenges of everyday life as "immigrants" in Finland, and the confusion about what one was supposed to integrate into.

Interviews with education professionals

In addition to student interviews, I interviewed education professionals. Out of the 14 education professionals interviewed, seven were teachers (four from lower secondary school and three from vocational institutions), three were project workers, two youth workers and one a policymaker. Thirteen of them were women and one man, aged in their 40s and 50s. The interview with the policymaker was conducted with my colleague Anna-Maija Niemi. I selected these professionals for interviews when I was looking for the key actors of integration training and educational institutions providing the MAVA programme.

At the beginning of the interviews with the education professionals, I highlighted the fact that my purpose was not to evaluate how well or poorly teachers or their students were performing, but that I was interested in how

does integration function in education, how they understand integration, what is included in educational integration practices, and what educational and employment opportunities are offered to students with immigrant status (Annex 4).

The problem areas of integration in the education sector that the interviewed education professionals, both teachers, youth workers and policymaker, seemed to appear particularly in everyday encounters that were not easily tackled, such as cuts in the study places both in VET and MAVA, uncertainty of teachers' employment, large number of students, lack of funding or its fixed duration, the burden of additional tasks, especially projects, and the various problems and challenges faced by students, especially those related to integration. In some cases, educational professionals assumed that I was aware of these problems and referred to them as "our shared knowledge". In these situations, I was offered the opportunity to agree but also to challenge the "common understanding", for example, when teachers talked about the "cultural problems" of young Somali Muslim women (Articles I; II).

4.2.3 Policy Documents and Other Data

In addition to the interviews and observations, the data include more than 90 policy documents that can be grouped into four categories, namely EU-level strategies and programmes on immigration and integration; national-level immigration policy laws, strategies and programmes; national-level documents related to immigrant education and integration training, such as the curricula; and annual reports and surveys of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA) (Annexes 5-8). Through the analysis of these policy documents, I have examined, for example, how authorities think about the problems and challenges of integration (in education), and the solutions presented to solve them. The documents explain about the ways that are believed to reinforce the involvement and participation of immigrants in society, and the factors that are considered to be the key to successful integration. In addition, they describe the ideals of Finnish citizenship and membership of the Finnish society. In Article III, for instance, we (Niemi & Kurki, 2013) analyse the national curricula of pre-vocational training programmes in order to reach the contemporary educational policy climate in which integration is provided in educational institutions.

In addition to policy documents, I have collected teaching and learning materials from both educational contexts, and media and popular texts on immigration and integration from a period of 2000-2018. The data also include 153 applications for MAVA programme from 2011, including information about applicants' educational backgrounds, integration process and motivations to seek for MAVA programme. One of teachers I interviewed also sent me her personal journal notes of being "integration teacher". These

notes, however, turned out to be so personal, that in this dissertation, I use them only as a background data.

4.3 Data Analysis: thinking with theory

Rather than conceptualising analysis as something that occurs “post-data production, I understand analysis emerging over time and starting when the researcher starts to ask questions: before research begins (when choosing the topic), during research encounters (when choosing where the data will be produced), and afterwards (when reading the data and choosing what to write about). These questions then modify the study, the perspectives and interests the researcher chooses to discuss, and how, and with what theoretical concepts. Therefore, the data analysis is not a distinct phase in the research process that is objectively applied to make meaning of the data (Ringrose & Renold, 2014).

My aim has been to create theoretically interesting discussions with the data, to illustrate the practices of integration from different perspectives. My process of data analysis could then be described as “theoretical reading” (St. Pierre, 2013: 225) or as “thinking with theory” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) that has pushed me as a researcher, as well as the data and theory to produce knowledge “differently”. With “differently”, I mean that the theory and theoretical concepts have not only informed my studies but have been entangled in the methodology. The data produced were, of course, open to several readings and constructions of what happened in the field. In this dissertation, I have created a story of immigrant-ness as (mis)fortune by bringing selected examples from the data and by analysing them with selected concepts. As such, I have edited and reshaped what students, teachers and other education professionals told me.

4.3.1 Reading the Data Discursively

I define my analytical reading of the data discursive. With discursive reading, I mean that the focus of my analysis has been on discursive practices and their effects and consequences on the subjects involved in integration practices. With discursive practices, I also refer to culturally and historically constructed, shared and continually changing practices that are also associated with material dimensions (Foucault, 1969; see also Butler, 1993; Youdell, 2011; St. Pierre, 2013; Hakala, 2007; Ikävalko, 2016). Discourses are not therefore simply “a language or a text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs” (Scott, 1988: 35).

As such, the aim of discourse is “to describe the surface linkages between power, knowledge, institutions, intellectuals, the control of populations, and

the modern state as these intersect in the functions of systems of thought” (Bové, 1990: 54-55). They illustrate how language gathers itself together according to socially constructed rules and regularities that allow certain statements to be made and not others. The rules of the discourse allow certain people to be subjects of statements and others to be objects. Who gets to speak? Who is spoken to? Once a discourse becomes “normal” and “natural”, it is difficult to think and act outside it. Within the rules of a discourse, it makes sense to say only certain things. Other statements and other ways of thinking remain unintelligible, outside the realm of possibility.

Following this thinking, the analytical focus in this dissertation is on discursive practices and the examination of their terms, what makes these practices possible and acceptable and making visible how knowledge on integration is formed because of many random discursive practices (see Bacchi & Bonham, 2014: 173-174). As such, knowledge comes to mean what can be said in a certain discursive practice, or in other words, what can be said within a certain “truth” in order it to be “true”.

Understanding discourses from this point of departure, the discourse of integration is productive and works in a very material way through educational institutions to construct realities that control both the actions and people, the subjects. Nevertheless, once we can locate and name the discourses and discursive practices of integration, we can begin to refuse them. We can begin to understand how knowledge, truth, and subjects are produced and how they might be reconfigured. (St. Pierre, 2000: 486.) Therefore, I find it necessary to trouble discourses of integration in order to find new spaces in which to think about immigration and integration differently (cf. Lather, 1991).

Through discursive reading, I have examined how the subjects of integration become gendered and racialised, and how these gendering and racialising processes could break down. I have explored the integration practices whereby “immigrant-ness” is not only produced and constructed but also re-produced and re-constructed and resisted by people named as immigrants. I have troubled the thinking that there is one “right way” to integrate immigrants, to be an immigrant, and to be an integrated immigrant; and the either-or-thinking that immigrants are either a boom or burden. I have constructed more complex thinking and knowing on immigration, integration and immigrant-ness to highlight the problematics of integration. As such, I utilise this dissertation as a political tool for intervening in the gendering and racialising integration politics. I have examined the discursive practices that define integration and the meanings given to it, and integration and its effects, such as the moments in which subjects become constituted as immigrants or as immigrants suitable for care work. I have examined how integration becomes defined and interlinked with recurring and changing factors in time and place, such as the national and transnational education and immigration policy alignments, the number of immigrants and the provision of education and training, the interests of immigrants, the methods, content and duration of integration training, the views of teachers and service providers about

integration and working methods. I have also examined what can be said within the discursive practices of integration in order it to be “right kind” of integration and the ways in which categories are deeply political and highly contested.

4.4 Research Ethics and Ethical Researcher

Kamala Visweswaran (1994) writes about the dilemmas inherent in methodological approaches in conducting ethnography. Conducting this dissertation has indeed been exiting and surprising but also confusing, nerve-racking, frustrating and even scary (see also St. Pierre, 1997: 370). My dissertation process has not been a smooth linear developmental process, but at times a rough route, full of controversial groping. Patti Lather (2009: 23) reminds us that the ethical point of departure in feminist research is the problematisation of researcher’s uncertainty to (un)knowing. Therefore, in this final section of the methodology chapter, I write little bit about my “failures” and “wrong-doings” during the research process as well as about the feelings of failure that occurred during the research process as I started to feel discomfort in positioning myself an ethnographer.

Colonial gaze

First, when writing about racialising practices in the Finnish education system from a position of a white Finnish academic researcher, I did not want to continue the legacy of anthropological ethnographic fieldwork and the participatory observation of “foreign cultures”. Feminist (and) postcolonial studies have talked about the “colonial gaze” of (early) ethnographers, referring to the western, middle-class, academic male researchers, who travelled to the ends of the earth, stayed and lived with the local community, the “exotic, savage others” for long periods of time, and then returned home to write about what they had seen, heard and observed to the white western audience (see Visweswaran, 1994; Britzman, 2000; Lather, 2001; Hakala, 2007). During the research process, I started questioning the legitimacy of my data production, analysis, presentation and my position as a researcher. I asked myself can a white postcolonial researcher ever “win”? Am I, after all and ultimately, a white researcher who offers her stories about “others” and thus maintains old, colonial and neo-colonial understandings of “us” and “them”.

Ethnographic field

Second, I found the concept of “field” problematic, as for me, it was loaded with the colonial gaze. Before starting as a doctoral student, and thus writing this dissertation, I had already been studying immigration for several years,

both in academia and personal life (are they even separable?), so I kept asking myself where and what was this “field” of mine that according to the rules of ethnographic tradition, should be the basis of my analysis. I was, for instance, expected to prove (in this dissertation and its articles) that after spending a significant amount of time in the “field”, I had seen and experienced something authentic and unique, which I was then expected to explain to my readers.

However, luckily, I found texts of feminist poststructural ethnographers who have challenged the metaphor of field, which gives a rise to the impression of restricted place. These texts talked about the field as “social relations” (e.g. Huttunen, 2010: 40) or utilised the concept “multi-sited” ethnography (e.g. Epstein et al., 2013; Lahelma, et al., 2014; Honkasalo, 2011). As such, the field was thought of as an entity of practices and not a specific place or space, but rather as a wide range of social relations that intersect, overlap and are in constant movement with each other (Ikävalko, 2016: 92).

Feminist poststructural ethnographers have also stated that “ethnographic descriptions” of the “field” do not produce transparent representations of an objective, observed reality. Rather, their representations are shot through researcher’s judgments about what is going on, who was engaging with whom, what was and was not important, and “who” the people are. The questions of the nature and status of ethnographic representations, what is included and what is left out, and the inclusions and silences as the researcher speaks, have all been the subject of feminist poststructural methodological consideration.

Giving voice

Third, I felt discomfort about the idea of “giving voice”. There is a long-lasting debate about voice in feminist (poststructural) ethnographic research: while some researchers speak about “giving voice” to their research participants and present (romanticised) stories about how they make voices heard from the margin, others have stated that the idea of giving voice only renews power relations as voice is always more or less chosen and interpreted from the perspective of the researcher, and this process includes the chance for manipulation, violent interpretation and exploitation. Gayatri Spivak (1987/1996: 31-33), for instance, writes about the desire of the researcher to act as the producer of the official information and “truth”. Spivak has argued that (Western) academics have a need to control the knowledge of their research participants and to provide knowledge on the behalf of the research participants they study, and to speak for them, make their voices heard.

I have thought about the idea of giving voice or “voicing” through the following questions: what problems and possibilities is associated with voicing; what power relations are associated with voicing in the context of immigration and integration; does the idea of a researcher who gives voice to immigrants renew power relations and the traditional perception of knowledge and knowing? I agree with Reetta Mietola (2007: 162) who writes

that giving voice to someone is impossible but that it is important when analysing the data to consider the subject positions where the voice is produced. Therefore, instead of trying to “give voice” to my research participants, my aim has been to highlight through my research the ways in which it is possible to act from the position of immigrant. As Spivak (1987/1996: 16-17) has stated, it is important that we work with and for the subaltern subjects so that the subalterned, especially women, can speak for themselves, which mean liberation from being a subaltern. This is different project compared to learning about “other cultures”.

Pseudonyms

Fourth, I felt that by giving pseudonyms to my research participants I made them just supporting actors in “my play” in which I was the director, the one who creates, manages and directs the story and the only one who is allowed to speak with her own name and voice, whereas the research participants spoke behind pseudonyms or anonymously, determined by my choices and interpretations (Ikävalko & Kurki, 2014; Ikävalko, 2016; Hakala, 2007). In some of the articles (Articles I; III; IV), I utilise pseudonyms, while in others (Articles II; V), I refer to the research participants as “students” or “teachers”. The purpose of leaving pseudonyms behind has been to highlight the position from which one speaks.

Practice of failure

Fifth, during the research process, there was an incident when a teacher laughed at students’ “ethnic” names because he thought they were impossible to pronounce. Tuula Gordon and Elina Lahelma (1998) write that a politically committed researcher needs to address the social evils, such as racism, if she observes them while conducting her research. However, I did not confront that teacher right there, at that very moment. I did not say anything. Afterwards, I asked myself why I did not say something. I felt that had failed as anti-racist researcher. Kamala Visweswaran (1994) writes about the practice of failure, which requires accepting the “errors” and “failures” a researcher makes during the research process. The aim of research should not be to try to pursue a perfect, final destination, but alternatively, to get lost, to fail, to let the writing hop, run and dance forward, sideways, even backwards (Vähämäki, 2010: 115-116). Then, writing about “failures” and disappointments would not require apologies or a desperate tone, but effective detection of events (Väätäinen, 2003: 18-19.) Why I did not act in this incident was maybe also because of the “trouble with making school trouble” (Youdell, 2011) and the discomfort associated with the critical examination of injustices in education. Am I “allowed” to criticise teachers, and above all, education that in principle should be well intentioned and promote social justice?

Reflecting these ethical questions has been an important part of the research process but, at the same time, produced feelings of frustration and discomfort, even guilt (see Lather, 2001; Pillow, 2003). Rosi Braidotti (in Termonen et al., 2003), however, reminds us that guilt is not a way out of anything. The dissolution of the researcher's position as the one who knows, and power relations has been central to feminist ethnography. Sara Ahmed (2000b) has argued that power should be understood in a way that with her actions, the researcher cannot undo the power relations that made her position as a research possible, but she can, and should, understand its importance. The researcher is always in her data and we cannot, nor should we want to, to weed ourselves out of the representation or analysis. (See Kurki et al., 2016; Ikävalko & Kurki, 2014; Youdell, 2011: 75.)

Giving up and troubling my position as “the one who knows (better)” has been important (see Hakala & Hynninen, 2007; Hakala, 2007). Wanda S. Pillow (2003) has noted that thinking that researcher can study with her research participants is connected to the unspoken assumptions that such practices would increase the reliability of the study, or that it would create a better understanding of the “truth”. Despite the idea of “studying together”, the needs of researcher and her aspirations of the “truth” define the study. We may think, as Iris Marion Young (1997: 52) writes that to understand the perspective or the situation of research participants implies that we have something in common with each other. This too can be just wishful thinking to imagine that a researcher and research participants would have a uniform goal and a shared understanding what the study is about. If the researcher is trying to impose herself into the position of her research participants, she can only position herself with her experiences into the position that she thinks is theirs (Young 1997). The researcher is never either a non-participant or a full participant; there is always the observer effect (Youdell, 2006: 68).

According to Sara Ahmed (2000a), research should be thought as an ethical encounter, in which the researcher takes the position of a listener and listens to the research participants, their knowing and their given meanings, and at the same time, recognizes that their knowledge and knowing can never be entirely her knowledge and knowing (see also Hakala & Hynninen, 2007). In the end, we can talk only from the position we are in. My position was to listen the unique perspectives of people positioned as immigrants in Finland, which is a position I cannot never reach myself.

5 RESEARCH ARTICLES AND FINDINGS

In Chapter 5, I present the five research articles of this dissertation, their approaches, research questions, data and findings. With this summary report at hand, they form an entity that is linked to broader debates on immigration and integration in education in Finland and beyond.

All five articles answer research questions about how does integration function in education as a form of policy and practice (RQ1) and how do integration policies and practices designed to enhance integration of immigrants serve to constitute immigrant subjectivities and with what consequences (RQ2).

In **Articles I and II** the focus is on gendering and racialising practices of education and the constitution of immigrant subjectivities. In doing so, they answer the third research question of how gendering and racialising dynamics interact in integration policies and practices in education (RQ3). **Articles III and IV** move on to examine the intersections of education policies and practices that target “youth at risk” in general and young adults with immigration, special education and/or criminal backgrounds in particular. Finally, **Article V** examines the increased market-oriented interest in immigration and integration, and the matching of immigrants with labour market needs. It forms a critique towards the exploitative thinking in which immigrants are seen (merely) as an economic good, something to make financial use of.

Details of the research questions answered, and the data utilised in each article, is presented in Table 1. Altogether, the data I have generated for this dissertation include interviews with 20 students with immigrant status (aged 15-46) and 14 education professionals, observation notes from lower secondary school (2006) and pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA) (2009-2011) and more than 90 national and international policy documents related to immigrant education and integration training. In addition, the data generated by Anna-Maija Niemi in pre-vocational training for disabled students (AVA) has been utilised in Article III and the data generated by Kristiina Brunila with young adults criminal backgrounds and youth workers in Article IV.

Table 1 Data and research questions in five research articles (Articles I-V)

	Interviews	Observations	Policy documents	Other data	RQs
Article I	Students (7) Teachers (4)	Lower secondary school	Immigrant education in comprehensive education level (17)	Teaching and learning material Media texts	RQ 1, 2, 3
Article II	Lower secondary school students (7), teachers (4) MAVA students (15), education professionals (10)	Lower secondary school Two groups of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA)	Immigrant education in comprehensive education level (17), immigration and care work (13)	Applications for MAVA programme (153)	RQ 1, 2, 3
Article III	MAVA students (15), education professionals (10) (Kurki) AVA students (16), education professionals (17) (Niemi)	Two groups of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA) (Kurki) Pre-vocational training for disabled students (AVA) (Niemi)	National curricula of pre-vocational training programmes (3), pre-vocational training and “youth at risk” (20)	Teaching and learning materials	RQ 1, 2
Article IV	MAVA students (15), education professionals (10) (Kurki) Young adults with criminal backgrounds (30), youth workers (15) (Brunila)	Two groups of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA) (Kurki) 60 education and training projects of which 10 visited (Brunila)	Education and training for young adults with immigration and/or criminal backgrounds	Teaching and learning materials	RQ 1, 2
Article V	MAVA students (15), education professionals (10)	Two groups of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA)	Integration training and marketisation of education (20)	MAVA teacher’s journal notes Teaching and learning materials	RQ 1, 2

5.1 Gendering and Racialising Practices of Integration in Education

The aging of the population combined with the simultaneous decline in births and the downswing of the welfare state has given rise to a general uncertainty and the “crisis of care” in majority of the EU countries. Without immigrants, who are seen as an easy yet profitable solution for care deficit, the public and private healthcare would be ineffective and dysfunctional in many European countries (e.g. Fraser, 2016; Näre, 2013a; Himanen & Könönen, 2010; Precarias a la deriva, 2009). Consequently, immigrants have been described to become “servants of global capitalism” (Parreñas, 2001: 25-26) who maintain the care services for the children, disabled and elderly of the Global North. This has led to the continuation and acceleration of social and racial inequalities in working life where the distribution of work is increasingly based on people’s gender, race, ethnicity and immigrant-ness (e.g. Wrede & Nordberg, 2010; Näre, 2013b).

In **Article I**, *Gendered and racialised educational routes: transitions to upper secondary education of young women with immigrant backgrounds* (Kurki, 2008), the focus is on examining the intersections of race, ethnicity and gender when constituting educational futures for young women with immigrant backgrounds. The analysis draws on interviews with five young women with “immigrant status” (aged 15-17) and their four teachers and ethnographic observation notes generated in 2006 in a multicultural lower secondary school. In addition, 17 policy documents related to immigrant education in comprehensive education level from the time period of 1987-2007 was analysed.

In the article, I discuss the constitution of the category of “young immigrant women”, in which cultural understanding of gender, race, ethnicity and religion, especially Islam, has a special role (also e.g. Andreassen, 2013; Keskinen, 2012; Mohanty, 2003). I argue that young women named as immigrants by the Finnish society and its education system are positioned in controversial discourses in relation to their immigrant-ness, which has serious consequences on their educational futures. Through the process of racialization, these young women are positioned in the hierarchical order based on their assumed differences.

While talking about the educational futures of young women with immigrant backgrounds, interviewed teachers talked about the impact of culture and religion on the educational opportunities for “traditional girls” (such as Muslim girls in general and Somali girls in particular) but not for “modern girls” (such as Estonians, who were described as “not quite, yet close to” the Finnish-like girls) (cf. Ahmad, 2001; Griffin, 2004). Teachers’ understanding of “traditional girls” was connected with home and full-time motherhood and interpreted as something problematic, even negative, in contrast to the idea of “modern womanhood”, which was considered as desirable, something all women should aim for (cf. Skeggs, 1997).

Consequently, “traditional girls” were assumed to need liberation in their struggles between the liberal Finnish “freedom” and the authoritarian and restrictive Somali culture and religion of Islam (see Hirsiaho, 2007: 244-245; cf. Brah, 1993; Mama, 1995; Archer, 2002: 361).

The use of a headscarf was considered problematic (see also Dahlgren, 2004: 125). If some of the Muslim girls took off their headscarf that was a moment of joy and celebration in school. If some of them started to wear jeans or short skirts, this was interpreted as worrisome, as “too Western”, leading to amazement, even contempt. From the young women’s point of view, the situation seemed hopeless: dressing one way or the other was interpreted in any case as “wrong” in comparison to the “right” kind of (Finnish) girl- and womanhood. Therefore, if one wanted to avoid racialised criticism, they had to avoid both over-covering and over-revealing clothes. This, as the article states, points to the fluidity of racial categorisation and underscores how racialisation is a context specific social process (cf. Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017).

Educational guidance provided to Somali girls focused on “suitable choices” that were constituted according to the stereotypic assumptions about the effects of culture and religion in girls’ education. Unlike for other (immigrant) girls of the school, the educational choices of Somali girls became racialised. Care work, which in Finland has historically been assigned to working class women, was considered to be a suitable choice for Somali girls not merely because of their gender, but also because of their ethnic background, culture and religion. Practical nurse training was considered to be a good and suitable choice for them as according to the teachers’ racialised interpretation, Somali girls had great potential for care work because they “naturally” had the skills required for care (also Articles II, III, IV).

However, young Somali women themselves saw practical nurse training as one option among others and a possible choice because social and health care sector would be a safe study environment where one could study with friends and relatives, with “others like me” instead of being afraid and feeling like lonely outsiders (see also Tamboukou & Ball, 2006; Ball, Reay & David, 2002; Archer, 2002). They constituted practical nurse training as a safe space, with the implication that it was a comfortable and safe site for young black Somali Muslim women like them. In this sense, they racially coded practical nurse training in ways that produced feelings of belonging. Not choosing certain educational sectors within vocational education and training (VET) was then a conscious act in order to avoid racist and/or sexist and therefore unpleasant, even dangerous, teachers and study environments.

I also bring out in Article I the problematics of naming certain students as immigrants. According to the interviewed teachers, this was done primarily for financial reasons as each immigrant status student was guaranteed to receive additional funding for teaching resources. Among students, the experiences of otherness were, however, much related to being named as an immigrant. Naming as such was considered to be stigmatising, because as

immigrants, they were positioned as outsiders, as others. As immigrants, they felt being treated as representatives of the abstract category of immigrants, and not as individuals. Being named as an immigrant was like a stamp, which stayed on them regardless of them having been born in Finland or being Finnish citizens.

Importantly, being recognised as Finnish was not considered desirable either. If one had to choose an ethnic group to belong to, and which to represent, it was often the ethnic group of their parents or Blackness in general. Among “others like me”, one could consider the self as an ordinary member of the community rather than as marginal and different. Students did not call themselves immigrants, but if the distinction was made between the self (or us) and the Finns, students called themselves “foreigners” or “fugees”⁶ which was a term allowed only in the inner circle of racialised others. Using the terms they had chosen themselves emphasised the solidarity among the excluded, which was the driving force in the middle of the experiences of otherness. They took up the names “foreigner” and “refugee” for redeployment to make them mean something different in places where they normally are injurious (cf. queer in Ahmed, 2004).

In **Article II**, *Constituting immigrant care workers through gendering and racialising practices in education*, we (Kurki, Brunila & Lahelma, in press) continue with the theme of immigration and care, and ask, how care work becomes normalised and taken for granted as an ideal and suitable profession for immigrants. Our focus is not on the much-discussed international recruitment of care workers from the Global South and East to the Global North, but looking at how immigrants resident in Finland are guided, even induced, to the care sector. While much attention has been paid in research on migration and care in general, and immigrant women working as domestic servants in particular, there has been less discussion on the role of education and training in constituting immigrant care workers, and on immigrants’ views and responds on becoming care workers and their subtle acts of resistance not to become one.

In Article II, we return to the ethnographic data, produced in 2006, that is now 12 years old to explore if and how the theme of immigration and care has changed in the Finnish context. We utilise the data produced in the multicultural lower secondary school, including interviews with 5 young women (aged 15-17) and 4 teachers, together with the “new” data from 2009-2011 produced in pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA), including interviews with 15 students (aged 19-46) and 10 education professionals. In addition, 32 national and international policy documents related to immigration, integration and care work were examined (Annex 5). We examine what effects educational integration policies and practices have from the immigrants’ point of view, how immigrant care worker subjectivities become constituted through integration policies and practices in education,

⁶ “Fugee” is utilised here as a slang word for refugee.

and how immigrants and professionals working with them describe their thoughts of immigration, integration and care work.

Influenced by the examples from other EU countries, the Finnish political and economic eye turned in the 2000s into the Far East to recruit care workers but also to guide unemployed immigrants resident in Finland to work in the care sector. In the media and political context, pushing immigrants to the care sector was presented as a win-win story where the care sector got more (committed and motivated) employees while immigrants got employed (Koljonen, 2017; Olakivi, 2018). Among interviewed teachers, guiding immigrants to care work was justified by stating that care work was a realistic and practical choice for immigrants, which could save them from unemployment. In the article, we argue, however, that talking about care work, as a practical choice, “because immigrants cannot find any other job” can actually be an act of infantilisation of immigrants’ skills, which refers to racist practices whereby racialised people are imagined to be capable of performing only certain tasks (see Fanon, 1967). Infantilisation occurs along the lines of gender for example when racialised young women are assumed to be suitable assistants and helpers “by nature” rather than central figures of authority and command because they are racialised, young and women (cf. Puwar, 2004: 73).

In the context of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA programme), suitable care workers were no longer just young Somali Muslim women (see Article I), but all students of the MAVA programme regardless of their backgrounds, experiences and interests. What happened during the MAVA year was that the highly diverse group of people became homogenised, or as we call it, immigrantised, into a particular kind of immigrant subject (cf. Mulinari et al., 2009: 5). We argue that guiding immigrants to care work by pleading that they are “naturally skilled” to care work becomes reconciled in the subjectification of “benefactor teachers” who may not intentionally racialise their students but still end up doing so through their mundane little actions. As such, they also actively support institutional racism.

Previous studies (e.g. Olakivi, 2018; Näre, 2013) show that in the media, public discussions, and among care sector employees, immigrants are easily depicted through the lenses of “romanticised racism” (Kuronen, 2015: 86) where the model and ideal immigrant is active and motivated for care work because taking care of other people is part of “immigrant culture”. This stereotypical thinking of certain cultures being caring cultures is used also by immigrants themselves in order to find work in the care sector as they understand their “market value” as immigrants (see Olakivi, 2018; Hoppania et al., 2016). In this study, we interpret that the interviewed students deployed “their” immigrant-ness strategically by “occupying” care work in order to aim “higher”, get access to other professions outside the care sector and away from the position of immigrant in the endless wheel of integration. Therefore, we argue that while becoming an immigrant care worker can easily be read as an “entrapment” of gendered and racialised stereotypes, it can also be read as an

“escape attempt” (Tamboukou & Ball, 2002), as “ways out” to other positions where one can be something else than just an immigrant. As such, interviewed students actively took part in their subjectification as immigrant care workers by finding creative ways to present care work as a justified and rational choice that also served their own interests. However, at the same time, they resisted the expectation that they should spend their whole lives at the bottom-end jobs of the care sector.

In the article, we suggest that immigrants in general, and certain racialised groupings in particular, become considered as ideal care workers based on the labour market and economic needs. Reasons interviewed education professionals and policymakers give for guiding immigrants to care work vary from care deficit to gendered and racialised stereotypes of immigrants’ caring cultures (see also Jokinen & Jakonen, 2011; Nieminen, 2011).

While care work is undoubtedly valuable work, it is important to understand that immigrants do not “just end up” in the care sector but are deliberately guided there through integration policies and practices in education. Pushing all immigrants to care work can be interpreted as racist and sexist integration policy if the “popularity” of care work among immigrants is explained with cultural reasons and natural suitability (Jokinen & Jakonen, 2011). At the same time, gendered and racialised reasons given in official policies and everyday practices are hushed and not easily spoken, particularly the assumptions related to the naturalness of gender, race, ethnicity and culture; disparity of immigrants in the care sector; segregation of care tasks based on ethnic background, and above all, the possibilities to refuse care work. We do not want to blame teachers for over-promoting care work or immigrants for accepting care work, nor do we want to look at the “making of” and “becoming” an immigrant care worker simply as vulnerability and submission. This does not mean denying the discriminatory and racist practices related to immigration and employment, as it remains highly important to understand the obstacles and challenges racialised people face in education and work, but thinking about possibilities of resistance and attempts to go beyond the victim and exploitation perspective of immigration and care.

5.2 Cross-Sectoral Education Policies and Practices for Young People at Risk

In Finland, educational short-term projects and programmes to combat the social exclusion of young people considered to be at risk increased rapidly during the 1990s. Since then, the focus of education and social policy has been on investing and developing projects and programmes to target youth “at risk” and guide them “back to society”. (Brunila, 2013; Brunila et al., 2016, 2017; cf. Yates & Roulstone, 2013.) While educational projects have become an ideological method for introducing a market orientation into welfare politics,

this political ethos places people considered to be “at risk” in positions where insecurity is inevitable, and flexibility may be either a help or a hindrance.

With projects, we refer in Articles III and IV to publicly funded (e.g. EU, ministries, municipalities, associations), short-term educational measures that operate outside or on the edge of the mainstream education system. Articles III and IV examine the constitution of “youth at risk” in education policies and practices that target young adults with immigration, special education and/or criminal backgrounds. These groupings are brought together in the articles as they are often defined as special risks and because the (re)integration policies and practices targeting them contain numerous similarities. In addition, among young adults who have undertaken special education and/or have a criminal background, immigrants are often overrepresented.

In **Article III**, *Prepared, trained, rehabilitated and guided to vocational training*, we (Niemi & Kurki, 2013) examine how the ideal of “worker citizen”, which refers to the status gained through participation in working life (Brunila et al., 2013; Isopahkala-Bouret et al., 2014), becomes constituted in the context of pre-vocational training. In the article, pre-vocational training is taken as an example of educational (re)integration measures that aim to prepare, train, rehabilitate and guide “youth at risk” to vocational education and training (VET) and employment. At the time of writing Article III, pre-vocational training consisted of three preparatory programmes, namely Preparatory and rehabilitative instruction and guidance for the disabled (AVA and TYVA), Pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA) and Preparatory instruction and guidance for VET (Vocational Start)⁷. In 2015, these three programmes were combined into one programme called Preparatory education for upper secondary vocational education and training (VALMA), which is offered to all young adults outside education and work interested in vocational studies. There are still, however, separate VALMA programmes for immigrants only.

For the purposes of Article III, we analysed 23 policy and administrative documents, such as the national curricula of pre-vocational training programmes, from the time period of 2001-2011, interviews conducted with MAVA students (15) and AVA students (16) and teachers and other education professionals (10 by Kurki, 17 by Niemi) as well as our ethnographic observations from educational institutions that provided pre-vocational training (see also Niemi, 2015; Niemi & Kurki, 2014).

The main idea behind pre-vocational training was to implement the idea of inclusiveness and education for all (e.g. FNBE, 2005) as each year, about nine per cent of young people completing lower secondary education did not proceed to upper secondary education (Statistics Finland, 2012). The purpose

⁷ In Finnish, the programmes were called: Vammaisten opiskelijoiden valmentava ja kuntouttava opetus ja ohjaus (AVA ja TYVA); Maahanmuuttajien ammatilliseen koulutukseen valmistava koulutus (MAVA); Ammatilliseen peruskoulutukseen ohjaava ja valmistava koulutus (Ammattistartti).

of the programmes was to strengthen the options and develop the competencies and capabilities for youth “at risk” to participate in (vocational) education and training, and later to working life.

In the article we state that as social exclusion from education and work has been considered as an economic expenditure for the state, all young adults should be kept in education and training, even with coercive measures. Consequently, social benefits, such as study, labour market and integration allowance, has been remunerated in such a way that they are not a definite social right, but something that requires action from young adults. Preparing, training, rehabilitating and guiding young adults thus takes place by tightening up social benefits and by increasing the number of measures that target youth at risk. The nature of activation measures is not only pedagogical but also therapeutic and societal. They are pedagogical as they prepare, train and guide participants to become suitable for further education and employment. They are also therapeutic as they aim to empower participants to take responsibility for their actions and to “find” themselves. Lastly, they are societal, as becoming self-responsible can happen only when participants of pre-vocational training succeed in living the life that is considered acceptable by society; that is, by contributing to the national economy and productivity by finding employment. (See also Vehviläinen & Paju, 2001: 207.)

Our analysis of the programmes’ curricula brings out contradictory aspects of the training. The officially stated purpose of pre-vocational training to prepare, train, rehabilitate and guide students to vocational studies seems to contain a paradox: while studies focus on self-development, access to further education is largely regulated by the labour market and economic needs. Moreover, while students are trained to make educational choices as independently and responsibly as possible, the condition is that those choices are realistic. Students are therefore taught about self-evaluation in order to recognise not only their strengths but also their “suitability”: being named as an immigrant or disabled constitutes subjectivities through which one is considered suitable only for realistic choices (see also Lappalainen et al., 2013). When students of pre-vocational training are identified as immigrants or as disabled, they become categorised as “special” within the educational institutions. This enables the provision of special support services, such as language training or special assistance for students, but also limits their educational options. Official categories shape the process of subjectification since those descriptions often become the names people use to describe themselves and each other (Powell, 2010: 2). We argue that the ways students are described in educational policy documents influences their positions in the everyday practices of education and training. While the use of specific terms and concepts defines the subjects involved, the categorisations are problematic as they underpin the differences that pre-vocational programmes are intended to address (see also Florian et al., 2006; Grue, 2011). Therefore, by combining the three pre-vocational programmes into one, and changing the

name to VALMA, the categorisations still persist but now with a new name and label.

Our analysis shows how institutional discourses of (suit)ability, ethnicity and race coalesce to exclude immigrant and special education students from educational possibilities rationed through practices of “realistic choices”. The emphasis is on the neoliberal thinking of the able and responsible subject (Goodley, 2011; Tomlinson, 2008) but also on the importance of individualised support through which students become the target of special services (Niemi & Kurki, 2014). Educational tracks that were considered suitable for pre-vocational training students were not always, what those students wanted or were interested in themselves. However, it is possible to act strategically against those plans suggested by the teachers. Sticking to one’s own educational plans was done discreetly and strategically, and many of the students had “better” plans for the future after completing the vocational training suggested by their teachers (see also Articles II; IV; Niemi & Kurki, 2014; Niemi, 2015).

As the effectiveness of the education system is measured by the number of completed studies, dropping out means wasting financial investments and resources. “Wrong” and “unrealistic” choices are therefore seen as a problem for both the individual and society as a whole. Since one of the main objectives of pre-vocational training is to improve participants’ ability to enter the labour market in the future, finding a study place in VET is considered crucial. Still, every year a great majority of students of pre-vocational training do not succeed in getting to VET. Instead, they continue in other short-term programmes, such as language training, non-paid practical training, vocational labour market training, apprenticeship training, integration training, on-the-job training, entrepreneurship training, self-motivated studies, or career coaching as unemployed jobseekers. Thus, there is no alternative but to move on to “detours” and hope that someday one will find a way into education and training that leads to an accredited qualification.

When it comes to the concept of the worker-citizen, we state that the subjectivity of worker-citizen includes realism, flexibility and readiness to bear the risks of uncertainty related to self-employment. The self must be ready to work in the labour market in jobs suitable for “immigrants” or “disabled”, and not to demand too much, too fast. As immigrants and as disabled, one has certain responsibilities and duties, but no guarantees of employment precisely because one “is” an immigrant or disabled.

Article IV, *Education and training as projectised and precarious politics*, moves on to examine educational measures targeting young adults with immigration or criminal backgrounds. In the article, we (Kurki & Brunila, 2014) explore a new kind of political ethos in education: the alliance of projectisation and precarisation and their individual-based implementation. We examine educational projects that are offered to young adults with immigration or criminal backgrounds, how these two groupings end up in these projects, and what consequences they have from the perspective of the

participants. The data analysed contain interviews with 15 MAVA students (Kurki), 30 young adults with criminal backgrounds (Brunila), and 25 professionals, such as teachers, youth workers, and project workers (Kurki 10, Brunila 15) as well as observation notes from educational activation and re-integration projects. In addition, examples from policy documents, such as policy guidelines and project reports, teaching, learning and marketing material, as well as the webpages of the projects, have been brought into the analysis.

The measures targeting young people with immigration or criminal backgrounds aim to (re)integrate participants into society, decrease unemployment and prevent their social exclusion. However, contrary to these official aims, projects do not always succeed in reducing social exclusion and neither do they enhance educational and employment opportunities for those “at risk”. Hence, although seemingly benevolent, projects may actually serve to reinforce rather than redress marginalisation and exclusion. Therefore, we state that committing oneself to the activation projects has nothing to do with the neoliberal meritocratic ideal of “everything is possible”, but rather with “flexploitation” (Gray, 1995): the insecurity, indignity and greater discipline of precarious politics. For immigrants, the requirement is to be flexible yet committed to integration when adapting to the needs of the labour market, and in fulfilling the expectations of teachers, career counsellors, coaches, the employment office, social services, and Finnish integration policy in general.

In the article, we argue that the acts of resistance of young adults identified as immigrants or as criminals may be less recognisable in conventional political terms. As such, these acts are examples of whose knowledge counts and can be spoken about, and whose knowledge is silenced, erased and unspeakable in policies and practices of (re)integration. Both the teachers and participants in educational projects considered the activities to be useful but also described them from a critical perspective, and were sceptical about the benefits of the projects by expressing noticeable disappointment. Even after many years of being involved in different kinds of activation projects, some of the participants continued repeating projects after projects and being in some sense trampled underfoot by the system (also Article III).

In the articles we state, that in order to become a recognisable subject in the ethos of marketisation means learning to present the self in the “right” way. Once a subject is categorised as an “immigrant” or “criminal”, they soon learn to adopt that particular category and become submissive to their immigrant-ness or criminal-ness. When people then act as they are expected to act as immigrants or as criminals, such as remaining unsuccessful in their attempts to re-integrate, the problem can be reflected back to the subject. Self-responsibility describes the characteristics of a desirable “integrated subject” who is answerable, accountable, manageable, reliable, dependable, yet independent. Therefore, what educational projects offer to their participants is the imperative and ability to make realistic plans and to take responsibility,

to become developmental and trainable subjects in the market of education (see Article III; Brunila, 2011; Ball, 2006).

5.3 Integration “Made in Finland” Becoming Business

Article V, *Integration becoming business: marketisation of integration training for immigrants*, continues where Article IV left off in discussing the marketisation of education, and asks how immigrants are employed to serve market needs in the creation of “integration as business”. In the article, we (Kurki, Masoud, Niemi & Brunila, 2018) examine how educational integration practices have fallen prey to the marketisation of education, which promotes markets over the individual interests and collective good. We examine how integration training becomes organised within the current market-oriented policies and practices of education, what discourses are represented and utilised by market-oriented education through which one becomes an “integrated immigrant”, as well as the consequences of the market orientation on the subjects involved. We address integration training as discursive practices constituting subjectivity and places for subjectification.

We draw on our previous individual and joint analyses of the neoliberal governance, marketisation and subjectification in education (Article III, IV; Niemi & Kurki, 2014; Brunila et al., 2016, 2017), but make particular use of the interview data from the MAVA context, including interviews with 15 MAVA students (aged 19-46) and 10 professionals, as well as 20 EU- and national-level policy documents and reports from the time period of 2009-2016 related to immigrant integration training and the marketisation of education.

In the article, we state that the adopted market-oriented approach can be seen as increased participation of the private sector in the provision of education services. In Finland, municipalities, which have long been responsible for providing integration services, no longer have enough (financial) resources and therefore integration services are increasingly outsourced to the private sector, such as private coaching firms and consultant companies. This partnership between public and private sector has resulted in efforts to utilise better integration (and immigrants) for innovation and business purposes (see Council of the European Union, 2014; FMEAE, 2015; IOM: International Organization of Migration, 2015). Private coaching and consultancy companies provide now integration services with public funding, for which new professionals, such as coaches, mentors, and consultants are needed. In addition, the form of integration training continues to be short-term projects and programmes, for which funding is competitive and tender- and contract-based. (See Article IV; Tuori, 2009; Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006).

In the article, we show that projects both regulate and enable teachers' work, thus, the tendency of marketisation is not just a technical change;

instead, it fosters a climate in which teachers start to run projects as their side task. In addition to the extra work, projects cause pressure on teachers, requiring them to juggle between promoting efficiency and effectiveness as well as pleasing the donor at the expense of what they saw as being the best for their students. This dual task increases insecurity and uncertainty among teachers and students, which are integral parts of neoliberal governance. Based on our analysis it seems that the market-oriented approach demands teachers to contribute to market logic by providing a set of subjectivities and positions within which what it means to be a teacher is dramatically changed.

In the ethos of marketisation, the ideal immigrant is described as active and independent yet adaptable and obedient, responsible for their self-capitalising over their lifetime (cf. Lingard, 2014: 80). As a discursive practice, integration then comes to be presented as an individual venture and a goal to be aimed towards. As with any self-development advertisement campaign, integration policies and practices promise a better future through hard work, dedication, and self-discipline. Yet, this actualisation of potential may never be finally realised, as the discourse of potentiality is future-oriented: it forever looks forward to what it could become. In this sense, the integrated self as a project is a journey, which does not depart from located self-present subjectivity; it projects an ideal towards which it aims (cf. Cronin, 2000: 276). These discursive practices of integration offer immigrants an ideal neoliberal subject position; the subject of “consumer immigrant”. Immigrants learn to consume, purchase integration services in order to push themselves through the continuous and constant requirements of self-improvement. Life becomes regulated and economised, and the result is an immigrant who has to struggle to submit and master the “economisation of lifestyle” in order to have a chance of possible integration.

Policy-makers often frame neoliberal governance in terms of the need to transform, and thereby, improve education, in order to respond to the fast-paced global changes and to secure a position in a competitive global marketplace (Brown & Lauder, 2006). Our analysis in Article V shows the diverse forms of precariousness among the subjects involved in educational integration practices: students without education and training, without “realistic” plans for future, teachers without work, caught in continuous reforms and demands for efficiency and effectiveness, with demands to become consultants. These changes have taken place furtively in the integration sector without much of a public debate. The market-oriented policy in the context of integration training produces conditions of generalised precariousness and that there has been a lack of public discussion around the effects of marketisation. Thus, we argue that marketisation of educational integration practices leads immigrants to live in social (mis)fortune. We argue that the promise of integration as an “improved way of being” is just an act of “cruel optimism” (Berlant, 2011), something that one desires but which is an obstacle to flourishing. Instead of integrating, practices of integration may end up dis-integrating and mis-integrating immigrants and producing guilt and

fear, that failure to integrate (i.e. being employed) is a personal, not societal, fault. At the same time, immigrants' position is defined by being "just immigrants", and thus, the possibilities to become part of Finnish society are always conditional. The paradox of efficiency requirements, the market orientation and labour market needs is that when integration is adjusted with the predetermined objectives, integration will merely benefit business interests.

6 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION: WHAT IS INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION FOR?

Chapter 6 links and elaborates further the research results of the individual articles presented in Chapter 5 and the findings of the mapping of the Finnish integration policies and practices since the 1970s presented in Chapter 2 to discuss the relevance of these findings on a broader scale in relation to the research questions of this dissertation.

In the sub-chapters that follow, the research results are grouped into four themes: Integration as a form of policy and practice in education; Integration creates precarious, gendered, and racialised subjects for business purposes; Politics of racialised naming; and Immigrantisation through integration. Each of these sub-chapters provide summarising insights with regard to the respective results whilst also recognising some overlap across the findings.

6.1 Integration as a Form of Policy and Practice in Education

While the integration policy in Finland embodies strong continuities with the past, it simultaneously reshapes contemporary priorities, actions and beliefs. The current integration policy has been developed within international agreements and obligations, and in particular based on the experiences of other Nordic and EU countries, which have also served as a significant reference framework for the development and design of integration practices in education.

Throughout the years, policymakers have emphasised the well-intentioned meaning of integration and described integration as a win-win situation for both the immigrants and majority population (see also Olakivi, 2018). Integration practices have been justified, for example, by stating that integration can change immigrants' lives for better as immigrant women and girls are empowered, refugees suffering from trauma can receive psychosocial support and the unemployed get to know possibilities for further education and for employment. In addition, through integration, immigrants are considered to be able to develop their social skills, get information about the society, participate in social and public life, and as such have the opportunity to participate in the maintenance and development of the Finnish society as its active members. (E.g. FMEAE, 2017b; 2016a; see also Vuori, 2015.)

As I show in the research articles, the well-meaning practices of integration can however marginalise and mis-integrate people they target. The examined integration practices, appear to be implementing equal opportunities policies, but can still exclude and marginalise immigrants from the mainstream society

and its activities, including education and employment. Decade after decade policymakers keep generating policies that on the surface make immigrants equal members of the Finnish society but still blame immigrants if they mis-integrate; that is, fail to become acceptable members of society. In the policy documents analysed for this dissertation, a common description of immigrant students was manifested as someone who is at risk of exclusion, passive and different, has problems in studies and in life control skills, lacks basic knowledge, cannot choose suitable education, cannot set realistic goals, cannot be responsible, does not have clear vision of life and future, does not have skills to study in VET, does not want to develop, does not know their rights and responsibilities, and does not have control of their behaviour, dressing up, or personal hygiene. As we discuss in Articles III, IV and V, what integration training offers to “immigrants”, is, actually, the imperative and ability to make realistic plans and take responsibility, and to become developmental and trainable in the education market. In this ethos of marketisation, self-responsibility describes the characteristics of a desirable “immigrant subject” who is answerable, accountable, manageable, reliable, dependable, yet independent.

As we demonstrate in Articles IV and V, in the ethos of marketisation of education, integration has become an individual project where immigrants must be able to guide themselves towards integration while demonstrating devotion and gratitude towards the integrating society. This seems to be convenient for the integrating society because in the debt of gratitude immigrants can be integrated more easily according to the needs of the society instead of those of immigrants. Furthermore, the responsibility for integration remains on immigrants’ not on society’s shoulders: if one fails to integrate, it is their personal fault. As such, integration becomes a story of individual success or failure, a story of fortune or misfortune, and in the wheel of (mis)fortune, no one has a secured position. As Frantz Fanon (1963) states, to enslave people it is necessary to disarm them by means of systematic deception of their humanity. Moved by these words, I argue, that integration is not an act of benevolence but in fact a systematic form of exploitation that creates and constantly strengthens the feeling of inferiority among immigrants.

Policymakers also assure the majority population that even if integration is costly, especially in the initial stage of arrival, the costs will be reimbursed through increased tax revenues, a younger demographic structure, increased consumer demand, and the diversification of working life and society, which supports innovation and expands the market (FMEAE, NA; see also YLE News, 2016; Legrain, 2016). In this kind of thinking, the Finnish society is, however, thought of as a superior benefactor to whom immigrants remain in debt of gratitude. Money is a powerful facilitator and regulator, and in this case, immigrants have a duty to be worth the money spend on them.

As this dissertation shows, educational integration practices are characterised by the fact that they are designed, defined and implemented by non-immigrants. Consequently, it seems, that integration does not capture the realities in which “immigrants” live or the ways in which immigrant-ness effects and defines their lives, including possibilities for employment. Regardless of claiming to be based on individual needs of immigrants, integration training does not take into account that integration as a practice brings together people whose backgrounds, gender, age, mother tongue, language skills, nationality, ethnicity, culture, religion, educational background, work and professional experience, reasons for immigration and mode of entry (labour, family, asylum, student), and duration of residence, vary considerably. While some of the people participating in the MAVA programme, for instance, had lived in Finland for a number of years, others were newly arrived “immigrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers”. The only thing in common among the students was actually that they were registered as unemployed jobseekers at the TE Office. All of them were, however, grouped together and called immigrants as their presence in the Finnish society was thought to require integration. The greatest paradox was that in the MAVA programme there were also people, especially young adults, who were born in Finland, even held Finnish citizenship, but whose parents had migrated to Finland and were therefore considered as (second generation) immigrants.

To conclude, although the laws on immigration and integration have appeared to be changing, and reformed and updated a number of times since the 1970s, there has been very little change at the content level in integration practices or the changes have been slow, piecemeal and sometimes non-existent (cf. Gillborn, 2008). For example, while the name and acronyms of integration training for unemployed (young) adult immigrants has changed from the 1980s’ TYKO to the 1990s’ MAVA and to the 2010s’ VALMA, not much has changed during the years content-wise. Therefore, it is clearly wrong to imagine that nothing changes but it is also naïve to think that each new policy statement would represent a fresh start or a new chapter untouched by decades of prior actions and assumptions (cf. Gillborn, 2008: 71.) Therefore, the saying of “the more things change, the more they stay the same” (see also Mirza, 2005) seems to fit perfectly to the analysis of the Finnish integration policies and practices.

6.2 Integration Creates Precarious, Gendered and Racialised Subjects for Business Purposes

As we discuss in Articles III, IV and V, integration training is often based on activities that are temporary, short-term and do not lead to a degree or officially recognised qualifications. The main challenges of integration training for adult immigrants include access to education and training, long

waiting periods and lack of information about where to go and when and where does integration end. This, I argue, makes integration training non-linear, diversified and precarious for people it targets. As we show in Articles III and IV, the so-called yoyo transitions (cf. Lundahl & Olofsson, 2014) between different forms of integration practices, including language training, non-paid practical training, vocational labour market training, apprenticeship training, integration training, on-the-job training, entrepreneur training, self-motivated study on unemployment benefit, or career coaching, are a rule rather than an exception among many immigrants, with repeated movements back and forth between education, training, employment, and unemployment.

In addition, the employment situation of immigrants remains chronic and in many ways precarious, including high unemployment rates, short-term and part-time jobs, and black jobs, which seldom correspond to their actual education and work experience (Valtonen, 2001; Forsander, 2004; Wahlbeck, 2007; Tuori, 2009). If precariousness of the labour market has increased in general since the 1990s, it has become significantly gendered and racialised over time (Forsander, 2004; Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2008; Tuori, 2009: 33). Still, according to the employment services, the common obstacles that prevent immigrants from finding employment in Finland include lack of personal skills, such as language skills, professional networks, and the recognition of foreign diplomas (e.g. FRA, 2017). Studies, including this dissertation, show, however, that a relatively large proportion of the Finnish population remains suspicious if not overtly hostile towards people considered as non-white-Finns. Attitudes towards Russians and Somalis have been overwhelmingly negative for years. Thus, the real reasons why people may not integrate into the labour market are actually racism, discrimination and negative attitudes towards racialised people, non-transparency of the labour market, and institutional barriers, such as legal restrictions for foreign citizens (see Könönen, 2011; Vuori, 2012).

As I show in the research articles, also educational institutions embody institutional and structural racism by systematically pushing immigrants into care sector and other low-wage sectors. Professions considered suitable for immigrants in the care sector are literally bottom-end tasks as they mainly include keeping patients bathed and cleaned. In the context of lower secondary school, it was young Somali Muslim women who were considered suitable for care work “by nature” while in the context of pre-vocational training a great majority of the immigrant students were guided to social and health care as practical nurses or nursing assistants because of their assumed “naturalness” for care work as “people from other cultures”. Within this racialising thinking, immigrants are considered suitable to “clean up our mess” (YLE, 2015) simply because they “are” immigrants. (See also Näre, 2013; Dahle & Seeberg, 2013). I therefore argue that racialisation is closely bound up with labour market, in particular with both internal and international migration of workers and the

ensuing imbalance of the power relations characterising modern capitalism (Garner, 2009). At the same time as immigrants are “sold” to the labour market and business purposes, they are expected to perform a positive, flexible, and motivated attitude, and be grateful: as immigrants, one cannot demand too much too fast.

While the report on refugee education of the Working Group on Refugee Education from 1983 highlighted that refugees should not be guided only to certain labour market sectors (FMSAH, 1983), in 2018 different ministries are collaborating with the private sector to provide immigrants as workforce not only to certain labour market sectors but to specific tasks within those sectors. This, I argue, is part of the neoliberal international order, which is constituted through desubjectifying immigrants, rendering them usable and employable, but eventually into waste matter, or of no use: always available yet always expendable (see Butler & Athanasiou, 2013: 27).

Aimé Césaire (1955) described colonisation as “chosification”, as materialising people for economic purposes, which horribly describes also integration. Therefore, I argue that integration participates in producing and reproducing neo-colonial attitudes as the national integration policies and practices are part of the global financial flows and multinational corporations that maintain unequal positions between the rich west and the poorer south and the former colonies. In Article V, we have discussed “integration as business” merely at the national level in Finland but moving our attention to the international level shows that immigration and integration industry is expanding and significantly commercialised, including private border guards, private detention, security and protection services, multinational consultancy companies, corrupted exit and transit countries, transportations and paper facilities of criminal organisations, and so on. It is impossible to estimate the scope of immigration as business globally although we know, for example, that in 2018 alone, the Fortress EU earmarked €35 billion to strengthen its external borders (European Commission, 2018).

6.3 Politics of Racialised Naming

In Finland, among the majority population, the term immigrant is not necessarily considered as an insulting term: it is considered as a neutral term that captures people of “other cultures” regardless of their wide range of nationalities, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, religions, languages and reasons for migration. The position available to immigrants is, however, often quite narrow: there is either the position of a subaltern victim needing help, saving or control, or the heroic figures of those who have succeeded in Finland, such as the winners of the Refugee of the Year Award.

However, as I discuss in the research articles, in Article I particularly, among students named as immigrants, the term immigrant was largely

interpreted as stigmatising and the experiences of the term immigrant was poisoned and had become equivalent to inferiority: to be named as an immigrant meant to be worth less than. This injurious naming was, however, resisted, by naming the self and others in the “inner circle”, for example, as “foreigners” or as “fugees”. In doing so, students took the ordinarily injurious naming out of its usual place and insisted that “foreigner” or “fugee” was not an ethnic slur, racial epithet or a source of shame, pity, victimhood, and exclusion but something to be enjoyed, revelled in, or nothing at all (cf. Youdell, 2006). They took control of and remade their subjectivities, resisted and escaped from pre-formed gendered and racialised subject positions in which they were positioned within integration policies and practices. This is, however, the paradox of racialised struggles as one had to use the terms of the majority to denounce its violence and reject its relevance.

It is, however, important to keep in mind that these kinds of resistance strategies require inventiveness, which leaves little room for indecisiveness. Emphasising capability, assertiveness and cleverness when confronting racism, can turn against itself in the sense that these qualities become a new requirement that everybody who faces racism must fulfil (cf. Aaltonen, 2006: 49-50).

Rising unemployment and declining social welfare provision across Europe has been matched by a strong undercurrent of anti-Islamic feeling, even from the most liberal of quarters. The new and open climate of intolerance against the visible “other” in our midst is characterised by a belief that things would be better if minorities, and Muslims in particular, were better assimilated (e.g. Mirza, 2009a.) In this dissertation too, it was young Muslim women in particular who were under the control of the Finnish/western eye.

However, resistance exists in the places and positions, which are, in general and oftentimes, considered as positions of victimhood. As I show in Articles I, II and III, students strategically utilised their immigrant-ness, for example, by accepting to apply for social and care sector but only in order to aim higher to other educational routes towards the profession of their dreams. I interpret this act of “occupying care work” as escaping the dominating forces that consider immigrant students suitable for care work “by nature”. As such, students subverted the naturalised thinking and asserted the self as powerful, controlling their education and employment choices, as well as their integration. Resistance strategies performed by the students were not necessarily loud and revolutionary, but, in fact, banal and ordinary within a set of everyday practices of integration.

Educational institutions claim to need categories to serve as the basis of institutional practices and routines and in order to work efficiently and equally: by categorising and naming certain students as immigrants (or as disabled, as ADHD, as this and that), education seeks to help and provide special services for those students it names. However, as previous studies (e.g. Helakorpi, 2013; Mietola, 2014; Niemi, 2016) and this dissertation shows, practices of

categorisation also produce marginalisation and exclusion as categorising and naming are tools for management and governance as well as ways to differentiate “us” from “them” (e.g. Mulinari et al., 2009: 6). As Floya Anthias (2002: 285) states, the problem with categorisation and policies and practices based categories is that the categories of differences can easily begin to act stereotypically and produce harmful perceptions. As I show in this dissertation, teachers play a crucial role in constituting stereotypes of students, but they also have possibilities to challenge, resist and reconstitute these subjectivities. While it remains difficult for teachers and other education professionals to talk about racism and discrimination in education, they keep repeating and maintain racist insights and discriminatory practices that have consequences to people’s lives, including educational possibilities (see also Alemanji, 2016; Souto, 2011).

6.4 Immigrantisation through Integration

Developing the concept of immigrantisation is the central outcome of my overall analysis of integration policies and practices in education in Finland. I developed the concept to describe the phenomenon that comes into being through the processes of immigration and integration. As such, immigrantisation refers to the making of immigrant subjectivity through integration policies and practices in education, and emerges as the expression of the constitution of people with various backgrounds as one, as immigrants. This process of making the immigrant subject, as well as its effects and consequences, are examined in all research articles of this dissertation.

Like Frantz Fanon’s (1963) racialisation, immigrantisation makes the term “immigrant” into socially constructed, dynamic process imbued with power relations. Moreover, like in the process of colonisation, in immigrantisation the majority population (colonisers) is relieved from responsibilities and immigrants (colonised) made responsible for their integration (or oppression) (cf. Fanon, 1963). Through immigrantisation, many very different people are slotted into the category of immigrants and their differences across the other social categories of race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, age, and ability, for instance, are subsumed under the essences of a single category, that of an immigrant, in an attempt to produce order and regularity by privileging identity over difference. I argue that when differences of people are erased by the idea of a uniform essence of immigrant-ness, people are more easily manipulated, dismissed, and oppressed (cf. St. Pierre, 2000: 480).

By developing the concept of immigrantisation, I make a statement that the Finnish policies and practices of integration do not take into account differences or the intersections of different social categories among people that integration targets. I argue that integration does not only create “immigrants” but it immigrantizes people as if they were “one”. As immigrants, they then have limited choices of how they would like to be seen by others. In addition,

as immigrants, people are then easily treated merely as immigrants, not as individuals, and considered, for example, suitable only for certain professions in certain sectors of the labour market. This, I argue, is a harsh example of racism inside the Finnish society and its education system.

Importantly, however, immigrantisation is not fixed once and for all, but on the contrary, it is fluid and in movement. As an analytical concept, immigrantisation derives from the concepts of subjectification and racialisation and in align with them includes the complexity and contradictory nature of the “making of” and “becoming” an immigrant subject. The process of immigrantisation may be brutal or subtle, destructive or reconstructive; it may result in everyday racism but also in consciousness, resistance and empowerment. Therefore, in the spirit of the dual nature of subjectification as mastery and submission, immigrantisation too serves as a critical tool for integration policies and practices and can act as a source of resistance and collectivity (Article II). I think immigrantisation in the spirit of Deleuze and Guattari (1988/2004) and Braidotti (1991; 2006) as “becoming-minoritarian”, which is imbued with a creative potentiality that leads to the imagination and the constitution of an alternative (antiracist) society. As such, immigrantisation points “to the process of positive transformation of the pain of loss, turning into the active production of multiple forms of belonging and complex allegiances” (Braidotti, 2006: 89).

Therefore, besides its racist nature, the concept of immigrantisation is meant to be energising concept as it provides agency for political action and invites us to ask the question: which way should we go (cf. Butler & Athanasiou, 2013)? The point of the concept is thus to show that integration can be dangerous, but as it is dangerous, we have to do something about it (cf. Foucault, 1980). I have meant immigrantisation to be and sound like a provocation, which will probably be irritant to some. Nevertheless, as such, the concept is also a revolt against racism within the current status of integration in Finland.

7 EPILOGUE: IMMIGRANT-NESS IN THE WHEEL OF (MIS)FORTUNE

As the title of this dissertation, *Immigrant-ness as (mis)fortune*, hints there are always two sides to every story and the story of immigrant-ness is no different. On the one side, there is the harsh story of immigrant-ness as misfortune, including the empty promises of equal membership, employment and success if one is committed and simply “wants” to integrate. That is the story of racism and discrimination, being failed by the Finnish society. However, on the other side, there is the story of immigrant-ness as fortune as collectivity, as resistance and persistence even when named with racialised terms. (Cf. Mirza, 2009a: 153.)

With this dissertation and as a researcher of antiracism and social justice, my aim has been to highlight the challenges of disentangling the constructed (pseudo)realities of immigration and the life of immigrants, and to develop alternative understandings by critically analysing policies and practices of integration in education. My attempt has not been to solve the problems of integration, but to trouble its limits. I have shown that integration depends very much on the fortune of one’s position in the “wheel of integration”, which is disconnected from personal choices and beyond one’s control, and where the providers of integration services become “fortune sellers”.

As this dissertation spans over 10 years, it gives an opportunity to reflect whether integration policies and practices (in education) have changed the Finnish society to “more multicultural” and helped immigrants to integrate. It seems not. The current public debates around the issue shows the dangerous banality of racism and racialisation in Finnish society, including the “normality” of ethnic profiling (HS News, 2018; Himanen & Keskinen, 2018), institutional racism (YLE News, 2018a) and the need to “save” the brown women from brown men (RASTER, 2018; YLE News, 2018b). A decade after publishing my first article, *Gendered and racialised educational routes*, its insights seem more urgent than ever.

At these times of racist, sexist, xenophobic and Islamophobic global politics, political action and resistance are essential. Therefore, it is important to demobilise the dangerous binary oppositions into which cultural, racial and religious differences are being organised by powerful political interests throughout Europe today (Jusová, 2011: 56). Only counter-politics, constant disobedience, and rebellion can overcome this devilishness of inferiority.

I argue that racist and neo-colonialist assumptions are embedded in both integration and education. It is important to understand that colonialism is not merely a historical wrong but an enduring and pervasive feature of the present. Therefore, subaltern and postcolonial experiences and subjectivities should be reflected in also education. Finnish society should be considered more critically in terms of being a model country of equality as long as there

are requirements of immigrants to be aware of their particular duties and responsibilities as immigrants. It is of vital importance to stop honouring the white supremacist system of integration and stop looking at immigration as a problem but see it, instead, simply as a fact of globalisation (see Braidotti, N/A). The sameness of the past is an illusion. The world will never be culturally and ethnically homogeneous; that world has never existed, it has always been a fantasy. The desire of integration policies and practices to immigrantize people can no longer be accepted. Their desire for categories and hierarchies based on assumed cultural differences, the us-and-them binaries that reward “us” and punish “them” should be refused. Lastly, as I have argued in this dissertation, it is highly import to de-criminalise, de-penalise and de-pathologilise the “problem” as the problem of integration clearly is not “immigrants”.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Highlights of the contemporary (educational) integration policies and practices in Finland, 1970-2010s

<p>1970-1990s: From monoculture to more multicultural Finland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1973-1977: Refugees from Chile arrive to Finland (around 180). Later on, majority of them return to Chile. The arrival of the Chileans is considered as the first impulse to the contemporary immigration and integration policy in Finland. • 1979: Refugees from Vietnam arrive to Finland (around 800). Vietnamese are referred to as a model of successful integration and therefore as model immigrants (hard-working, obedient, entrepreneurs). • 1984: First Aliens Act • 1986: The size of refugee quota is defined annually in the state budget. In 1986, it is 100. • 1990: Immigration intensifies: the collapse of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe opens up possibilities for their citizens to move abroad. Immigrants arrive especially from the former Soviet Union and Somalia. A need for a more coherent political vision on immigration and integration of arrivals is expressed. • 1991: Economic growth and international development creates the foundation for a more open immigration policy. More and more policy and public discussion on the need for foreign labour force and the reception of refugees. • More than 13,000 foreigners move to Finland, which is more than ever before. Half of them come from Estonia. • 1992-1999: Due to the break-up war in Yugoslavia, Serbs, Kosovo Albanians, Bosnian Muslims and Croats arrive to Finland (around 1,000) • 1995: Finland joins the European Union • 1997: First governmental Refugee and Immigration Policy Programme • 1999: First Act on the Integration of Immigrants and the Reception of Asylum Seekers entered into force • In common with other EU-countries, the Finnish government pursued an active educational policy on migrants and minorities focusing on integration.
<p>2000s: Control-based immigration for labour market needs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In addition to family and international protection, more people start to move to Finland for work and studies. • A common immigration policy in the EU increasingly defines the national immigration and integration policy in Finland. • Public and administrative debate on the aging of the population, the labour market needs of the business community and for these reasons the needs of the future are to be anticipated for increasing labour migration (from EU and non-EU countries). • Immigration is largely perceived as a threat and its definition is primarily tied to security discourses.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2006: Government Immigration policy programme (labour-based migration) • 2008: Politicisation of the debate on migration and integration, “critics of multiculturalism”
<p>2010s: Integration “made in Finland” becoming business</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More refugees arrive to Finland due to the prolonged conflicts and wars in Africa and Middle-East. This is also reflected in the increasing number of asylum seekers in Finland. • 2011: Revised Law on Promoting Integration of Immigrants 1386/2010 • 2012: First State Integration Programme (VALKO I) comes into force. A key objective is to increase the inclusion of immigrants. • 2013: The Future of Immigration Strategy 2020: the employment of immigrants is boosted as the key role in integration. Finland does not just need immigrants as labour force, but also their new innovations and international networks. In order to succeed, immigrants must be treated with dignity and respect. The strategy outlines that immigrants need to be involved in building the common future of Finland as participants and active actors, not just as the objects of (integration) services and measures. • 2014-2015: Finland commits to accept 1050 quota refugees. • 2015: According to the Ministry of the Interior a “record number” of asylum seekers arrives in Finland, totalling 32,476 • 2016: People move to Finland especially because of family, study or work reasons, as well as of international protection. People come mostly from the neighbouring countries, Estonia and Russia. The origin of immigrants in Finland in 2016: Estonia (51,499), Russia (30,970), Iraq (9,813), China (8,480), Sweden (8,040), Thailand (7,487), Somalia (7,018), Afghanistan (5,294), Vietnam (5,253). The population altogether 5,503,297 of which Finnish citizens 5,259,658 and foreign nationals 243,639. • 2016: 39,317 residence permits are granted to foreign nationals, of whom 9,852 (25%) are EU-citizens’ registrations and 29,465 (75%) for people coming outside the EU. • 2016: The National Integration Programme for 2016-2019 (VALKO II) includes the integration priorities, objectives, measures, responsibilities and the resources defined in the government budget 2017-2020. The programme has four target areas: 1) to bring the strengths of immigrants’ own culture to contribute to strengthening Finland’s innovation potential; 2) to intensify cross-administration of integration; 3) to increase cooperation between the state and local authorities in the reception of recipients of international protection; 4) to encourage a culture of open dialogue on immigration policy, no racism is allowed (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2016). The target areas are based on immigration policy guidelines of Prime Minister Sipilä’s government programme. Measures are implemented within the framework of the state budget (valtion talousarvio), the state budget spending framework (valtionalouden menokehys) and the spending limits of local government finances (kuntatalouden menorajoitteet). The integration programme of the state is based on the law on promoting integration. According to this, the government decides on the development of national integration by establishing a government integration programme for four years at a time. The first integration programme was released in 2012.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fall 2016: FMEE sets up a working group “Accelerating immigrants’ training paths and flexible transitions”. Working groups submits its final report to Minister of Labour on 29 August 2017. The purpose of the working group is to think about concrete approaches to implement the agreed guidelines for immigration and integration, and make the interfaces work. Particular attention is paid to the interfaces and cooperation between the labour and business administration and training providers. • 6 July 2017: Parliament’s Audit Committee (Eduskunnan tarkastusvaliokunta) issues a Bulletin on integration measures, in which it announces a launch of a research project on the effectiveness of integration measures. • 2017: The budget proposal by the FMEE: integration training expenditure will decrease by €23 million and municipal integration allowance will remain around €232 million • 2017: The study “Immigrants and Effectiveness of Labour Policy Measures” commissioned by the Centre of Expertise on Integration at the FMEE is published on 13 June 2017. One of the most important immigrant labour policy measures is integration training. According to the study, immigrants who in addition to integration training participate in other integration measures get employed better than immigrants who have not participated in the integration measures. The ongoing reform of the integration law and other changes in the integration policy will bring integration measures closer to working life. The aim is to accelerate the employment of immigrants. Immigrants involved in vocational labour market training are better employed than others. • 2017: The employment of immigrants is accelerated with new contributions. The European Investment Fund invests €10 million in an experiment aimed at employing 2,500 immigrants in Finland over the next three years and helping employers to get the skills they need. The experiment carried out by FMEE enhances the employability of immigrants with private capital. It utilises the Social Impact Bond (SIB) model of effectiveness. What is new with the SIB-model is that investors fund the operation and bear the financial risk. The public sector only pays for verified results, i.e. when an immigrant gets employed. An agreement of the investment was signed between the European Investment Fund (EIF) and Equipus Ltd., which is the project manager of the experiment. For now, a total of €13.5 million has been collected for the SIB Fund for Integration. It is Europe’s largest SIB-fund in terms of capital employed. In the experiment, the employment of immigrants is accelerated by bringing integration training to workplaces and tailoring it to the needs of the workplace.
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Annex 2: Interview themes for students of lower secondary school

1. Background information
 - Age, family, family background

2. Educational background
 - Before arrival to Finland (if necessary)
 - Participation in preparatory education in primary and secondary education
 - Participation in mother tongue teaching, religious education
 - Subjects, teachers and other students of the school
 - Experiences of schooling

3. Leisure-time interests and activities
 - Friends in school and outside school

4. Future plans
 - Education, employment, other

5. Immigrant-ness
 - politics of naming
 - experiences of discrimination and racism

Annex 3: Interview themes for students of pre-vocational training for immigrants (MAVA)

1. Background information
 - Age, family
 - Country of origin, when migrated to Finland and reasons for migration
2. Education and employment background before arrival to Finland
3. Education and employment experiences in Finland
 - “Integration route”
 - Experiences of racism and discrimination
4. Pre-vocational training for immigrants
 - How did s/he end up to MAVA?
 - What is interesting, what should be changed?
 - Tell about the group and other students
 - Tell about the teachers
5. Future plans
 - Education, employment in Finland or elsewhere

Annex 4: Interview themes for education professionals

1. Background information of the interviewee
2. Immigrant integration training (for young adults) and pre-vocational training for immigrants
 - For whom are they intended to, and why?
 - Backgrounds of the students
 - Needs of the students vs. labour-market needs
 - What kinds of possibilities after pre-vocational training?
3. Future of immigrant integration training
 - How it will be organized, and by whom? New innovations and projects
 - Employment prospects of themselves (teachers, project workers, policymakers)
 - Funding (national, EU, private sector)
 - Labour-market needs, and needs and interests of immigrants
 - The amount of immigrants in need of training
 - What is important, what should change, and why?
4. Finnish integration policy and practice in general
 - Official goals vs practice
 - Politics of naming (immigrant)
 - Racism and discrimination, multiculturalism

Annex 5

Policy documents (N=17) analysed for **Article I**: Kurki, Tuuli (2008) Sukupuolittuneita ja rodullistettuja koulutusreittejä.

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hankkiman kielitaidon ylläpitämiseen tähtäävään opetukseen.

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Annex 6

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Annex 8

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