UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Racial Capitalism and Diverse Economies in the Racial Welfare State: Transcending Migrant Women's Subordination and Resistance through Alternative Economies

Contemporary Societies, Sociology

Master's thesis

Author:

Uurika Sofia Laine

Supervisor:

Professor Suvi Keskinen

October 2024

Helsinki

Faculty: Faculty of Social Sciences

Degree programme: Contemporary Societies

Study track: Sociology

Author: Uurika Sofia Laine

Title: Racial Capitalism and Diverse Economies in the Racial Welfare State: Transcending Migrant Women's Subordination and Resistance through Alternative Economies

Level: Master's Thesis

Month and year: October 2024

Number of pages: 75 (87)

Keywords: Racial capitalism; racialisation; racial welfare state; migration; diverse economies; resistance; labour

Supervisor: Professor Suvi Keskinen

Where deposited: Helsinki University Library

Abstract:

This study aims to examine what kind of racialised, gendered, and classed positionings are produced for women with Middle Eastern backgrounds in the hierarchies of labour in Finland. It also explores how public services reproduce the racial order by analysing racialisation in these services. Furthermore, the research scrutinises women's diverse economic practices and analyses the ways in which they relate resistance to precarious livelihoods.

The research draws on the theory of racial capitalism to analyse racialisation in public services, which is intertwined with the differential hierarchisation of labour. Through a combination of insights from the theory of diverse economies and the Black radical tradition, diverse economies are examined as processes of everyday resistance. The material is based on semi-structured interviews conducted in 2023 with six women with residency or citizenship status. The research used an abductive approach, analysing the interviewees' stories through thematic analysis.

The analysis shows that racialisation in public services contributes to rendering migrant women into a pool of surplus populations by excluding them from stable wage labour. Due to gender and class inequalities, some women are more disadvantaged than others vis-à-vis white citizens. These processes show that public services reproduce racialised and classed hierarchies; ergo, they operate to stabilise social order and maintain class rule. The study suggests that working in the informal sector provides a sense of self-defined humanness and safe spaces for women in precarious livelihoods. Diverse economies, such as the sale of handicrafts and edible gardening for domestic use, foster solidarities and ethics of care among migrants, demonstrating aspects of community-based solidarity economies. They emerge as stimulating sites of anti-capitalist resistance, social transformation and imagining alternative economies.

The research contributes to the literature on racial capitalism by stretching the theory beyond the black/white binary and locating it in Finland, which tends to escape race-critical analyses. The elaboration of the complicity of public services in reproducing the racial order advances the theorisation of the racial welfare state by bridging the gap between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism. The study further seeks to offer a theoretical contribution to the theorisation of racial capitalism by complementing it with diverse economies, showing the diverse ways in which women secure their livelihoods and well-being. Bringing diverse economies and Black radical tradition into dialogue with each other develops the theorisation of everyday resistance by illustrating the ethical economic practices that can inspire dreaming of alternative economies that transcend capitalism.

Abstrakti:

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan millaisia rodullistettuja, sukupuolittuneita ja luokkasidonnaisia työmarkkina positioita tuotetaan Lähi-idästä tulleille naisille Suomessa. Tutkimuksessa pohditaan myös rodullistamisen analyysin kautta sitä miten julkiset palvelut uusintavat rodullista järjestystä. Tutkimus avaa naisten moninaisia toimeentulon käytäntöjä ja analysoi sitä, miten vastarinta liitetään epävarmaan toimeentuloon.

Tutkimus nojaa rodullisen kapitalismin teoriaan ja osoittaa, kuinka julkiset palvelut rodullistavat tutkimukseen osallistuvia naisia työn eriyttämisen logiikan mukaisesti. Tutkimus myös yhdistää moninaisten talouksien teorian ja mustan radikaalin perinteen oivalluksia siten, että naisten moninaiset toimeentulon käytännöt voidaan teoreettisesti ymmärtää jokapäiväisen vastarinnan prosesseiksi. Tutkimuksen aineisto perustuu puolistrukturoituihin haastatteluihin, jotka tehtiin vuonna 2023 kuuden naisen kanssa, joilla on oleskelulupa tai Suomen kansalaisuus. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin abduktiivista lähestymistapaa ja haastateltavien kertomukset analysoitiin temaattisen analyysin avulla.

Analyysi osoittaa, että julkisissa palveluissa tapahtuva rodullistaminen tuottaa maahanmuuttaneista naisista osan ylijäämäväestöä, koska se sulkee heidät pois vakaan palkkatyön piiristä. Sukupuoli- ja luokkaerojen vuoksi osa naisista on muita epäsuotuisammassa asemassa suhteessa valkoisiin kansalaisiin. Rodullistamisprosessit osoittavat, että julkiset palvelut pyrkivät turvaamaan valkoisten kansalaisten etuoikeudet, joten ne vakauttavat yhteiskuntajärjestystä, mutta myös ylläpitävät luokkajärjestystä. Tutkimus osoittaa, että epävirallisella sektorilla työskentely tarjoaa epävarmassa työmarkkina-asemassa oleville naisille autonomian tunteen ja turvallisia tiloja. Moninaiset toimeentulon käytännöt, kuten käsitöiden myynti ja hyötykasvien viljely kotitalouksien käyttöön, edistävät solidaarisuutta ja huolenpidon etiikkaa maahanmuuttaneiden keskuudessa, mikä tuo esille yhteisöpohjaisen solidaarisuustalouden piirteitä. Siten ne voidaan tulkita inspiroiviksi paikoiksi kapitalismin vastaiselle vastarinnalle, yhteiskunnalliselle muutokselle ja vaihtoehtoisten talouksien kuvittelemiselle.

Tutkimus täydentää rodullista kapitalismia koskevaa kirjallisuutta laajentamalla sitä musta-valkoinen-jaon ulkopuolelle ja sijoittamalla sen Suomen kontekstiin, joka usein jätetään rotukriittisten analyysien ulkopuolelle. Käsittelemällä julkisten palvelujen osallisuutta rodullisen järjestyksen uusintamisessa, tutkimus edistetää rodullisen hyvinvointivaltion teoretisointia kuromalla umpeen rotuun perustuvan hyvinvointivaltion ja rodullisen kapitalismin välisen kuilun. Tämä tutkimus tarjoaa myös teoreettisen panoksen rodullisen kapitalismin teoretisointiin täydentämällä sitä moninaisten talouksien teoretisoinnilla, minkä avulla voidaan osoittaa, miten monella eri tavoilla naiset turvaavat toimeentulonsa ja hyvinvointinsa. Moninaisten talouksien teorisoinnin tuominen vuoropuheluun myös mustan radikaalin perinteen kanssa kehittää arjen vastarinnan teoretisointia siten, että se havainnollistaa eettisiä talouskäytäntöjä, jotka voivat innostaa kuvittelemaan vaihtoehtoisia talouksia kapitalismin jälkeiseen yhteiskuntaan.

Table of contents

1 Introduction

Neoliberal policies and restructuring processes of the Finnish welfare state have intensified workfare policies and stigmatisation of the unemployed. One of the targets of the heated political debates is women categorised as immigrants[1] and their relatively higher levels of unemployment (Nordberg, 2015; Rajas, 2012; Krivonos, 2019). In general, the employment rate of people with a migrant background is lower than that of people with a Finnish background. Furthermore, the employment rate of migrant women is 15% lower than that of migrant men, even though women with a migrant background are generally better educated. The situation of migrant women in Finland can be characterised by higher unemployment rates, higher levels of both precarious temporary employment and overeducation in employment, more extended periods of intermittent unemployment and higher transfers from unemployment to outside the labour force. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2023)

In parallel with their (un)employment situation, these women have become the target of racialised and gendered discourses that describe them as wasting taxpayers' money without contributing to the welfare state or discourses that define them as humanitarian projects to be saved through employment (e.g., Rajas, 2012; Keskinen, 2016, 2023). Both discourses, albeit differently, have justified repressive labour market activation programmes imposed on migrant women (Krivonos, 2019; Rajas, 2012), while structural barriers to employment, such as structural racism in job recruitment processes, remain (Ahmad, 2020; Lehtovaara, 2021). Previous research has shown that labour market activation programmes steer migrant women into female-

[1] Immigrant is a label used in official policy documents and political discourses and is taken as face value rather than understood as a construction - one is not born but becomes an (im)migrant (Bacchi, 2017). In critical migration studies, categories such as immigrant and migrant are contested because they are conceptualised as historically generated, contingent and relational categories to that of citizen (Amelina, 2022, Anderson, 2019). In particular, the category of immigrant is seen by many as hurtful because it contains racialised connotations and ignores the diverse backgrounds and interests of migrants (e.g., Kurki, 2019). Transnational analyses in critical migration studies have also shown that migration is a continuous process, as people have always moved and continue to live and maintain ties transnationally. Hence, from now on I will use the social category of migrant instead. Subsequently research has shown how people are produced as immigrants or migrants in different situations, hence the verb (im)migrantisation (e.g., Kurki, 2019; Anderson, 2019). In this research I am interested in processes of racialisation rather than migrantisation *per se,* so I will use the social category of migrant. (For a more detailed discussion of categorisation, see chapter 4.4).

dominated sectors with labour shortages and significantly lower wages, reproducing gendered and racially segmented labour markets (e.g., Farris, 2017; Krivonos, 2019; Rajas, 2012).

In addition to increased workfare policies that are organised along racialised and gendered lines, employment has become the most relevant indicator of 'integration'. After that, integration policies have begun focusing ever more on migrants' participation in the labour market over other means of integration (Keskinen et al., 2012; Lehtovaara, 2022). The purpose of the Act on the Promotion of Integration of Immigrants (1386/2010), which came into force in 2011, was to improve 'integration' by extending the right to integration to all migrants with a residence permit. Since then, all migrants with a residence permit have been entitled to three years (or longer if there are valid reasons, such as childcare or health problems) of integration support measures, regardless of the reason for entry. The responsibility for integration work lies with the Public Employment Service (i.e., the TE services). The Public Social Services are responsible for those outside the labour market, i.e., all those who cannot participate in full-time training within the TE services, such as disabled, elderly, teenagers and mothers with small children. Integration work involves drawing up an integration plan with the client, who is obliged to follow it. (Vuori, 2012) Once migrants become service users of TE services, the labour market authorities must assist migrants with their future steps, such as further education plans, job search or language training. The content of integration plans differs from the usual personal unemployment plans in that they include, for example, language training and integration courses providing information about Finnish society[2]. (Nordberg, 2015)

Despite the inclusion of many previously excluded groups in integration support, earlier research has shown that there are still several structural barriers in integration settings that hinder the labour market participation of migrant women (e.g., Lehtovaara, 2022). These include, for example, insufficient counseling for women on

[2] To make two additional notifications: (i) during this law, the responsibility for the integration of those who cannot participate in full-time training was transferred from the municipal social services to the welfare counties in January 2023 (see more e.g., Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2023), and (ii) the government of Sanna Marin subsequently (2019-2023) decided on the reform of the Act. The new Act "seeks to facilitate the path of immigrants towards employment and to improve the access of immigrant women and others outside the labour force to services" (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2022). The Act is expected to come into force in 2025 and 'integration' work will be, for example, fully transferred from TE services to the welfare counties. However, as Finland has a new government, it is still unclear to what extent the reforms will be implemented.

their rights to bring their children to universal public childcare (Nordberg, 2015) and institutional divisions in the sphere of integration that currently allow access to better-resourced language training only for TE service users who are unemployed, thus excluding mothers with young children and enforcing gendered practices (Vuori, 2012).

Likewise, this research shows that integration practices, i.e., language training as well as TE services, are counterproductive to the employment of women with backgrounds in what I call the 'Middle East'. These interviewees' backgrounds are referred as 'Middle East' in order to protect their anonymity. Their countries of origin are therefore not disclosed in this study, and yet the label 'Middle East' is understood as an ambiguous racialised category rather than a fixed label.

By engaging in a dialogue with these women, I examine the operation of public services from the perspective of the theory of racial capitalism (Robinson, 1983; Kelley, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2018; Melamed, 2011). In this theory, racism and capitalism are seen as mutually constitutive, meaning that racism enshrines the inequality on which capitalism depends; ergo, capitalism is always *racial*. The historical development of capitalism has shown that its tendency is not to universalise wage-capital relations (Robinson, 1983) but to maintain and coexist with non-capitalist practices and unwaged labour - racism is then the means by which social divisions between different forms of labour are organised and legitimised (Kelley, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2018; Kundani, 2021).

Globally, the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2019 global pandemic have rendered racialising and gendering hierarchies of capitalism ever more evident. Thus, there has been a growing interest in combining critical migration studies with race-critical analyses in order to take racism and 'race' and their impact on the lives of migrants seriously, even if there is still discomfort in locating Finland in histories of colonialism and racism. In Finland, racial ignorance stems from methodological nationalism and whiteness, as well as images of Finnish exceptionalism and innocence, which present the nation as outside the processes of colonialism and racism–even though it is through these very processes that the nation has been racially defined as white and homogeneous (e.g., Keskinen et al., 2009; Rastas, 2012; Keskinen, 2019, 2021, 2022). The hegemonic understandings of Finnish history tend to see Finland only as a victim of Sweden and Russian, without more nuanced analyses of Finland's

dual positions in the global history of colonial processes: on the one hand, Finland was ruled by external powers and the Finns were classified in racial science belonging to lower 'races' ; on the other hand, Finland contributed to the racialisation of minorities and Indigenous Sámi, practised violent assimilation policies against them and stole the land of Sámi, to name but a few (e.g. Kuokkanen, 2007; Lehtola, 2015; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019; Keskinen, 2019, 2021, 2022; Merivirta et al., 2022).

Previous work on racial capitalism in Finland has extended its applicability beyond the black/white binary to include other racialised groups, thus examining (i) how migration policies and laws function as mechanisms of racialisation, incorporating Filipino migrant workers into the capitalist order while their lives beyond work are restricted (Näre & Wide, 2022), and (ii) how post-Soviet youth are racialised vis-a-vis hegemonic whiteness and Muslim/asylum seekers, while these youth themselves contribute to racialisation of the Other (Krivonos, 2023).

Departing from these earlier important works, this study is interested in processes of racialisation (Robinson, 1983; Melamed, 2011) in public services that attribute presumed natural abilities and capacities to the interviewees and produce their distance from 'Finnishness' for the purposes of economic exploitation or exclusion. The research participants are women with permanent residence or citizenship status but who cannot escape the processes of racialisation that produce them as 'non-white' subjects in integration and public employment services. Here, racialisation is understood in connection with histories of colonialism and dispossession of non-white and Indigenous people, justified based on racial biology, and today often articulated on the grounds of cultural racism, directed primarily at those who arrive in the Nordic countries outside the imagined borders of Europe (Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017). In reference to racial capitalism, the processes of racialisation are intertwined with the extraction of value and intersect with other systems of power (Kelley, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2018), namely gender and class. Hence, in this study I explore what kind of racialised, gendered and classed positionings are produced for women with Middle Eastern backgrounds in the hierarchies of labour in Finland.

Another, though related, attempt of this study is to advance the theorisation of the racial welfare state (Schclarek Mulinari & Keskinen 2022) by bridging the gap between the racial welfare state of Finland and racial capitalism by outlining the role of public services as complicit in serving the interests of capital value extraction and

accumulation. There are various conceptualisations of the Finnish welfare state. However, I find the Leandro Schclarek Mulinari and Suvi Keskinen's (2022) conceptualisation of the Nordic welfare states as *racial* as a helpful way of theorising the relationship between the welfare state and capitalism in times of eroding public services. Their conceptualisation of the racial welfare state elaborates on the continuum of surveillance mechanisms imposed on people racialised as non-white throughout history to the present in the Nordic countries, demonstrating how the nations' earlier histories, embedded in colonialism and racism, are linked to the operations of contemporary welfare states. That is to say, racialisation has been built into the practices and structures of the contemporary welfare state. Their research places less emphasis on the relationship between the state and capitalism, leaving open the possibility of tracing the entanglement of the racial welfare state and racial capitalism. This study bridges that gap.

In the theorisation of racial capitalism, the state's role is to stabilise social order as market mechanisms destroy pre-existing forms of collective life to recreate relations that serve its interests (Gilmore, 2002, p.261). It is argued that the intensification of neoliberalism will create more racialised unemployed and unwaged 'surplus' populations around the world, abandoned as useless to the system, which illustrates capitalism's failure to universalise wage-capital relations (Kundani, 2021). The state then responds to emerging resistance and enforces the capitalist order through ideological means, such as stigmatising people racialised as non-white, and through mechanisms such as mass incarceration and internal and external borders (Virdee, 2021; Gilmore, 2007).

Drawing on racial capitalism, Paula Mulinari and Anders Neergard (2023) argue that Swedish trade unions, which claim to serve the interests of workers vis-à-vis employers by looking after their employment security, are colourblind and thus only secure the interests of white workers in Sweden's racially segmented labour market. What this suggests is that it is not only the state and its elite that are co-opted by the interests of capitalism but also socialist institutions that mediate racial differentiation and aim to maintain the wages of whiteness (Virdee, 2021) in the waning welfare state.

The aim of my research is to outline the link between the racial welfare state in Finland and racial capitalism through the analysis of processes of racialisation in public services. In so doing, the study elaborates on how these services reproduce the racial

order. This research then extends hegemonic understandings of the welfare state model (Esping-Andersen, 1989, 1999), which tends to see the welfare state as outside the global order of racial capitalism. As I will argue, the Finnish welfare state is not universally concerned with workers' social reproduction, but it is complicit in stabilising social order and enforcing class rule. There is an urgent need to move beyond methodological nationalism and whiteness in our analyses (Bhambra & Holmwood, 2021; Bhambra, 2022) and to trace the connections of Finnish welfare state-building projects to a global economy embedded in colonialism and racism in order to challenge the contemporary rise of right-wing agendas. Such agendas seek to protect the privileges of white citizens on the basis that they deserve welfare state resources because they are presumed to belong to the white nation, as opposed to non-white migrants (Keskinen, 2016, 2023).

Furthermore, my initial interest in this study was in the diverse economic practices of women positioned as migrants, as at the time of this research project, I had not found any studies using diverse economies framework (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2019) in the field of migration studies in the Nordic countries. It offered a rare opportunity to advance and nuance the (un)employment debates regarding migrant women in Finland by re-thinking their economic practices. The strength of this theory lies (a) in its reading of economic difference, (b) in its reconceptualisation of well-being, (c) in seeing marginalised groups as active economic agents, and (d) in its examination of community economies, to mention a few (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2019). Engaging in the work of decentering capitalism is an ethico-political choice (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 614) as we need a radical rethinking of how we build a more livable and vibrant futures. As Val Plumwood (2007, p. 1) says,

> If our species does not survive the ecological crisis, it will probably be due to our failure to imagine and work out new ways to live with the earth, to rework ourselves and our high energy, high consumption, and hyper-instrumental societies adaptively.

As diverse economies studies have received some criticism for their lack of concern with 'power' and for being Eurocentric, it has been recommended to complement them with decolonial or race-critical analyses (e.g., Alhojärvi, 2020; Bledsoe et al., 2019; Naylor & Thayer, 2022). In order to take these concerns seriously, here the theory of racial capitalism is integrated with the theory of diverse economies. First, this research

examines the range of economic activities of women positioned as migrants to capture the diversity of their economic activities and redefine them as active economic subjects in reproducing their livelihoods, not just as victims of their economic circumstances. People in precarious labour market positions usually work a lot to reproduce their means of life, but their economic activities are obscured because the informal economy and activities are stigmatised or not valued as work. The stigmatisation of these practices often serves the interests of capitalism by distracting us from recognising alternative ways of organising economies (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020).

In addition to examining the diverse economic practices of my interviewees, the aim of this study is to analyse how they relate resistance to precarious livelihoods. However, diverse economic practices rarely involve political organising and anti-capitalist action (Pavlovskaya, 2020, p. 134). For this reason, the theory of diverse economies is linked here to the Black radical tradition, from which both racial capitalism and Black feminism continue to draw inspiration for resistance, since the revolutionary subjects are those excluded or exploited in wage-capital relations. (e.g., Robinson, 1983; The Combahee River Collective, 2014 [1978]; Hill Collins, 2000; Obeng-Odoom, 2020). Indeed, it is in these traditions that the revolutionary subjects from the margins of capitalism are made visible.

Suvi Keskinen (2022) has stretched the Black radical tradition to examine post-ethnic activism in the Nordics, involving people racialised as non-white from diverse backgrounds. Just as intersectionality derived from Black feminism has been extended beyond the US context, the application of the Black radical tradition goes beyond these geographical boundaries and the black/white binary (Hill Collins, 2000). With reference to the Black radical tradition, people who are racialised as non-white and rendered as exploitable labour or (unwaged) surplus population - representing capitalism's failure to universalise wage-capital relations - can be seen as subjects of anti-capitalist resistance in Finland. Bringing together diverse economies and the insides of the Black radical tradition, the diverse economic practices of migrant women are theorised here as processes of everyday resistance, in some cases with potential for social transformation and anti-capitalist futures. This thesis then advances theorisations of everyday resistance, deconstructs the binary between formal and informal work and sectors in Finland, and shows how some diverse economic practices

offer new ways of thinking about economies in times of an eroding racial welfare state. Below the structure of this thesis is outlined.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research context, which is the Finnish welfare state and its reconceptualisation as a racial welfare state. The same chapter reviews previous literature on the racialisation of migrant/Muslim women in the Nordic countries. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework. This chapter consists of three sub-chapters, introducing (i) the theory of racial capitalism, (ii) the Black radical tradition and Black feminism, and (iii) the diverse economy. This chapter also explains how I use these traditions together to answer the research questions. Chapter 4 is the methodology chapter, which begins by outlining the research questions. This chapter includes an explanation of the data analysis, a reflection on ethics and positionality, and the limitations of this study. Chapter 5 then presents the analysis of the findings. This chapter has three sub-chapters. Chapter 6, the concluding part, begins with the subchapter that summarises the findings of this study and answers the research questions. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of how this study makes theoretical and empirical contributions to the existing literature. The discussion of previous literature is divided into three sub-chapters, each of which outlines the contributions to different theoretical discussions and literatures. In the final sub-chapter of the concluding chapter, some avenues for further research are suggested. The references used in this study are listed in Chapter 7.

2 Finnish welfare state and literature review on racialisation

This chapter begins by outlining the context in which this study is situated and providing a brief overview of previous literature on the racialisation of migrant/Muslim women. The primary purpose of this chapter is to explain the waning of the Finnish welfare state, outline the reconceptualisation of the Finnish welfare state as *racial*, and briefly explain how I intend to build on and advance this literature through my research. In addition, by introducing some previous research on the racialisation of migrant/Muslim women, this chapter begins to explain how the use of racialisation in this study differs from that previous work.

2.1 Neoliberal restructuring of the Finnish racial welfare state

Although the current right-wing government - a coalition between the National Coalition Party *(Kokoomus)*, the Finns Party *(Perussuomalaiset)*, the Christian Democrats *(Kristillisdemokraatit)* and the Swedish People's Party *(Rkp)* - and its neoliberal programme mark a turning point in Finnish political history, the waning of the Finnish welfare state can be seen to have begun with the 1990 recession (Autto, 2023; Kantola et al., 2020). Since then, the lessons of neoliberal and austerity politics have been advocated in the name of cost efficiency (Autto, 2023; Kantola et al., 2020). The implementation of neoliberal policies and restructuring processes of the welfare state has intensified since the financial crisis of 2007–2008, which means that neoliberal and austerity measures have increased the privatisation of public services, introduced NPM in them and intensified resource cuts from the public sector and welfare benefits (Elomäki & Sandberg, 2020; Elomäki et al., 2021; Kantola et al., 2020).

At the same time, neoliberal rationalities such as individuality, productivity and self-responsibility have come to dominate people's everyday conduct (Brown, 2015 as cited in Elomäki & Sandberg, 2020), and Finland has been described as transforming from a welfare state to a workfare state (Peck, 2001; Kananen, 2012). A workfare state implies that benefit recipients are expected to demonstrate their motivation or productivity, i.e. to participate in obligatory programmes and fulfil compulsory requirements in order to secure their entitlement to welfare (Kananen, 2012). Thus, it can be argued that there has been a shift from a universal distribution of welfare to an allocation of benefits based on presumed deservingness (Bendixsen & Näre,

2024). This means that the principle of social security is now rather based on an attempt to activate people in the labour market (Kananen, 2012). This is an example of the erosion of the Finnish welfare state, which was built on the principle of universal distribution of social benefits, implemented, for example, through the decommodification of services and progressive taxation (Kuisma, 2007). In essence, the Finnish welfare state emerged from socialist political ideologies and was designed to level out class differences caused by market mechanisms (Esping-Andersen, 1989; 1999).

While Finland continues to rank high in international comparisons of gender equality, particularly in terms of high rates of female employment and political participation (e.g. World Economic Forum, 2020), Finland's reputation as a model country for gender equality is increasingly being contested as neoliberal austerity measures have gendered impacts. Finland's reputation as a model country for gender equality was built on the basis that women were given the right to vote as early as 1906 and that women had early access to the labour market. This provided fertile ground for Finland to be seen as 'women-friendly'[3] (Hernes, 1987). Incidentally, women-friendliness has been criticized on several grounds (Borchorst & Siim, 2002), with scholars arguing, for instance, that the Finnish welfare state relies on women's low-paid labour in public care and service sectors (Koskinen-Sandberg, 2018). As the state has retreated as the main provider of welfare, the crisis of social reproduction has intensified, including women's increasing responsibilities and workloads in unpaid domestic work (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017; Bakker, 2020). The reputation of being a 'women-friendly' and gender-equal country has served a strategic function in nationalist ideologies and anti-migration agendas, where it is used to generate racialised and gendered divisions between different groups (e.g. Keskinen et al., 2009). In the following chapter, I exemplify the gendered configurations of national identity in more detail through previous literature.

The universal egalitarian ethos of the Finnish welfare state and 'women-friendly' policies have above all overlooked intersectional differences between people and, in particular, have been based on colour-blindness, not taking into account the realities of 'race' (Keskinen, 2022, p. 20). The Finnish welfare state's colour blindness has been

[3] Example of 'women-friendly' policy could be the expansion of universal childcare, enabling the implementation of the dual-earner model.

influenced to some extent by the post-World War II period in Europe. In 1950, it was formally decided at the UNESCO meeting that 'race' had no scientific basis. The word was replaced by ethnicity and culture, and it has sometimes become challenging to identify the construction of racism as it is disguised under these social categories today. (Keskinen, 2022, p.20) For example, official statistics in Finland imply that ethnic and racial categories have no meaning in society because they only record country of birth and mother tongue, thus overlooking racial differences between the majority population and religious or visible minorities who are citizens by birth. In this way, the reality that many people racialised as non-white lived and worked in precarious conditions and contributed to the wealth of the welfare state even before the intensification of neoliberalism and austerity in Finland is easily obscured.

Building on David Goldberg's (2002) conceptualisation of the racial state, Leandro Schclarek Mulinari and Suvi Keskinen (2022) therefore argue that race (and gender) is an organising principle of the Nordic welfare states, meaning that the nations were built and national belongings were defined in racial terms, hence the *racial* welfare state. This suggests that the construction of the Finnish welfare state since the 1960s and 1970s is inseparable from the nation's earlier history and its complicity in colonial projects and racism at various levels: the overseas colonial missions of individuals, companies and missionaries (Merivirta et al., 2022), as well as the settler colonisation of Sápmi (Kuokkanen, 2007; Lehtola, 2015; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019), the repressive and assimilationist state policies towards Indigenous Sámi and racialised minorities (Kuokkanen, 2007; Nordberg, 2006; Ranta & Kanninen, 2019) and the production of racial taxonomies of old minorities such as Roma (Keskinen, 2019, 2021) - even if these histories are detached from national narratives, not yet widely acknowledged in welfare state literature and denied in public discourse[4] (Keskinen, 2019; Keskinen, 2021). However, the point is that Finland has been deeply embedded in a civilising mission that has (re)produced ideas of the West and the Rest (e.g., Keskinen et al., 2009; Rastas, 2012; Merivirta et al., 2022), thus generating its self-perception as a white

[4] The common discursive strategies to subordinate nuanced understandings of Finnish history and downplay Finland's complicity in processes of colonialism and racism consist of arguments that (i) compare Finland to imperial powers and other countries that had colonies, (ii) see colonialism as something that happened in the past with no contemporary effects, and (iii) see colonialism as a process that led to development of colonised people and their lands (Keskinen, 2019).

nation and securing its place on the side that profits from the expropriation and dispossession of the Other.

Leandro Schclarek Mulinari and Suvi Keskinen's (2022) study outlines the understanding of racial welfare states by analysing the continuum of state surveillance from nations' earlier history to today. They link the historical repressive and assimilationist policies forcibly imposed on old minorities throughout history, such as the Roma, with contemporary policing practices in an eroding welfare state, such as ethnic profiling of the very same groups that have never been seen as belonging to the white Westerners. Their study demonstrates how contemporary policing practices continue to be organised along racial lines that have roots in the racialised configurations of the nation's building projects. Following their conceptualisation of the racial welfare state, I seek to build on this by understanding the racial welfare state of Finland as connected to racial capitalism. As Suvi Keskinen (2023, p. 272) argues, "the creation of welfare and wealth is not now, nor was it ever (i.e., during the heyday of the welfare state), a national matter. Rather, the welfare state must be examined in connection to the world order of racial capitalism, with its colonial and racial roots".

The racial and gendered configurations of the welfare state building project suggest that the division between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' of the welfare state's wealth, such as benefits and services, is articulated not only on the basis of neoliberal rationales of human capital, such as presumed productivity or lack thereof, but also on the basis of white normativity, i.e., who is seen as belonging to an imagined community of white Finns (Mulinari & Keskinen, 2022). National belonging, encoded in whiteness, is then another way in which racial divisions and hierarchies are reinforced and used to protect the privileges of white citizens to which non-white migrants can hardly lay claim (Keskinen, 2023). As an example, the rhetoric of welfare chauvinism is used in far-right politics because (i) the erosion of the welfare state has reduced the working conditions and wages of privileged sections of the workforce, (ii) migrants are seen as undeserving due to their relatively higher employment rates, which is equated with not contributing to the welfare state, and (iii) migrants are seen as 'undeserving' because they are seen as falling out of the white Finnish community (Keskinen, 2023, p. 270; Keskinen, 2016).

In order to build the connection between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism, this research elaborates on the ways in which public services - in

particular, the practices of language training and the public employment service - maintain racial order through the examination of racialisation processes in public services. Before elaborating on the theory of racial capitalism, the following chapter 2.2 outlines some previous research on racialisation of women with backgrounds in so-called Middle East or Muslim-majority countries in different geographical settings, in order to illustrate how the understanding of racialisation in this study differs from these studies.

2.2 Racialisation of migrant women

International recruitment of migrant labour is increasingly promoted as a response to Finland's dependency ratio, which is expected to rise as the population ages and the birth rate falls. Responding to Finland's fiscal sustainability gap, labour shortage and care deficit with international recruitment has been integrated into migration policy. Indeed, previous research has shown how labour migrants become part of the precarious and low-skilled labour force in the Finnish labour market due to restrictive and selective migration policies (Himanen & Könönen, 2010; Näre, 2013; Näre & Nordberg, 2016; Krivonos, 2019; Vaittinen & Näre, 2014).

In addition to the international recruitment of care workers, public and political discourse has turned to activating unemployed migrant women with citizenship and permanent residence status into the labour market. Integration practices and labour market activation programmes have come under the public radar as they are seen as (partial) solutions to increasing the employment of these women.

With the neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state (Autto, 2023), employment has become a key indicator of integration (Keskinen et al., 2012; Lehtovaara, 2022). Thus, the integration policies have begun to converge with workfare in parallel with transitioning from a Finnish welfare state to a workfare state (Nordberg, 2015; Rajas, 2012). As scholars have noted, measures to improve employment are essential, but if this is the only indicator of integration, there is a risk that women's integration, (un)employment and subjectivities will be narrowly understood (Keskinen et al., 2012).

In fact, as a result of their relatively higher level of unemployment, migrant women have become the targets of government-initiated interventions and labour activation programmes aimed at increasing their participation in the Finnish labour market while

structural barriers to employment remain in place (Krivonos, 2019; Rajas, 2012). Subsequent research has shown that labour market activation policies steer migrant women into female-dominated sectors with labour shortages and significantly lower wages by ascribing various kinds of racialised and gendered attributes to their bodies, including definitions of them as naturally caring or as victims of patriarchal customs from which they are supposedly emancipated through inclusion in the labour market. Rather, these programmes reproduce gendered and racially segmented labour markets (Farris, 2017; Krivonos, 2019; Rajas, 2012).

Previous research, drawing on postcolonial theory or the concept of subjectification, has shown the racialisation of migrant/Muslim women in a variety of settings, producing women as victims of patriarchy, threats, burdens or ideal subjects for care work (Irni, 2009; Kurki et al., 2019; Kurki, 2019; Tuori, 2009; Mulinari, 2021; Stormhøj, 2021; Yang 2009). Kuura Irni's (2009) study demonstrates that migrant women are racialised as naturally caring in media representations in Finland and argues that their acceptance into the nation is intertwined with age, as 'ageing' migrants are seen as a burden on the welfare system due to pension costs. Tuuli Kurki, Kristiina Brunila and Elina Lahelma's (2019) study focus on the construction of migrant women as naturally caring subjects in the practices of educational settings and show how these women are steered towards the care sector, regardless of their diverse identities, desires, backgrounds and needs. Salla Tuori's (2009) ethnographic research in a project aimed at increasing the labour market participation of migrant women shows that migrant families are racialised in Finnish society as 'deviant' families in contrast to the 'norm' of white, heteronormative Finnish families. Her study elucidates that migrant men are racialised as either violent or absent in these discourses, while migrant women and children are produced as victims of patriarchal customs. On this basis, migrant families are considered inadequate to reproduce the white nation.

Chia-Ling Yang's (2009) study, based on observations of participants in a feminist school for adults in Sweden, shows that migrant/Muslim women are racialised as victims of patriarchy and thus as objects to be saved from subordination to these coercive beliefs that contradict the values of (allegedly) gender-equal Sweden. Following a similar logic, Christel Stormhøj (2021) argues that the unemployment of Muslim/migrant women is produced in Danish politics as a result of the gender equality deficit. This serves the strategic function of glorifying Denmark as a gender-

equal country while enabling the exclusion of migrants/Muslims from the country based on their lack of economic value or 'cultural' distance from 'Danishness'. Based on focus group interviews with feminist, anti-racist activists from migrant backgrounds, Diana Mulinari's (2021) study argues that migrant women are constructed as a homogeneous category of victims of patriarchy in 'white feminist' discourses and shows how anti-racist activists attempt to challenge and redefine the category of migrant. Furthermore, her study examines the shift in the racialisation of migrant women from a threat to a burden in the context of increasing neoliberal policies and restructuring processes in Sweden.

In contrast to previous important work on the racialisation of migrant/Muslim women, I am more interested in the ways in which the racialisation of migrant women is incorporated into the workings of capitalism. In the theory of racial capitalism, racialisation is distinguished from other theorisations of racialisation by the understanding that it is entangled with capitalist profit-making and value extraction interests. In postcolonial theory, for example, its analysis tends to pay less attention to material consequences of racialisation and provide discursive and representational analyses of racialisation (e.g. Said, 1972; Spivak, 1998).

In this study, my analysis focuses on women who live in Finland but are not protected from processes of racialisation that produce them as 'non-white' subjects in integration and public employment services for the sake of labour value and accumulation. In what follows, I explain the premises of the theory of racial capitalism and its understanding of processes of racialisation, as well as previous literature on the differential production of labour. This is followed by an introduction to the rest of the key theories and concepts of my thesis.

3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides an overview of my theoretical framework and the key concepts used in this research. It begins by introducing the theory of racial capitalism and how it is used in this research. In addition, this chapter offers a discussion of the Black radical tradition and Black feminism to illustrate the importance of these traditions in theorising anti-capitalist resistance. The final subchapter elaborates on the theory of diverse economies and explains how I complement it with some of the insides of the Black radical tradition to theorise diverse economic practices as processes of resistance.

3.1 Racial capitalism in 'non-racial' Finland

Racial capitalism is a theoretical framework that expands on traditional Eurocentric Marxism by elucidating the central role of racism in the development of capitalism and how the two continue to be mutually constitutive (Robinson, 1983; Bhattacharyya, 2018; Kelley, 2017). It demonstrates the undeniable interconnectedness of class and race within capitalist social formations and, in doing so, dismantles long-standing debates about the dominance of class over race and vice versa in the pursuit of social justice (Bhattacharyya, 2018). The concept of racial capitalism was first introduced in the 1970s by South African scholars such as Neville Alexander and Harold Wolpe in their analysis of apartheid in South Africa (Hall, 1980). Since then, the theory has been further developed, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom and South Africa, albeit its application extends beyond these geographical boundaries.

Cedric Robinson's (1983) work on racial capitalism is a central intervention into classical Marxism, which focused on the relations between a universal white male worker and a capitalist, arguing that the universal diffusion of wage-capital relations would be an outcome of the development of capitalism. Extending on the work of Oliver Cromwell Cox, Robinson elaborates on the historical development of capitalism and racism in tandem, showing how capitalism operates through the production of inequality between groups. By arguing that the first victims of enclosure and colonialism were the European proletariat, such as the Irish, Slavs, Roma, Jews, etc., Robinson constructs one of his central arguments that racism preceded capitalism and became an essential condition for its functioning (Robinson, 1983; Kelley, 2017). This means that racism existed in the European metropole before the colonisation of Africa

and is a foundation of European modernity and capitalism rather than an exception (Kelley, 2020 [2000], p. xiii). Thus, capitalism was not a revolutionary breakthrough from feudalism; instead, it was built on feudalism, preserving dependence on the production of inequality (Kelley, 2020 [2000], p. xiii). As Jodi Melamed (2015, p. 77) argues: "Capitalism is racial capitalism. Capital can only be capital when it is accumulating, and it can only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups [...] These antinomies of accumulation require loss, disposability, and the unequal differentiation of human value, and racism enshrines the inequalities that capitalism requires".

Recent scholarly work has begun to demonstrate how capitalism's key dynamics are still today articulated through race, including "accumulation/dispossession, credit/debt, production/surplus, capitalist/worker, developed/underdeveloped, contract/coercion (Jenkins & Leroy 2021, p. 3)". The time- and context-specific analyses are important as they attempt to avoid the ahistoricism of some race-critical analyses (Jenkins & Leroy 2021, p. 5), neglecting that racism must constantly adapt to overcome the resistance it faces (Hall, 1980). Stuart Hall (1980) has argued that race and class are historically and contextually specific forms of social relations articulated in new ways in different political, cultural, economic and social contexts. Neoliberal capitalism, then, is comprehended as the latest phase of racial capitalism, where the production and management of racial difference is reconfigured in capitalist social formations (Kundani, 2021). In my research context, neoliberalism is linked to a restructuring of the Finnish welfare state that has increased privatisation and public cuts and neoliberal rationales, including individuality, competition and profit maximisation (Keskinen, 2022, p. 7), thus having an impact on the processes of racialisation.

The essence of the theory of racial capitalism is the understanding that racialisation is a process that naturalises, dehistoricises and legitimises social divisions between different forms of labour (Robinson, 1983; Melamed, 2011). The concept of racialisation originates from the work of Franz Fanon (Fanon 1963, as cited in Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017). Robert Miles has built on Fanon's work and suggested replacing the concept of race with racialisation to avoid essentialising the concept of race (Miles 1989, 1993 as cited in Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017). Following Suvi Keskinen and Rikke Andreassen (2017), I claim that both concepts are necessary for a

historical and structural analysis of racism in the Nordic region. Understanding race as a key tool for justifying the unequal redistribution of resources and labour is an attempt to avoid essentialising the concept of race or reducing racism to individual prejudices (Lentin, 2020). I then understand 'race' as a system of classification (Hall, 2017; Lentin, 2020) and racialisation as processes by which the idea of race is produced through social institutions, laws and practices, which organises people into hierarchies of labour while making these social divisions seem normal and dependent on one's achievements (Robinson, 1983; Melamed, 2011).

The racialisation intersects with other axes of power, such as class and gender. Dominika Blachnicka-Ciacek and Irma Budginaite-Mackine (2022) have examined how the processes of racialisation intersect with class and nationality. They draw on Bourdieou's (1986) conceptualisation of class as multidimensional and different forms of capital, using, in particular, the understanding of cultural capital. They argue that some Eastern European migrants in the UK manage to 'pass as white' either by using their skills acquired through class background, such as English language skills, by hiding their own Eastern European background, or by racialising other nationalities as 'non-white'.

Gargi Bhattacharyya's (2018) seminal work on racial capitalism shifts our focus to processes of racialised differentiation of labour that intersect with gender, a category of analysis through which labour practices are divided into work and non-work. Feminist political economy, or 'social reproductive feminism', has deconstructed the binary between reproductive and productive labour, demonstrating how social reproductive labour is an essential condition for the reproduction of capitalism itself (Federichi, 1975, 2012; Mies, 1986). Indeed, housework was transformed into a natural attribute of women from the very beginning of the capital scheme and was destined to be unpaid work (Federichi, 1975; Federichi, 2012; Mies, 1986). Bhattacharyya's (2018) work extends the study of reproductive labour to other informal practices outside the household and argues that this work is distributed along racialised and gendered lines. According to her, processes of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour provide unequal access to economic resources and jeopardise the sphere of social reproduction by dividing people into workers, almost workers and non-workers. I primarily draw from her concept of 'non-worker'. She argues that becoming a 'non-worker' is a process of dehumanisation in racial capitalism, meaning

that these people are deprived of access to economic resources, endure continued stigmatisation and struggle the most to reproduce the means of life (Bhattacharyya, 2018, pp. 64–65). As she argues (Bhattacharyya, 2018, p. 65), "those not able to show their productivity are viewed, variously, as parasites, dependents and objects of charity".

Furthermore, the concept of 'unfree' labour is crucial to my analysis. While there is an ongoing debate about what counts as unfree labour - only slavery, or perhaps also labour in wage-capital relations - I follow Shae Frydenlund and Elisabeth Cullen Dunn (2021, pp. 5-6), who theorise unfree labour as a form of labour that is coercive, restricts freedom of choice, and is assigned to racialised workers. According to them, unfree labour, like social reproductive labour (Bhattacharyya, 2018), is a form of primitive accumulation that continues as an integral part of capitalism's dispossession and value extraction (Frydenlund & Cullen Dunn, 2021; Issar, 2021). Frydenlund and Cullen Dunn's study shows how the meatpacking industry in the US relies on the production of refugees as 'unfree' labour. Their study argue that the racialised stigmatisation of refugees legitimises their unequal access to citizenship and conditions of statelessness, leaving them little choice but the highly precarious working conditions in the meatpacking industry.

A number of other studies have examined processes of racialised differentiation of labour. Lisa Lowe (2015) traces the production of Chinese and South Asian people as indentured labour, demonstrating the flexibility of capitalism to switch and create new racialised subjects based on its economic and political demands. Her work shows how a new racialised labour force is produced through its presumed 'distance' from liberal humanity, as was the case with 'Black', 'Chinese' and 'Indian' subjects, yet the racialisation of each group is articulated through their particular experiences. Following this logic, Mishal Khan (2021) elaborates on the Indian labourers and shows how they were brought into the service of the capitalist order as 'free' wage labourers after the abolition of slavery. Mouna Maaroufi's study (2022) examines migration and labour activation policies in Germany and how they operate regarding racialised differentiation of labour. She analyses the production of differential inclusion in labour activation and resources among refugees of different nationalities, genders, ethnicities, and class backgrounds. Her study also elucidates how refugees are produced as 'unfree'

labour through coercive activation that significantly limits freedoms and confines refugees to low-paid work.

However, Satnam Virdee (2019) argues that most scholarship on 'race' and racism has tended to focus on the core European metropoles and their former colonies. Less attention has been paid to European countries on the periphery of Europe, perceived as outside the colonial processes but nevertheless racially characterised as white and homogeneous nations, such as Finland (Keskinen et al., 2009; Rajas, 2012; Keskinen, 2019). As Suvi Keskinen, Minna Seikkula and Aminkeng Atabong (2024, p.) argue, while there is a growing recognition of racial hierarchies in the Nordic countries, analyses often continue to operate based on colourblind frameworks and race-critical perspectives remain marginal. The processes of racialisation in these 'anti-racial' and 'non-racial' countries are often produced through signifiers such as culture, ethnicity and (im)migrant, even if talking about 'race' is considered irrelevant or taboo and its impact on people's lives is dismissed (Andreassen et al., 2023, p. 12). Following the theory of racial capitalism, it can be said that if 'race' is the modality in which class is lived, the social category of migrant, in the Finnish context, is a central modality in which race is lived (cf. Mulinari & Neergaard, 2023, pp. 50–51).

There are some previous studies relevant to my study that have adopted racial capitalism to analyse the production of labour differentiation in European countries located in the margins of Europe and which have stretched the understanding of racialisation beyond the black/white binary to include other racialised groups in their analysis. Barbora Černušáková (2021) argues that state practices in the Czech Republic are counterproductive to Roma employment, instead relegating them to the informal economy as construction workers. The racialisation of Roma reinforces their stigma as unemployed and fragment class solidarity between them and the white working class. The study by Lena Näre and Elisabeth Wide (2022) analyses mechanisms of racialised differentiation of labour, such as restrictive migration policies and legislation in Finland. Their study shows how Filipino migrant workers are exploited as cheap labour and how their prospects for a life beyond work are limited, including family and social life. Daria Krivono's (2023) study shows how post-Soviet youth are racialised as 'Eastern European' migrant workers in labour activation in an attempt to incorporate them into a capitalist system as low-paid and insecure workers. Her study also

demonstrates how migrants contribute to the racialisation that produces hierarchical relations between migrants from outside and inside the *imagined* borders of Europe.

For the purpose of this study, I argue that the concept of racial capitalism is helpful in understanding the ways in which racism justifies inequalities that produce differential life and work prospects for women with backgrounds in what I call the 'Middle East' in a 'non-racial' country, Finland. I use racialisation to demonstrate processes in the Finnish integration system and the Public Employment Service that ascribe presumed natural attributes and capacities to women on the basis of their migration background from outside Europe for the purpose of economic exploitation or exclusion. However, this study recognises that racialisation processes intersect with class and gender. By analysing the processes of racialised, gendered and classed differentiation of labour, the attempt of this study is to show how my research participants are positioned within the hierarchies of labour in racial capitalism in Finland. The analysis of the processes of differentiation also outlines how these public services reproduce the racial order. The women I interviewed, however, found creative ways to resist racial capitalism. In the following two chapters I present the ways in which resistance is theorised in this study.

3.2 Resistance from the margins of capitalism

In the latter chapters of his book on Black Marxism (1983), Cedric Robinson introduces the notion of Black radicalism, drawing on some of the pioneers of this tradition such as W.E.B. Du Bois, C.L.R. James and Richard Wright. A Black radical tradition refers to the collective resistance of enslaved and colonised people to racial capitalism (Robinson, 1983). Because classical Marxism omitted to theorise racism as the organising principle of capitalism, argues Robinson, it paid less attention to the central role of slavery in the logic of capitalism and, therefore, did not recognise that the European proletariat was not the only revolutionary subject. Although Black radicalism emerged out of the need to resist the violent dispossession of racial capitalism, Robinson claims, it should not be mirrored or bound to Western radical thought because its onto-epistemological understandings derive from African culture and traditions as well as the specificities of Black resistance. As he argues (Robinson 2020 [1983], p. 73): "Black radicalism is a negation of Western civilization, but not in the direct sense of a simple dialectical negation [...] It is not a variant of Western radicalism whose proponents happen to be Black. Rather it is a specifically African

response to an oppression emergent from the immediate determinants of European development in the modern era and framed by orders of human exploitation woven into the interstices of European social life from the inception of Western civilisation."

In Black Marxism, Robinson (1983) illustrates the workings of Black radicalism through historical accounts of resistance to slavery and colonialism, for example, in Haiti, South Africa, and Brazil. One notable form of Black rebellion that crystalises Black consciousness and praxis was the creation of maroon communities, which refers to the process by which enslaved people escaped from plantations, refused to be governed by exploitative systems and developed independent communities with economic independence (Robinson, 1983). Theorising Black radicalism is itself a form of resistance born out of a praxis of Black struggle, meaning that theorists in this tradition seek to articulate the collective consciousness of the Black working class that emerges from struggles against systems of power and this project continues today to sustain the collective being and inspire new generations of freedom fighters (Kelley, 2020, p. xxxi [2000]).

However, Robinson's account of racial capitalism and Black radicalism has not escaped criticism, with some readers claiming, for example, that his work is essentialist of African culture, reducing its rich traditions and culture to one 'authentic' culture (Kelley, 2020 [2000], p. xx). One of the major pitfalls of his work, it could be argued, is how his analysis overlooks gender (see e.g. Davies, 2016; Kelley, 2017; Obeng-Odoom, 2020). I agree with this criticism, as his analysis throughout the book lacks an articulation of the ways in which gender is intertwined with the racial formation of capitalism (Kelley, 2017), as well as the remarkable role of women in Black struggles (Davis, 1983; Kelley, 2000, pp. 136-138) and the central role of their reproductive labour during plantation slavery (Davis, 1972; Jones, 1949).

Black feminism has since been recognised as a specific sub-field of the Black radical tradition, emanating from Black women's experiences and struggles, and which has thereafter aimed at centring the marginalisation of Black women in mainstream feminist movements (e.g. The Combahee River Collective, 2014 [1978]; Hill Collins, 2000; Obeng-Odoom, 2020). After the post-emancipation period, Black women's resistance sought to expose their economic and political oppression and to respond to negative images of Black womanhood (Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 2015 [1981]). Black feminism has conceptualised an understanding of interlocking forms of oppression, or

an intersectional approach, which seeks to capture the unique forms of subordination that arise from the intersection of being Black and being female or from the crosscutting of other systems of power, namely sexuality, class, religion, nationality and ableism (The Combahee River Collective, 2014 [1978]; Crenshaw, 1991, 2016; Davis, 1983). Black women's experiences of being 'doubly exploited' (i.e. paid and unpaid domestic work as they were working inside and outside their household to sustain the lives of 'white' families) and their resistance to this has deconstructed the false binary between public and private (hooks 2015 [1981], Davis, (1983) [1981]). Black feminism and intersectionality are thus an epistemic critique of the Eurocentric knowledge production of mainstream feminism (Crenshaw, 1991, 2016; Hill Collins, 2000).

The rich tradition of Black feminist scholarship has centred on the collective resistance of Black women, which was expressed through writings, poetry, blues, and activism (e.g. Hill Collins, 2000). The scholarship has articulated the significance of everyday forms of resistance such as self-care and healing, mutual aid, love and joy that strengthen the collective consciousness of Black women through empowering them and increasing their self-esteem and self-actualisation in a white supremacist capitalist patriarchy (hooks, 2014 [1994]; Hill Collins, 2000). Indeed, self-definitions of Black womanhood have been significant forms of resistance, redefining violent imaginaries about Black women, thus serving as preconditions for political organising (Hill Collins, 2000). Living on the edge of capitalism and resisting it requires, as Du Bois would argue (1996 [1903] as cited in Garner, 2007, p. 41), a 'double consciousness' that captures the ways in which people racialised as non-white learn to see themselves through the hegemonic ways of knowing and through the opposing views produced from the margins.

Black women's everyday forms of resistance emerged frequently in sites of the private sphere as they lacked access to sites of public spheres. For example, Angela Y. Davis (1972, p. 87), who has examined enslavement as a gendered regime, has also pointed out that women's reproductive practices in enslaved communities were one of the only activities and sites that could escape the direct control of enslavers. By doing so, she argues, reproductive labour provided meaningful labour for the slave community as a whole and a site of autonomy and self-defined humanness. Hence, social reproductive labour is rarely just an exploitative practice for Black women, as it stimulates emotions

and profound meanings for them, strengthening the collective Black consciousness (Davis, 1972; Hooks, 1990). Although Black feminism could be seen as US-centric, this would be an insufficient reading, as its application and radical potential stretch beyond these geographical boundaries. As Patricia Hills-Collins (2000, p. 9) argues "Black feminist thought's identity as a "critical" social theory lies in its commitment to justice, both for U.S. Black women as a collectivity and for that of other similarly oppressed groups".

In the final chapter of the analysis of my findings, I seek to extend the understanding of resistance to racial capitalism beyond Black radicalism by locating it within the everyday struggles of migrant women racialised as non-white in Finland. Although the Black radical tradition emerged from the resistance of enslaved people and is embedded in African cultural traditions, it has subsequently served as an inspiration for the understanding of resistance in both Black feminism and racial capitalism, and it can be extended to examine resistance in other contexts, including other racialised groups. That is, because capitalism produces exploited racialised workers and excluded (unwaged) surplus populations throughout the world, anti-capitalist resistance can also emerge from different places and the actions of those on the edge of capitalism in those places (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Kundani, 2021).

Here, I argue that revolutionary potential can emerge from the lives of my interviewees as they live on the margins of capitalism in Finland. The concept of disobedient knowledge is also a useful way of thinking about how shared resistance to the oppression produced by racial capitalism emerges while simultaneously producing new, counter-hegemonic knowledge(s). Suvi Keskinen, Alemanji Aminkeng Atabong and Minna Seikkula (2024, pp. 8-13) have outlined some elements that disobedient knowledges might include. I find the following particularly relevant to this study: (a) challenging (masculine) zero point onto-epistemologies by centring the pluriversality of knowledge and knowledge(s) produced from the locus of people racialised as non-white, (b) challenging (il)legalities by illuminating their constructed nature in the global structures of power, (c) foregrounding context specificity, and (d) centring knowledge(s) produced in the shared struggles of people racialised as non-white and their allies (i.e. activism or everyday struggles).

A study by Suvi Keskinen (2022) has stretched the Black radical tradition to examine post-ethnic activism in the Nordics. It shows how women racialised as non-white resist

the violent dispossession of racial capitalism through their activism, creating sites for radical anti-racism. By engaging in collective struggles against racial hierarchies, Keskinen argues, women rely on and reproduce mutual aid, solidarity, love, and care that stand in stark contrast to the logic of capitalist profit maximisation, thus rupturing the very logic of capitalism.

My study focuses on the everyday resistance of migrant women racialised as non-white who, because of their highly exploitative position in labour hierarchies, lack the resources to participate in organised political resistance. This does not mean, however, that their resistances are not remarkable forms of everyday radical anti-racism and have no potential for social transformation and the construction of livable worlds. I aim to explore new avenues of everyday resistance by incorporating the aspect of Black radicalism – i.e. the idea that resistance arises from the margins of capitalism – with the framework of diverse economies in order to expand the range of economic activities of women living on the edge of capitalism and to theorise these economic practices as processes of resistance. I will discuss integrating these aspects in more detail in the next chapter.

3.3 Diverse economies as everyday acts of resistance

Diverse economies derives from the work of feminist geographers Katherine Gibson and Julie Graham aka Gibson-Graham. It builds on feminist and post-structuralist work (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020). It is a theoretical tradition, a subfield of geography studies, that seeks to inspire researchers, activists and teachers to participate in the work of decentering the hegemony of capitalocentrism by recognising the diverse economic practices that already exist around the world (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 614). Thus, my collaboration in the work of reading differences in the economy is an ethical-political choice.

By capitalocentrism, Gibson-Graham refers to a process by which all economic practices are subordinated to capitalism and seen only in their relation to capitalism, thus evading the possibilities of thinking of 'economy as a site of ethical actions' (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020, p. 2). Because of capitalocentrism as Pieta Hyvärinen (2020, p.24) puts it, "non-capitalist forms of economy can only be understood in their relation to capitalism, rather than as diverse and autonomous ways of organising present and future livelihoods." Within diverse economies, as in a theory

of racial capitalism, there is an understanding that other economic practices coexist alongside or even resist capitalism. However, the analytical focus of diverse economies is on describing the diversity of economic practices or studying community economies, i.e. ethical economies (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2019).

The theorisation of diverse economies emerged (i) as a critique of theoretical traditions that see capitalism as the most developed and advanced economic model and (ii) as a response to essentialist critical theories of political economy (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020). In reference to the latter, Gibson-Graham has urged critical and feminist researchers to be aware of how their research may contribute to the entrenchment of capitalist hegemony as a critique of capitalism that aims to expose the underlying inequality of the capitalist system in order to mobilise action can simultaneously render economic difference invisible (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham, 2008). They argue that this kind of critical inquiry may end up re-centering capitalism and providing expected results, thus closing off possibilities for surprise and seeing alternative economic practices (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham, 2008).

Their work has been inspired by queer theorist Eve Sedwick's (2003) reading of paranoid and reparative stances, which Sedwick has used to get a more comprehensive understanding of affects in their work. Indeed, Gibson-Graham argues that critical scholars should engage with a reparative stance – weak theory – that allows for difference to be seen in economies, thus providing a space for change and hope (Gibson-Graham, 2008). The weak theory is associated with the reparative stance because it allows economies to be analysed as multiple, fluid and in process. In contrast, the paranoid stance is identified with the strong theory, which they claim leads to sameness because it cannot let go of pre-existing notions of what the economy is and how it should be studied (Roelvink, 2020). As Eve Sedwick's puts it:

> In a world where no one need be delusional to find evidence of systemic oppression, to theorize out of anything but a paranoid critical stance has come to seem naïve, pious, or complaisant. I myself have no wish to return to the used "paranoid" as a pathologizing diagnosis, but it seems to me a great loss when paranoid inquiry comes to seem entirely coextensive with critical theoretical inquiry rather than being viewed as one kind of cognitive/affective theoretical practice among other, alternative kinds (2003 p. 125, emphasis in original).

The strength of diverse economies, as emphasised by Gibson-Graham, therefore, lies in its reading of economic difference, which is a helpful tool for recognising economic activities, redefining what is commonly understood as work, and enacting community economies (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020). Further, their work has been successful in destigmatisation of informal work such as volunteer work, care work, barter work and work of imagination, and in transforming community members from victims of economic circumstances to active participants in the production of alternative economies (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2019).

At the time of writing, diverse economies have yet to be used in the field of migration studies in Finland or in other Nordic countries. Pieta Hyvärinen (2020) has employed diverse economies to study different forms of small-scale food production, such as mushroom gathering in northern tree plantations, to analyse forest economies as more diverse than timber production. However, studies have used diverse economies to examine the diverse economic activities of women labelled as migrants in some other contexts. Elizabeth Sweet's (2016) study shows how Latino women's economic activities in Chicago are diverse (for example, from volunteering in a community organisation to working in a factory), allowing women to build networks and generate wealth and well-being despite their exclusion or exploitation in the formal economy. Marianna Pavlovskaya's (2020) study of temporary migrant workers in Russia shows how capitalist modernity in Russia has created a pool of 'working poor' without social security from the Russian state. In response to precarious livelihoods, her study shows that people engage in diverse economic practices in solidarity with one another, creating well-being without the goal of making a profit.

Despite Eve Sedwig's attempt to avoid the juxtaposition of paranoid and reparative stances, diverse economies scholarship has received a fair amount of criticism for its lack of serious engagement with power relations, which has resulted in neglecting the capitalist dimensions of non-capitalist practices and ignoring the differential agency and choices that exist within economic difference (e.g., Alhojärvi, 2020; Bledsoe et al., 2019; Naylor & Thayer, 2022). On the other hand, this critique has been heard, with recent scholarship aiming for a delicate balance between paranoid and reparative stances while attempting to decolonise the diverse economies approach. So far, most of the work in diverse economies ignores the violent history of colonialism and the

racialised and gendered configurations of capitalism that affect the economic activities of people racialised as non-white and, thus, shape the construction of alternative economies (Naylor & Thayer, 2022).

Scholars have insisted on integrating critical theories that focus on decolonial and/or race-critical analyses to respond to the challenges of the diverse economies framework. In the US, Adam Bledsoe, Tyler McCreary and Willie Wright's (2019) study complements the diverse economies framework with theorisations of racial capitalism to elaborate on capitalism's racial and colonial formation and how it shapes the diverse economies of different groups today. They argue that for people racialised as non-white, enacting alternative economies is often a necessity for survival (Bledsoe et al., 2019). Their study uses two empirical cases - the invention of urban commons among African Americans and public housing initiatives among Indigenous communities - to illustrate the persistence of economic alternatives to racial capitalism, inspiring projects to build more viable, diverse economies in the future (Bledsoe et al., 2019). More recently, a whole new field of scholarship has emerged that centres the community economies of people racialised as non-white, theorising Black solidarity economies as contemporary forms of marronage and as sites of anti-capitalist resistance, social transformation and anti-capitalist economies arising from the livelihoods of people racialised as non-white (e.g. Hossein et al., 2023).

Albeit this vibrant body of literature has been a great source of inspiration, I use diverse economies to widen the scope of the economic activities of migrant women living in precarious labour market positions. By integrating diverse economies with the aspects of the Black radical tradition, I propose to theorise women's diverse economies as processes of resistance to racial capitalism. As Marianna Pavlovskaya (2020, p. 134) argues, "in most situations, everyday diverse economic practices do not involve political organising and anti-capitalist political action, they nevertheless represent a potential for social transformation", and indeed I argue that drawing inspiration for resistance from the lives of people living in the margins of capitalism and combining it with diverse economies provides a unique endeavour to theorise diverse economic practices as processes of everyday anti-capitalist resistance. As I will argue in the analysis of my findings in chapter 5.3, the combination of these theoretical traditions transcends understandings of everyday resistance within the terrain of capitalism by stimulating imaginings of how economies might be organised after the abolition of

capitalism and thus developing the making of post-capitalist futures. What follows is a methodology chapter.

4 Methodology

This chapter begins by outlining my empirical material and discussing and reflecting on various methodological choices I made during this research process. It is important to emphasise that I understand research as a process in which reflexivity is intertwined with each step. The chapter begins by outlining the research questions. This is followed by a discussion of the collection of empirical material and the process of analysis. The chapter then offers a reflection on some of the key ethical considerations and decisions made in this study, including anonymisation and the use of an interpreter, as well as ethical concerns about research with marginalised groups. This is followed by a discussion of my positionality and a reflection on the categories used in this study. Finally, some limitations to the reliability of this study are provided.

4.1 Research questions

The study discusses and answers the following research questions:

RQ1: What kind of racialised, gendered and classed positionings are produced for women with Middle Eastern backgrounds in the hierarchies of labour in Finland?

RQ2: What kind of diverse economic practices do migrant women engage in, and how do they relate resistance to precarious livelihoods?

Next, I discuss the collection of empirical material used in this study and explain the analysis process step-by-step.

4.2 Collection of empirical material

To address my research questions, I conducted six interviews with women with a background in what I call the 'Middle East' in the Helsinki area and who are permanent residents or Finnish citizens. I used interviews to collect my empirical material because I sought to understand the processes of racialisation labour in public services from the point of view of migrant women arriving from outside the imagined borders of Europe and to explore the diverse economies of migrant women as this has not been done before. As Chandra Mohanty (2003) reminds us, the position of marginalised women in power structures offers an epistemic privilege, and therefore this study draws from the knowledge of my interlocutors in the functioning of public service structures and diverse economies.

Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic and my social location, I had to negotiate my access to speak to my interviewees. Thus, I decided to contact a woman I had seen before presenting at events regarding the labour market participation of migrant women in Finland. She had come to Finland as an asylum seeker and worked for years in different organisations, NGOs, and projects to promote gender equality and the labour market participation of migrant women in Finland, among other things. I thought she might be interested in this study as an 'insider', having experienced forced migration herself and working for years to improve the position of people categorised as migrants in Finland, thus having access to migrant communities.

Even though I had initially contacted her to ask if she would know anyone who could be interested in giving an interview, we got along very well, and she proposed that we collaborate on this study. Thus, we agreed that she would assist me in finding interviewees through her extensive networks and translate when necessary. She had recently established her own association for migrant women and wished to associate her organisation with research-based knowledge production. We then agreed that she could publish the thesis on her organisation's website, utilise the knowledge produced in this study in her daily work and receive credit and recognition for being part of this project. At the time of our collaboration, her organisation did not yet have service users, so all the interviewees were found elsewhere. Although this study will also be published on her organisation's website, we decided to anonymise both the organisation and her in this study to ensure the anonymity of the research subjects.

The plan for the interviewee search was to involve only participants from geographical locations outside of Europe. For example, I decided not to include participants with migrant backgrounds from inside and outside Europe, as this may require an analysis of overlapping processes of migrantisation and racialisation (Tudor, 2018), which is beyond the scope of this research. Thus, an effort was made to find women who have arrived from outside Europe and who had job search experience in Finland and were involved in more uncommon or invisibilised economic practices. In the end, all six participants in this research happened to be women from 'Middle Eastern' backgrounds, as the woman who helped me find interviewees was able to find them through her extensive network and by asking around her acquaintances. She could speak many of the languages of these geographical areas, so there were no language

barriers between them, which made the process of building trust easier between her and the participants. Thus, these women were willing to participate in this study.

The material for the analysis was collected in the latter half of 2023 in the Helsinki area. The interviews lasted between 1 and 3.5 hours, with an average of just over two hours. They took place in the private spaces of libraries or in the private office of the woman who helped me find the interviewees. She fully interpreted two of the six interviews, and another two were partially interpreted, and I conducted the rest in English and/or Finnish.

All interviews were recorded, and participants gave verbal consent on the condition of anonymity, following the University of Helsinki Ethics Board guidelines[5]. The interviewees were also given our contact details. At the beginning of each interview, participants were again informed (i) about the aims of the research, (ii) told that they could withdraw from the study at any stage or ask me not to use some parts of their stories, and (iii) encouraged to answer only the questions they felt comfortable with and to share things they felt relevant. The interviews followed a loose structure and were more like discussions than question-answer type of very structured interviews as we wanted to make the interview atmosphere as comfortable as possible for everyone and allow the women to share stories they wanted to. To construct a more trusting relationship between us, I followed a feminist approach for the interviews (DeVault & Gross, 2012), and therefore, I was open about my life and shared information about, for example, my studies and interests. During the interviews, I also asked if my interviewees would like to share some pictures of their diverse economic practices. It was inspiring to see my interviewees' affective reactions, including excitement and happiness, when they showed the pictures and explained about these activities. This turned out to be a helpful strategy for gaining a more in-depth understanding of their practices through visualization of them and building a more relaxed interview atmosphere.

After the sixth interview, I decided there was enough empirical material to answer my research questions. Whilst the number of interviews was relatively small, the stories of my interviewees were rich and covered many themes of this study in detail, so it was

5 The University of Helsinki Ethics Board does not require an ethical review if the respondents are adults. For Master's theses the ethical assessment is done by the supervisors.

possible to identify recurring patterns and, therefore, justify the saturation of the empirical material. A larger number of interviewees might have allowed a wider conclusion to be drawn for this study, but focusing on the stories of six women enabled longer descriptions and quotes to be used in the analysis of my findings. The recordings of the interviews were transcribed and translated into English by myself. The interview material was stored in the University of Helsinki's cloud in an encrypted folder to which only I had access.

My analysis was based on an abductive approach, which means that I moved back and forth between empirical material and theory throughout the analysis (Van Maanen et al., 2007). This allowed me, for example, to adjust my theoretical approaches, adapt them to the empirical material and modify my interview questions. As an example, although I had initially considered using diverse economies as my main theoretical framework, I ended up using racial capitalism as my leading theory because it seemed to work better for analysing many parts of my interviewees' stories. In fact, after the first interview, I realised that I should adjust my interview questions and ask some more questions about the women's official integration process, as this seemed to play a role in their future living and working prospects.

I used a Word document for my analysis, and the empirical material was analysed using thematic analysis, which refers to the organisation of data according to key themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In practice, the first round of my analysis began with a careful reading of all the material, including interview transcripts, interview notes and memos, highlighting recurring themes. I then moved on to a more detailed round of descriptive coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), after which I began to identify themes conducive to racialisation as a process. These themes included, for example, 'providing language training with different qualities' and 'being restricted to low-paid and language-degrading jobs'. Subsequently, I repeated the same process, only this time reading the empirical material more closely through diverse economies theory and the Black radical tradition. In reference to diverse economies, I exercised the 'reading for difference' technique that invites seeing economic diversity. I identified themes such as 'leaving the degrading treatment of employers and gaining a sense of autonomy and self-defined humanness'.

What followed was that I aggregated the key themes into three categories according to my theoretical approaches. The first two categories of my analysis that I theorised were

in line with the theory of racial capitalism: 'Differentiating language training: devaluation of migrant mothers' labour potential' and 'Generating unfree and non-workers in the Public Employment Agency'. The last category emerged in line with the insides of diverse economies and the Black radical traditions: 'Resisting precarious livelihoods and envisioning non-capitalist futures'. These serve as headings for each sub-chapter in which I present the analysis of my findings in chapter 5.0. In the next chapter, I will outline some of the central ethical considerations in my research process and how I have sought to work through and overcome them.

4.3 Ethics

> "Research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions." – Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012 [1999], p. 5)

One of the ethical concerns with this study relates to the anonymity of my research participants, as the topic of the research is highly sensible, and it turned out that some of the women were involved in socially stigmatised/(il)legalised economic practices. Since the migrant communities are still relatively small in the Helsinki area, it is essential that my interviewees' anonymity is adequately secured. Because of that, I will not disclose exact information and details, considering their backgrounds, as I attempt to ensure that this study does not cause them any harm. I will keep the description of their backgrounds as minimal as possible during the analysis of my findings in chapter 5.0.

Therefore, I have chosen to refer to my interviewees' backgrounds only as Middle Eastern while locating them somewhat based on their geographical location. Almost all of the women interviewed had come to Finland due to forced migration, but some had come due to family reunification. They had diverse family and educational backgrounds. Some had children, some did not; others had spouses, and some divorced. Some had no educational qualifications, and some had higher education qualifications from their country of origin. All of them had started and finished their integration process during the period of the Immigrant Integration Promotion Act (1386/2010), which came into force in 2011. My interviewees were between the ages of twenty and forty at the time of their official integration. While my interviewees had diverse backgrounds, they shared a common position in society, marked by racism and

gender hierarchies. I have also decided to use pseudonyms for the names of my interviewees to ensure their anonymity in the analysis of my findings.

There are also some ethical considerations regarding the use of an interpreter, which in this study was the woman who helped me find the interviewees. First, there is a risk of misinterpretation of research participants. However, without her, the interpreter, this research would not have been possible as I could not have afforded a professional interpreter at this point in my life, and the language barrier would have made it impossible to conduct the interviews. Second, it could be argued that because this study aimed to understand women's perspectives on integration services and their diverse economic activities rather than conducting discourse analysis, the focus was not on interpreting specific wordings. In order to answer my research questions, it was more important to understand the central meanings of the women's stories and, above all, to listen to them, as many of my interviewees expressed their disappointment and sadness during the interviews that people in Finland did not seem to be interested in their lives and concerns. Third, the interpreter and the deconstruction of the language barrier were crucial for my interviewees' consent to this study. Otherwise, there would be a greater risk that participants would not have understood the purpose of the study, how their information would be protected and anonymised, their right to withdraw from the study, etc.

Fourth, having an interpreter who had experienced forced migration to a new country and had gone through the 'integration' process herself enabled us to build a more trusting relationship between the interviewees and ourselves. However, it could be otherwise, as people might feel more comfortable sharing their experiences with someone who is not from their community than with a 'cultural mediator', as some people might fear that their experiences would otherwise be shared with their acquaintances. My interviewees were willing to share their experiences and reflect critically on public services. In fact, it is not evident that migrants are willing to talk about the failures and weaknesses of Finnish services, as in public discourse, they are often expected to be grateful to Finland (Kurki, 2019, p. 61), which may make them reluctant to speak critically about these services for people they have only just met.

Fifth, since the interviewees shared traumatic experiences during the interviews, I believe that the opportunity to talk about these experiences in their mother tongue may have reduced their emotional labour. However, sharing traumatic experiences not only

with me but also with an interpreter who had experienced traumatic events raised another ethical concern. Hearing about other people's traumas could have triggered unbearable feelings for the interpreter. It was, therefore, vital that we checked each other's feelings and well-being after the interviews.

Furthermore, there were some ethical concerns about reproducing colonial research methods throughout the research process. Although the condition of my interviewees' agreement to participate in this study was the protection of their anonymity, ergo I used pseudonyms, this risks obscuring the fact that without my interviewees and their stories, their valuable time and their courage to share difficult and traumatic experiences, this research would not have been possible. Inevitably, in my view, using pseudonyms and anonymisation runs the risk of obscuring the effort and emotional labour that my interviewees went through to make this study possible and rather gives me credit for new knowledge production, as I am the only one who speaks with my name.

These concerns stem from the knowledge that there is a long history of colonial research practices in which the researcher was claimed to have a 'view from nowhere', to be an objective bystander speaking from locus zero, while in fact contributing to processes of 'othering' research subjects by representing them in dehumanising ways (Grosfoguel, 2009; Smith, 2012 [1999]; Castillo, 2023). Here, I have sought to challenge this kind of research methodologies and processes of othering.

Furthermore, research on marginalised groups has been justified by claims of 'giving a voice' to research subjects, which has led to misinterpretation and the extraction of knowledge from research participants without improving the material conditions of their communities (Smith, 2012 [1999]). Admittedly, throughout this research, I have struggled with feelings of discomfort, frustration and even guilt at the idea that this research will have no (immediate) material impact on my interviewees' lives. Reflecting on these uncomfortable feelings has given greater significance to the decision to collaborate in this research with a woman who works in practice to improve the lives of migrant women in Finland, as I hope that the findings of this research can potentially be shared more widely and used in practice. As for the knowledge produced in this study, following Sara Ahmed's (2000) thinking, I have thought of this study as an ethical encounter in which I have listened to my interviewees to the best of my ability, but the knowledge produced was my interpretation of their knowledge. In other words,

the knowledge produced in this study is only one of the partial truths and a situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988). What follows is a reflection on positionality, categorical dilemmas and methodological nationalism.

4.4 Positionality, categorisations and beyond methodological nationalism

With reference to the previous chapter, knowledge is always situated, so it is important to understand my positionality in the power structures from which the partial knowledge of this study is articulated. Both my interviewees and I are situated differently in social hierarchies due to systems of power such as class background, 'race', ethnicity, and nationality, and these different positionalities have influenced the research process. Rather than focusing on the similarities and differences between our positionalities, I follow Yasmin Guranatman's (2003 cited in Keskinen 2022) work on political connectivity. That is the call to acknowledge the differences between myself and the research participants while trying to bridge the distance between us and find points of connectivity. This is an attempt to avoid reproducing the positionality statements that enumerate one's privileges concerning the research participants, which runs the risk of re-centring whiteness by focusing on the researcher while victimising the participants.

The analytical distinction between social and epistemic location articulated by Ramon Grosfoguel (2009) is a helpful way of thinking about points of (dis)connectivity that goes beyond identities. Social location refers to the position in social hierarchies. However, being located on the oppressed side of the power structure does not automatically indicate that one is critical of systems of power, since "the success of the modern/colonial world-system consists in making subjects that are socially located on the oppressed side of the colonial difference, think epistemically like the ones in the dominant positions" (Grosfoguel, 2009, p. 14).

Epistemic location refers to theoretical standpoints (or knowledge produced in praxis, e.g., in social struggles). This suggests that one can be critical of modern/colonial knowledge despite being located on the privileged side of the power structure. Furthermore, Suvi Keskinen (2022, p. 29) has added a political location that refers to political commitments as an additional starting point for the search for (dis)connectivities in the research process. The analytical distinction between social, epistemic and political locations is a useful here since it allows finding points of

connectivity between myself and the research participants even if our social locations are quite different.

My social location as a white woman from academia in Finland became evident in the search for interviewees, as I did not know many people from migrant communities in Finland, and gaining access to interviewees and deconstructing language barriers was not an easy process, as I have already discussed in chapters 4.2 and 4.3. However, during the interviews, my 'outsiderness' was deconstructed by the friendliness of my interviewees, who were welcoming and willing to explain the inner workings of official integration procedures. Even though I had tried to learn about these services online, my interviewees knew more about them as they had gone through the integration procedures themselves. Thus, the difference in nationality and class background not only created a separation between us but also, in my view, deconstructed the assumption that I, as a researcher, would automatically be the 'expert' on Finnish services.

Another clear point of connectivity between us was our epistemic location, as in this study, I have chosen to theorise from critical theoretical traditions rather than traditions that would help maintain the status quo. My interviewees were also critical of discourses related to migrant women's unemployment and the questioning of what is understood as important and valuable economic activities, which elucidates their epistemic location. Indeed, the topic of my research, as I was interested in women's diverse economic practices, was a point of connectivity as we all thought that diverse economic activities had been invisible in political debates in Finland.

There were also moments of disconnection and connection co-occurring because, on the one hand, I had not anticipated how saddened I would be by some of the stories the women shared with me, which I feel is partly indicative of my privileged social location as I have never gone through such injustice. On the other hand, my feelings also arose from empathy for them and the injustices these women had experienced, creating a link between our political locations committed to deconstructing processes that perpetuate inequalities.

In addition to reflecting on positionality, important ethical discussions in anti-racist scholarship relate to methodological nationalism and whiteness, as well as reflecting on the categorisations used in research and how they reproduce and deconstruct

racialisation. It is widely recognised that within migration studies there is a self-evident focus on the nation-state and migrants as the unit of analysis, which simultaneously essentialises the social category of migrant and contributes to the association of negative connotations with people from migrant backgrounds (Anderson, 2019). Migration research has tended to overlook wider social hierarchies within societies and to examine the 'integration' of migrants, or the perceived lack of it, as disconnected from these systems of oppression (Amelia, 2022). To overcome these flows, the unit of analysis has shifted, for example, to examining the processes in different places that produce 'migrant' subjectivities, hence the verb (im)migrantisation (Kurki, 2019; Anderson, 2019).

Here, my focus is on processes of racialisation and its interplay with class and gender as my interviewees were not divided (only) along the lines of citizen/non-citizens. Though racialisation and (im)migrantisation overlap, they should not be seen as the same phenomenon in an analytical sense as this risk conflating nationality and class discrimination with that of racialisation, which risks making somatic aspects of the body irrelevant for racism and racialisation although class privilege does not protect 'non-white bodies' from racism (Tudor, 2018). For example, visible minorities and black bodies are excluded from the national belonging encoded in whiteness in the Nordic countries even if they are working in academia, which indicates that their class privilege, in this case, cultural capital, is not protecting them from racialisation as they can not escape the somatic aspects of the body (Hübinette & Mählck, 2016).

In an effort to move beyond methodological nationalism (i.e. the focus of analysis on the welfare state (Amelina, 2022; Anderson, 2019), I employed theoretical approaches from other disciplinary traditions that transcend methodological nationalism (and methodological whiteness[6]), such as the theory of racial capitalism, which links my analysis to the neoliberal capitalism that affects many people. That is, there have been calls to shift the focus of analysis to the population as a whole (Anderson, 2019), so some parts of my analysis of processes of differentiation, for example in the Public Employment Agency in the following chapter 5.2, recognizes that these processes affect

[6] The concept was developed to challenge sociological analyses that tend to see class as a neutral economic category rather than as racially (and gender specific ways) stratified and constituted (Bhambra, 2017)

multiple positions - migrants and unemployed citizens alike (albeit to a greater extent those racialised as non-white subject).

However, since my focus is on processes of differentiation, I use the social category of migrant while being mindful of the problems with it. In my analysis, I try to refer to my interlockers by other identities or labels. Another justification for using it is that my interviewees used the category to refer to themselves, so I interpret this to mean that they complied with the categorisation defined by the norms of Finnish society. Another terminology I will use throughout my study is 'racialised as non-white'. Rather than just using 'non-white', I want to emphasise the process of racialisation. In addition, I refer to 'non-white' because whiteness is itself a racialised category as racialisation is a relational process (Garner, 2007), ergo the 'non-white'. I also use the term 'Middle East' or 'Middle Eastern' to protect the anonymity of my interviewees, although I am aware that this is not a neutral term, as it is associated with the 'Orient', which was constructed during colonial processes vis-à-vis the 'Occident' (Said, 1972). Next, I discuss some limitations to the reliability of this study.

4.5 Limitations

It could be argued that one limitation of this study is the relatively small sample size. There are many migrant diasporas and communities in Finland with varying backgrounds and experiences of public services and different economic practices. This study cannot capture the heterogeneity of experiences and serve as a representative of the experiences of larger groups of migrant populations in Finland. However, the purpose of a qualitative study is not to generalise to a larger population but to generalise and contribute to a theory that has a wider scope.

The risk of biased sampling must be acknowledged, as I did not personally select the interviewees. I only met the interviewees in the interview situation after they had established a relationship with a woman who was helping me, even if only over the phone. There is a possibility then that the sample was composed of women whose stories were seen by the women who helped me as the ones we should hear, and therefore other important stories and viewpoints were not heard. Additionally, there may have been some misinterpretations in the translation, but as I could not understand the discussion, the misunderstanding may have remained. Furthermore, as most of the interviewees were in a precarious situation and some were depressed at

the time of the interviews, they may have been more likely to express and emphasise their negative experiences of public services.

Having provided an overview of the methodological choices made in this study, I will now transition to the analysis of my findings in the following chapter.

5 The differential production of labour and diverse economies as a form of resistance to precarious livelihoods

This chapter presents the analysis of my findings, focusing on the processes of labour differentiation in integration and public employment services, and the resistance of precarious livelihoods through diverse economies. In the first two chapters, I examine the processes of labour differentiation, and in the last chapter, I analyse diverse economies as processes of resistance of women in precarious labour market positions.

5.1 Differentiating language training: devaluation of migrant mothers' labour potential

Gargi Bhattacharyya (2018) argues that racialising processes create differential access to economic resources and unequal life prospects by dividing people into hierarchies of labour. In this research, I examine the ways in which language training within the Finnish integration procedure works as processes of racialised, classed and gendered differentiation of labour, producing differential living and working prospects for migrant women. I present three processes of labour differentiation in language training: (i) ignoring the gendered division of labour within families, (ii) providing language training with different qualities, and (iii) neglecting to provide advice about available options for mothers without prior education. The first process functions as a process of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour, the second works as a process of racialised differentiation, whereas the third operates through all three as a racialised, gendered and classed differentiation of labour.

It is important for my analysis to briefly recap the Act on the Promotion of Integration of Immigrants (1386/2010), as it was in force during the integration process of my interviewees. The main responsibility for integration work lies with TE services in Finland, and the Public Social Services are responsible for those outside the labour market. Integration work involves drawing up an integration plan with the client, who is obliged to follow it. As a minimum, integration support measures require the Finnish authorities to provide information about Finnish society, but other integration support measures are discretionary.

Through my analysis of processes of differentiation, I will show that the Act is counterproductive to improving the language skills and employment of migrant mothers, as I will soon illustrate that the processes of language training create

differential access to language training among migrants and thus unequal future living and working prospects between them. Because of Finland's gendered and racially segmented labour market, women's language skills are seen to matter if they are to be employed in the service and care sectors (Larja, 2019, p. 40; Näre & Nordberg, 2016, p. 23).

One way in which language training functions as a process of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour is through Finnish authorities' ignorance of the gendered division of labour within families. My interviewee, Ariana, was a highly educated woman who had worked in her country of origin before being forced to migrate to Finland. She was determined to study and learn the language but had not been able to access language learning due to various constraints, as she explains:

> "For many years, I was only at home and could not attend integration training, and I could not be a client of the TE office because I was on maternity leave. My husband was able to start integration training straight away, and then when the first child was grown up enough, the next child was born. And at that point, my husband went to vocational school, and I had to stay at home to look after the child, and I didn't know any Finnish, and I couldn't take part in integration training because I had two small children [...] If I had close relatives nearby who could take part in childcare, I would definitely take part in integration training and a Finnish language course. But I didn't have any close relatives or friends and I didn't get any help from anyone, and my husband didn't take part in childcare, so I had to take care of the children all the time." (Interpreted: Ariana)

My interviewees recognised the gendered differentiation, and they felt it was unfair that spouses had access to the services of employment agencies while Ariana, for example, had to stay at home for several years. Women, both those born in Finland and those with a migrant background, continue to carry the responsibility for childcare (Elomäki et al., 2020). What makes the situation of migrant women more difficult is that they often do not have relatives or other social networks to help with childcare due to their migration to a new country (Fossland 2013, p. 279).

Thus, the inattention of integration services to the unequal division of childcare within families illustrates colour and gender blindness in Finland. That is, the Finnish welfare state, based on the idea of universal redistribution of services, denies the reality of race by failing to address the difficulties migrant women face in a new country. This confirms previous empirical findings that migrant women with a so-called Middle Eastern background find it difficult to obtain support and assistance from the Finnish

authorities in situations where the spouse's behaviour limits the women's participation in society and contact with other people (Keskinen, 2011, p. 378).

Many of my interviewees expressed their concern about language deficiency, which could hinder their participation in the labour market. Hence, the failure to consider that some of the mothers would prefer to start learning the language after arriving in Finland rather than staying at home to look after their children (Nordberg, 2015) demonstrates the unequal conditions of migrant women. Just as the abolitionist Sojourner Truth famously asked, 'Ain't I a woman', adding nuance to hegemonic understandings of womanhood and demanding recognition of the unequal conditions of African American women (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 77), I claim that ignoring the unequal division of care work within migrant families today raises the same question, as migrant women's issues and interests are invisibilised by service providers, even though these women have barely any Finnish language skills to find child care assistance in the first place.

To be clear, this is not to argue in favour of state intervention against migrant women and their families, as there are many examples of repressive state intervention, such as the bans on niqab and burka in many European countries such as Denmark and France. These legal interventions have reinforced racist stereotypes of migrant/Muslim families as patriarchal, silenced women's voices and explanations for wearing the niqab and burka, and served to glorify 'Western' nations as allegedly gender-equal countries (e.g. Bilge, 2010).

Rather, I insist on taking into account the lack of care networks that newcomers often have in a new country so that the state should consider the different starting points of these mothers. Currently, the Finnish authorities' ignorance of the gendered division of labour serves to resurrect migrant women as natural carers and legitimises the unequal distribution of social reproductive labour to them, which is a necessary condition for capitalism to reproduce itself (Federichi, 1975; Federichi, 2012; Mies, 1986; Vogel, 2000). It thus shows a process of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour that normalises and legitimises an unequal division of care work, making it possible to extract value from the productive labour of spouses, while women's social reproductive labour maintains the means of subsistence of the whole family, that is, caring for children and enabling spouses to enter the services. This process allows for

unequal participation in language learning between the genders, resulting in different future living and working prospects between them.

Another way in which the production and management of racialised differentiation of labour becomes tangible is through the institutional division in the provision of language services, creating access to quality services only for women without children. The following quote by Ariana describes how the language training provided for mothers by the third sector was not considered to be of high quality, whereas the experiences from language training in TE services were better according to those interviewees who had access to them:

> "Yes, a course was suggested to me, it was a mother-child course where each mother could go once a week with her child to learn Finnish, but the teaching couldn't really be perfect because everyone had their own children and they were crying and wanting attention and it was really hard to concentrate on learning the language. But I tried my best to take part." (Interpreted: Ariana)

The above extract resembles Jaana Vuori's (2012) arguments that the institutional division in the provision of integration services makes mothers of young children a special group of adults: language training offered in TE services are organised and supervised by the labour market authorities, while integration services for mothers are organised by the social authorities and provided by the third sector. NGOs are seen as secondary in society, i.e. they are often poorly resourced, their projects are short-term and they often work on a voluntary basis (Tuori, 2009).

I extend this by arguing that differential access to services between migrant women, i.e. between those with young children and those without, reflects the core logic of the racial welfare state and how it attempts to serve the interests of capitalism: those whose potential as workers is recognised and who are expected to move quickly into productive work are entitled to better resources and services. When this logic of racialised differentiation of population is applied to language training, migrant mothers with small children, who do not appear to be as profitable for capitalist production, are denied the right to services with better resources.

These processes then fragment the working class by (re)producing migrant women without young children as deserving because they are expected to be soon profit generating for the Finnish economy. Their 'deservingness' for services is articulated

through the notion that they do not have children who might interfere with the extraction of labour value, and they are, therefore, seen as desirable future workers. In Finland, for example, Filipino nurses are produced as a desirable (if exploitable and disposable) workforce because they often arrive without families due to a high-income family reunion level, allowing the state to valorise them as low-paid labour and save costs by not caring for the reproduction of their families (Näre & Wide, 2022, p. 12).

The production of 'difference' then serves a strategic function by normalising and reinforcing the growing neoliberal rationale in Finland that defines human value in terms of labour market contribution (Brown, 2015) and entrenched racial division between people in the working class. These services maintain privileges for some groups while excluding others, thus fragmenting solidarity between these groups that assists in maintaining the racial order. Thereby, offering different levels of language training to women in different family situations illustrates a process of racialised differentiation of labour that deprives mothers of higher quality services, even though most of them were not satisfied with staying at home with young children, but would have wanted to learn the language and seek employment if not for these constraints.

Language training also functioned as a racialised, classed and gendered process of labour differentiation by neglecting to provide information about available language training options to mothers without prior education. Zahra would have liked the opportunity to combine language learning with childcare, as she spent the first three years after arriving in Finland looking after her kid at home. Before her forced migration to Finland, she had been primarily a mother. Despite wanting to study the language, she did not have access to any language services while she was looking after her child - not even the services provided by the third sector. She was very lonely, isolated at home and suffered from depression. In the interview, Zahra described her experience as follows:

> "When Finland was a completely foreign country, I didn't know our rights or what belonged to us and how we should have proceeded in order to be integrated more quickly into society, and all this also contributed to the fact that I couldn't participate actively [...] If I had received the necessary information and support to learn Finnish despite being a mother and taking care of the children, I don't think I would have suffered from depression." (Interpreted: Zahra)

Women without prior education will likely need extra support and time to learn the language. Even so, the Finnish authorities had not offered Zahra any services, which implies that the Finnish authorities did not fulfil the minimum requirements of the Integration Act: providing information about Finnish society, integration, rights and opportunities. The lack of information about the options available suggests that the authorities are not concerned about the integration of uneducated women who self-identify as mothers and are, therefore, not available for paid and supposedly more productive work.

In this way, the inattention of the Finnish authorities revives racist stereotypes of mothers as some who would not be interested in language learning, even though childcare and language learning are not necessarily mutually exclusive (more on this in a moment). This means that migrant mothers 'cultural' distance is (re)produced based on presumed 'backwardness' (Said, 1978), which implies that mothers without prior education are not seen as active and progressive enough to be interested in studying according to the standards of 'Western' civilisation. Zahra was active and interested in many things: in addition to childcare in her country of origin, she had baked for celebrations and sewn when she wanted because childcare was organised among a more comprehensive network of trusted relatives rather than based on the nuclear family model standard in welfare states, including Finland (Vuori, 2012, pp. 243–244).

The missing support about available language training options, thus, suggests that if mothers want to get access to language training, they are expected to conform to the white normativity of Finnish society and demonstrate productive womanhood: to assimilate to the dual-earner model, which symbolises gender equality (Keskinen et al., 2009); to work in a productive job, which indicates successful integration (Keskinen et al., 2012; Lehtovaara, 2022); and to bring children(s) to universal public childcare in their early age, which suggest good parenting (Kurronen, 2021). This argument is supported by the persistent proposal by OECD (2018) and politicians to remove the home care allowance[7] as a solution to improve the employment of migrant women (Lehtovaara, 2022, p. 15).

[7] What makes this proposal only a partial solution is the fact that it overlooks the gendered and racially stratified labour market, which often consists of shift work; women's responsibilities and workloads in unpaid domestic work

By failing to provide language learning opportunities for these women, the state perpetuates racism by disregarding women's desire to care for their children, devaluing their unpaid reproductive labour and neglecting the additional support that uneducated women may need. It demonstrates a process of racialised, gendered and classed differentiation of labour that conveys the notion that mothers are not entitled to language services and resources as long as they wish to raise and care for their children at home since staying at home is in stark contrast to the productive womanhood of 'Finnishness'. Most fundamentally, this process suggests that racialised women without prior education are not considered worthy of integration services because their employment is seen as far ahead, which means that the state withdraws services and thus saves resources (at least in the short term).

Cases such as Zahra's contradict previous empirical findings that have shown that migrant women who were not involved in productive work and instead focused on caring for their children still managed to build important social networks and learn the Finnish language (Davydova, 2012). My findings support contrasting findings that point to mothers' isolation when they do not have access to language learning during their integration process (Lehtovaara & Säppi, 2021). Some of my interviewees were isolated from society, diagnosed with depression as old unresolved traumas and loneliness weighed on their minds, and these women eventually attempted suicide.

The analysis I have presented shows that language training works as processes of racialisation that intersect with gender and class-based inequalities, producing differential access to language training for migrants of different genders, family situations, preferences and educational backgrounds. This shows that these processes in language training produce and organise hierarchies between migrants, providing them with unequal access to study the Finnish language, which makes some of them more disadvantaged than others vis-a-vis white Finns. Not having access to quality or any language training signifies not having one's (labour) power and potential recognised, demonstrating that language training processes work on the basis of people's assumed labour potential.

---

despite their participation in paid work; women's own desire to care for children at home; and the fact that women may have several young children who are too young to be placed in full-time public childcare.

The variation between women's personal situations, interests and desires points to the necessity of personalised services that take into account the intersecting differences between mothers and also respect their own wishes so that childcare support is available in all cases, whether you are at home because of a lack of help from your spouse or other family members, or because you want it. As Suvi Keskinen (2012) argues, while it is essential to address the gendered division of labour within families, promoting equality in families would require addressing the colour blindness of the Finnish welfare state and taking into account the many intersecting differences so that the specific needs of migrant women are considered and met by services, thereby also avoiding the perpetuation of racist discourses of violent 'migrant families' (Tuori, 2009). The lack of such care infrastructure underlines that your entitlement to resources and services remains sealed as long as you are unavailable for productive work for various reasons or constraints.

The resulting differentiation predetermines future racialisation because speaking Finnish gives you a better chance of getting a job and looking after your own rights, which gives you economic and social security. People without language skills are made vulnerable to exploitation at home and in the labour market. Although language training is supposed to target vulnerable groups such as migrant mothers and improve their language skills and, thus, life and work prospects, it rather entrenches the racial division between them and other migrants and 'white' Finns, which maintains the wages of whiteness and fragment solidarity between workers.

The lack of much-needed support that could enhance women's sense of belonging and employment prospects is likely to serve the interests of increasing anti-migrant agenda linked to welfare chauvinism, as this agenda exploits the racist discourse about migrant mothers as a welfare burden on Finnish society (Keskinen, 2023). At the same time, becoming a client of the Public Employment Agency can lead to the reproduction of precarious and vulnerable labour. In the next subchapter, I examine the processes of differentiation of labour once migrants become clients of the Public Employment Agency.

5.2 Generating unfree labour and non-workers in the Public Employment Agency

Recent scholarly work on racial capitalism has shown that migration policies and activation measures mediate labour differences based on neoliberal ideas of human

capital and racial hierarchies (Černušáková, 2021; Frydenlund & Cullen Dunn, 2022; Krivonos, 2023; Maaroufi, 2022; Näre & Wide, 2022). In this chapter, I see the Public Employment Agency in Finland (i.e. TE service) as one of the places where the production, management and organisation of work along racialised, gendered and classed lines is put into practice. In the first part of this chapter, I focus on measures such as compulsory job search and on-the-job language training, through which I analyse processes of labour differentiation in TE services that produce unfree workers: (i) confining to low-paid and language-degrading jobs and (ii) unrecognising the differences between ways of living. The first process works as a process of racialised differentiation of labour, and the second acts as a process of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour. Finally, I demonstrate a racialised process of labour differentiation in TE services that produces 'non-workers': (iii) providing differential access to services.

Before I begin my analysis, I will briefly recapitulate how the procedures work once migrants become clients of TE services. The labour market authorities are obliged to assist migrants with their future steps, and these are recorded in the migrant's personal integration plan or, if the integration period has ended, in personal unemployment plans. Job search requires unemployed people to prove to TE services that they are actively seeking a job. On-the-job language training usually lasts four weeks, during which migrants are introduced to the Finnish labour market and the spoken language. Migrants usually have to find a workplace to do the training themselves, but the teachers of their language course occasionally assist them. Both measures are intended to improve migrants' future prospects: practical language training is supposed to improve migrants' language skills, and job search requirements are meant to increase migrants' participation in the labour market. My analysis demonstrates that the official measures appear to be contrary in improving migrants' future prospects and access to economic resources.

One way in which processes of racialised differentiation of labour function in TE services is through on-the-job training, by confining migrant women to low-paid and language-degrading positions in workplaces and, thus, producing migrant women as 'unfree labour'. My interviewee Layla, a highly educated woman, started learning Finnish in the TE services almost right after arriving in Finland. She had no children, so she was entitled to these services. Her language training included one month of on-

the-job language training in a shipping company. As she describes it, she did not learn to speak the language during her training: *"Nobody was talking to anybody else. Everybody was just doing their own thing."* Similarly, my interviewee Ariana, who had spent the first years of her integration looking after her children at home, started learning Finnish in the TE services immediately after taking her children into full-time public childcare. She was one of these highly educated women whose access to services was already behind due to childcare obligations. Her language training included two periods of practical language training in the workplace. Both times, she worked in different grocery stores and spent the whole day stocking the goods. During her training, she did not have time to practice speaking the language, as she describes:

> "Because it was a more physical job, so there was not much time to talk, but I tried to talk to colleagues and customers [...] Most of them were Finnish and did not want to talk much, but at lunchtime when I started talking they would join in, but they never started a conversation". (Interpreted: Ariana)

My interviewees' quotes confirm previous empirical findings that have focused on migrants' experiences of language learning 'on-the-job', as migrants are often assigned to tasks without company to talk to and their 'white' colleagues have been reluctant to talk to them during work or breaks (Korhonen, 2014; Leino, 2012). I extend this by arguing that on-the-job language training functions as a process of racialised differentiation of labour, enabling the valorisation of migrant women as low-paid and unfree workers.

As I mentioned, on-the-job language training is justified on the basis of the hegemonic discourse that integrating migrants is synonymous with orienting them towards the labour market, and on-the-job language training supposedly serves this purpose by improving migrants' language skills. This aim, however, was not achieved because of the manual nature of the work tasks and because everyone focused on their tasks, ignoring the fact that the women were there to learn the language. My interviewees had little choice but to complete their language training at their workplaces in order to receive unemployment benefits, as they had obediently followed the recommendations of the Finnish authorities, and these measures were included in their integration plan. These measures then limited their 'freedom of choice', while they did not receive any other payments from their work, as it is supposed to be a trade-off between work and language learning. In this way, such measures seem encouraged while concealing their profit-making effects. The channelling of migrants into low-paid and racialised

positions where they neither need nor acquire Finnish language skills, while value is extracted from their cheap labour provides evidence that on-the-job language training can be seen as a form of expropriation for the operation of capitalist production.

Also, job search obligations of TE service work as a process of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour through unrecognising different ways of living and thus producing 'unfree labour'. The following story of Ariana illustrates that job search requirements act as coercive activation measures that make visible racist assumptions about migrant women as people who are unwilling to work and need to be constantly activated to apply for a job (Farris, 2017; Krivonos, 2019; Nordberg, 2015; Rajas, 2012; Maaroufi, 2022).

After the on-the-job language training, my interviewee, Ariana, was determined not to work in grocery shops or similar manual jobs in the future and had started studying business in vocational training with a view to eventually becoming self-employed. At the TE office, they had been skeptical about her getting into studies and recommended her to begin applying for a job instead. Ariana was not convinced about the job search, as she suspected that it would, at best, lead to a job at the bottom of the labour hierarchy. They told Ariana that she would not have to apply for jobs so often if she was admitted to study. She was also told that she was not entitled to student allowance because it was self-study in a programme for migrants, for which unemployment benefits should be paid. She applied and managed to get in, but then she received a letter at home demanding her to continue to apply for a job four times every two months, as the following quote describes the situation:

> "At the moment I apply for four jobs every two months [...] Because it's an obligation, I apply for jobs. But I still think, how am I going to manage in practice if I get a job while I'm studying from 8 am to 4 pm and then I'm with the kids? How am I going to manage? [...] It's so pointless and frustrating knowing that I'm not going to find a job, especially when I'm still studying, and I don't even have the time, so why do I have to apply? I also wonder why she [TE Office specialist] has written more than what we originally agreed." (Interpreted: Ariana)

The coercive activation imposed on Ariana indicates that her motivation was not recognised in the TE services but rather that she had to be constantly oriented towards the labour market, even though she was committed to her studies. These measures follow the logic of the workfare regime, where the main obstacle to participation in the

labour market is seen as a lack of effort and motivation (Kananen, 2012; Peck, 2001; Raffass, 2017).

In addition to her studies, Ariana made art, which she tried to sell to improve her financial situation. Her artwork, however, was not considered productive labour in TE services, and instead, she was told to continue searching for work, as the following quote illustrates:

> "I went to the TE office and explained and showed them what I do. And the specialist was happy and wrote it down in the system, but then I didn't hear anything and then I was told to apply for four jobs every two months [...] If I can't work in the arts but have to be a cashier or a shop assistant somewhere, that worries me." (Interpreted: Ariana)

This confirms previous empirical evidence that activities undertaken by unemployed people to improve their employment chances to escape the 'liminal space' are often considered insufficient or the wrong type of activity by the TE service and can even lead to the withdrawal of benefits (Näre & Näre, 2022). However, Ariana was not unemployed; she was a full-time student, yet she was obliged to continue looking for work. This illustrates that coercive activation is explicitly targeted at migrant women in Finland because it must be interpreted against the backdrop of the increasing racialised stigma of migrant women as unemployed welfare burdens (Keskinen, 2023), which is intertwined with the hegemonic discourse of integration as equivalent to employment (Keskinen et al., 2012; Lehtovaara, 2022). In this case, the result is a coercive activation imposed on migrant women, who, even if they are full-time students, perform unpaid reproductive work and other economic practices, are not seen as demonstrating an active, self-responsible and self-regulated lifestyle but as in need of motivation.

Thus, I argue that their presumed lack of motivation is racially articulated, even though the unemployed citizens are also subjected to these coercive measures. That is to say, women positioned as migrants become the target of repressive workfare because they are not seen as contributing to the welfare state, but even more so because they are not seen as belonging to a white community of Finns. This means that in times of an eroding welfare state and competition for resources, the racial welfare state maintains the privileges of white fractions of the unemployed by imposing more repressive policies on migrant women. This is supported by the reality of unequal positions in power structures that make it more difficult for migrant women to navigate the

workfare infrastructure. In fact, it was difficult for Ariana to challenge the obligatory job search requirements because of her lack of language skills. Ariana was initially told that she would need to apply for jobs less often as she was a full-time student, not unemployed, as she said: *"I also wonder why she [TE Office specialist] has written more than what we originally agreed"*.

The coercive activation fails to recognise the different ways of making a living, thus, producing women as unfree labour. This is to say that fulfilling the obligations of the reciprocal unemployment benefit (i.e. recipients are required to look for work and accept the job offered in order to receive the substitutes) can be understood as 'work' itself, albeit on very different terms from formal employment. As Gibson-Graham and colleagues argue (2019, p. 89), "the boundaries between different forms of work are not clear or static". As an example, they refer to reciprocal social security, which requires claimants to fulfil their obligations in order to receive their benefits and, therefore, demands them to 'work' in order to receive their payments.

Following this logic, I apply it to reciprocal unemployment benefits, which also require recipients to work for their benefits. Ariana had to 'work', which means she continued to look for a job while studying full time and looking after her children on her own. She felt that searching for work was more of a waste of interest and time, as it would have been impossible to combine formal employment with full-time study (8 am-16 pm), childcare and art making. Her dream was to make a living from art, so she would have preferred to spend her spare time making and selling art and saving from it.

The coercive activation measures, i.e. the job search obligations, which are articulated based on racialised configurations of migrant women's 'unproductiveness', are functioning as processes of racialised differentiation of labour. That is, they produce unfree workers by restricting women's freedom to choose how to improve their position in labour hierarchies (i.e. study, sell art, etc.) and by limiting their time for unpaid reproductive labour. As Gargi Bhattacharyya (2018, p. 65) reminds us, processes of racialised differentiation provide unequal access to economic resources and jeopardise the sphere of social reproduction, in this case, by limiting women's autonomy to use their time for diverse economic practices.

Of course, it can be argued that there is no such thing as free labour in the absolute sense since wage-capital relations always restrict people's freedom to some extent.

However, these job search requirements appear to be counterproductive in improving women's position in the labour market. Thus, while job search requirements may not at first appear to be a form of capitalist dispossession, I argue that by restricting women's freedom to engage in other economic practices, they demonstrate an ongoing process of appropriation of racialised labour power by attempting to confine it to low-paid and precarious work, as well as work that does not correspond to aspirations of migrants. Drawing on Gibson-Graham and Dombroski (2020), I argue that search obligations entrench the hegemony of capitalism because they only recognise monetised and productive labour, making it more challenging to rupture capitalism, to recognise pre-existing forms of non-capitalist practices and to imagine alternative economies. My interpretation of the production of unfree labour in TE services is in line with the current conjuncture of racial capitalism in Finland, where migrants' labour is envisaged as a solution to labour shortages in low-paid and female-dominated sectors (Himanen & Könönen, 2010; Kurki et al., 2019; Näre, 2013).

Finally, I argue that differential access to services is an illustration of a process of racial differentiation of labour that produces 'non-workers'. Many of my interviewees were ultimately deprived of inclusion in all services, and their activation of the labour market was minimal. My interviewee, Fatima, had found herself in a situation where she could not access the services that were supposed to be available to her. She was a highly educated woman with a long history of forced migration. She had quit her vocational training in Finland due to unexpected physical health problems that arose during her studies. Despite a medical certificate, she had to continue to apply for a job. After her health improved, she was motivated to find employment and urgently needed help from TE services as she struggled to find a job, further education or other training opportunities. Despite asking for help, she was not offered any and was told to keep applying for jobs, as the following quote illustrates:

> "All they keep saying is that you have to go out and find out for yourself what opportunities are available to me. But if I don't even have the language skills, how can they expect me to go out and find out about all these things [...] [After the illness] I was their client and I was ready to accept work and every six months they contact me and say that I am unemployed and then again for six months even when I apply for work I am unemployed. So I've spoken to the employee of the TE office twice, but nothing has come of it. No language training, no job, no vocational training [...] I have applied for different [jobs]. Especially for the kind of work I know, but I never got an interview. [...] I think the TE office does not have enough resources. It's

> really hard to reach them and get answers from them and it's like all the pressure is on me and I don't know what to do."(Interpreted: Fatima)

Fatima's quote ruptures the hegemonic discourse on integration (i.e. integration equals labour market participation (Keskinen et al., 2012; Lehtovaara, 2022) by suggesting that the lack of services offered to her is indicative of racism. This means that she was aware that she was not being given a fair and equal opportunity to 'integrate' as she was not being provided with services to assist her in finding employment.

What makes the situation all the more complicated is that it was a common experience of my interviewees, with or without Finnish educational degrees or language skills, that they could not find a job despite sending several applications, even on the same day. As my interviewee, Layla, who possessed a Finnish vocational degree in business, pointed out: *"I was sending out 10-15 [job applications] a day, and I was so tired of it"*. This provides some evidence of structural racism in recruitment and confirms previous research which has shown the irrelevance of personal qualifications in finding a job, pointing instead to the salience of the applicant's name and mother tongue, suggesting that access to formal work is organised along racial lines (Ahmad, 2020). Men of African or West Asian origin, in particular, have experienced racism in recruitment (Ahmad, 2020), but so have women from diverse backgrounds arriving from outside the imagined borders of Europe (Lehtovaara, 2021).

Getting out of precariousness, therefore, seems to be particularly difficult for migrant women who have dropped out of services and who would urgently need help in identifying opportunities to improve their chances of finding work, as they would not be able to do so on their own due to language deficiencies. This demonstrates that inclusion in services and activation that could improve one's situation is unequal between people. As Mouna Maaroufi (2022, p. 6) argues, people with "most promising and proximate labor market potential are granted more resources than others who are already disadvantaged due to their class, gender, race, and nationality", meaning that some people are seen as more capable of producing value and, thus, deserving of activation. In this instance, I claim Fatima's sudden health problems, which forced her to quit her studies, and her poor language skills seem to suggest to the Finnish authorities that she is no longer worthy of services and activation, as it takes too long to realise her profit-generating effects for the Finnish welfare state. The TE service then relies on and reproduces racial divisions and saves resources by withdrawing services

that could improve women's position in the labour market, instead paying them unemployment benefits that barely cover their basic needs.

Fatima's lack of language skills appeared to further entrench her racialisation (Seikkula & Hortelano, 2021, p. 148) in the TE office and signify her failure to demonstrate motivation i.e.' self-responsibilisation' (Brown, 2015), as the following quote suggest:

> "A few days ago I got a call from the TE office and they asked me why I still can't speak Finnish after *** years. I asked [the TE office specialist] are you ready to listen? No, she wasn't. Sometimes, I feel that we are not as valuable as the Finns." (interpreted: Fatima)

Unlike some of my other interviewees who were still studying and imposed on coercive activation, Fatima was deprived of services once and for all. Thus, providing differential access to services and activation illustrates a process of racialised differentiation of labour, which produces 'non-workers' who are no longer deserving of services. As Gargi Bhattacharyya (2018) argues, people involved in wage-capital relations are relatively privileged today because 'non-workers' struggle the most to reproduce their lives.

My interviewees had not found stable employment; on the contrary, their situation was characterised by movement between study, unemployment, part-time and informal work, confirming that underemployment and unemployment have become permanent aspects of neoliberalism (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Kundani, 2021). On-the-job language training, seen as a humanitarian project to improve the future employment prospects of migrant women, appears counterproductive to these goals and instead functions as a form of capitalist dispossession, extracting value from the labour of language trainees. During their studies and intermittent periods of unemployment, my interviewees were subject to coercive job search requirements that restricted their freedom of choice.

At the same time, no services were offered to those who had left the services and were struggling the most to improve their living and working prospects. Rather than improving the employment prospects of migrants and reducing racial division, the policies of the TE services entrenched racial divisions that demonstrate the production, management and organisation of work along racial lines. This means that the TE office operates on the basis of people's presumed labour market potential, organised along racial hierarchies, i.e. abandoning some women as unemployed while trying to channel

others into low-paid and precarious work. All the while, coercive activation intensifies the hegemony of capitalism and attempts to shut down other ways of earning a living. Despite that, my interviewees managed to leverage their precarious situations and resist the unjust system by strategically and creatively relying on diverse economic activities. These are explored in the next chapter.

5.3 Resisting precarious livelihoods and envisioning non-capitalist futures

The repertoire of everyday diverse economies does not often involve political organising and anti-capitalist resistance (Pavlovskaya, 2020). Thus, the combination of diverse economies and the Black radical tradition provides new avenues to theorise diverse economic practices as processes of everyday resistance of migrant women who do not have other options than to challenge racial hierarchies and create alternative economies as a part of their everyday struggles to make a living. The sub-chapter is based on recognising that diverse economic practices are often blended with neoliberalism and that not all diverse economies are equally affirming, liberating and transformative, but others are more coercive, insecure and exploitative. I will analyse how diverse economic activities are processes of resistance for migrant women while placing them in precarious labour market positions.

In the first half of this final chapter, I will focus on working in an informal market as a process of resistance to precarious livelihoods. I will elucidate two of these processes in the informal economy: (i) leaving the degrading treatment of employers and gaining a sense of autonomy and self-defined humanness, and (ii) finding a safe place for recovery. These processes of resistance show everyday struggles in navigating labour market infrastructure in the racial welfare state.

In the second half of this sub-chapter, I elaborate on diverse economic practices, such as making and selling handicrafts ‘off the books’ and small-scale food production, such as edible gardening for domestic use, as processes of resistance to precarity. I present two stories, each of which illustrates nurturing holistic well-being as a process of resistance. I will build on these stories to show how, in each case, the engagement with these diverse economic practices ruptures the logic of neoliberalism and shows some, albeit small, potential for these practices to act as catalysts for social transformation and anti-capitalist economic futures in Finland and beyond.

My interviewee, Parisa's story, illustrates how working in the informal economy is a process of resistance through decisions to leave the degrading treatment of employers and by getting a sense of autonomy and self-defined humanness. She was a highly educated woman with a long history of working in low-paid and part-time employment. She had never been invited for an interview when applying for a job related to her field of study and had even struggled to find work in manual labour. Parisa's most recent job in the formal economy was as a substitute teacher in a kindergarten. Due to problems with the payment of her salary and insecure working hours offered to substitute teachers in kindergartens, she quit her job and started working informally in a market twice a week. When she had considered working as a substitute teacher again, her friends with migration background had discouraged her from doing so, as the following quote describes:

> "My friend who works there said don't go back because it's a bad situation, they don't pay enough and they don't pay on time. And that's why it's a stressful situation. A lot of our colleagues don't want to work in this field anymore, and they left the company, and that's why I didn't want to go back. [...] And then you are a foreigner. It means that they can do whatever they want. If you try to say something [to them], they say yes, sorry about that. But it happened again [they didn't pay]. [I tried to get another job [other than kindergarten]. And this job [on the informal market], you know, I'm really happy because at least I don't have to stay at home. [...] When you see the surface of Finland, it's so beautiful. Everything is clean. But ohh underneath, I worked 12 hours from 9:00 to 21:00 [informally] [...] And when I talk to people, I tell them I work 12 hours there. They ask, here in Finland? And I say yes, here in Finland." (Parisa)

Parisa's excerpt identifies the presence of structural racism in job recruitment (Ahmad, 2020; Lehtovaara, 2022) and underlines Finland's gendered and racially segmented labour market by highlighting the struggle of migrant women to find stable employment and talking about exploitative conditions in both the formal and informal economy. She used the word *'foreigner'* to explain how demining treatment at the workplace is organized along a racial line, legitimating unequal treatment between her and her white colleagues in terms of salary in the formal economy. Her description also shows that she was aware of the stigma attached to the informal economy and knew that the conditions in which she worked were unfair and insecure.

The informal economy is unregulated, which means working without proper employment contracts and union protection, long hours with no extra pay, no pension and no insurance and paid health care, to name but a few. Meanwhile, Parisa's

involvement in wage labour in the informal economy is not included in national employment statistics, reinforcing the racist stigma of migrant women as unemployed, living on benefits and wasting taxpayers' money. This means that the state can use this stigma to justify harsher welfare and labour market interventions towards migrant women, reinforcing racial divisions (Černušáková, 2021) while the informal economy provides businesses an opportunity to avoid taxes.

However, Parisa perceived informal work as a better option than unemployment or working for exploitative employers in the formal labour market because, in the informal economy, she received her payments as promised and on time. In light of the Black radical tradition, I interpret her decision to leave the formal labour market as a strategy of working-class infra politics (Kelley, 1994). That is, mobility has been theorised as a form of Black resistance as Kelley (1994, p. 35) argues, "the most pervasive form of Black protest was simply to leave". Thus, I argue that Parisa's decision to leave the formal labour market and engage in informal work demonstrates a process of resistance. She refused to accept the demeaning treatment of her employers any longer. Escaping the degrading treatment of employers in the formal labour market shows her struggle for autonomy and economic independence. Having a job in the informal economy gave her a sense of autonomy and self-defined humanity in the everyday struggles in the racialised welfare state. To cope with precarious labour market positions in a way that allows for a sense of dignity seems to involve making trade-offs between unemployment and insecurity in a formal or informal labour market.

My other interviewee, Zahra, who was permanently unemployed and struggling with depression, had started selling bakery products in the informal market. Her story also shows how working in the informal market can be seen as a process of resistance by providing a safe place for women to recover from the destructive impacts of racism. Zahra's migrant friends, knowing that Zahra had lost faith and hope in her future, encouraged her to start making and selling her baked goods, as the following quote describes:

> "Last year, my friends told me that I was so skilled and knowledgeable that if I could find a job that suited me, why not use that knowledge to my advantage". (Interpreted: Zahra)

Zahra had endured loneliness and old unresolved traumas for a long time. She had not been able to find a job in the formal economy during her time in Finland, nor was she paid much for her baking in the informal economy, which meant that Zahra lived in a deplorable financial situation at the bottom of the labour hierarchy. For her, selling bakery products was a way to feel better and less depressed, as she describes:

> "There I have peace, I don't think too much when I'm there doing these things [...] [Before] I was always at home and I was thinking for long periods of time. In *** is war and the family is there, and I always had these problems on my mind". (Interpreted: Zahra)

The informal economy in which she sold her bakeries seems to suggest the idea of a homeplace, as bell hooks (1990) argued about the private sphere as an important site of resistance for Black women against white supremacy. According to hooks (1990), the domestic sphere had profound affective meanings for Black women, and it became a safe place for them to recover from racism and, eventually, a site of community resistance to the systemic racism against them in the US. At the time, the agendas of mainstream feminism revolved around the emancipation of (white) women from housework, as it was widely overlooked that Black women also worked outside the home, so domestic spaces were stigmatised in hegemonic discourse as merely indicative of patriarchal domination (Davis, 1983, [1981]; Federici, 1975).

Zahra's story resonates with the idea of homeplace (hooks, 1990), as baking in the informal economy had become a safe place to recover from old traumas and constant loneliness due to her exclusion from the formal labour market. At the same time, a widespread social stigma is attached to the informal sector in the countries of the Global North and informal economy is mainly associated with countries of the Global South that are seen to lack behind in progress and development (Günther & Launov, 2012). For Zahra, however, it was through this economic activity that her skills, aspirations and potential were realised, and she felt valued and recognised. When she started selling her baked goods, the reputation of her tasty bakeries grew, and she was contacted by other vendors who wanted to work with her. Baking in the informal economy boosted her self-esteem and self-actualisation, helping her to recover from the traumas of forced migration and the devastating effects of unemployment in a racist society, thereby demonstrating that working in the informal economy can be seen as a process of resistance whilst women are channelled to low-paid and precarious work.

Nonetheless, the factor that seemed to give my interviewees the most agency was the fact that they had citizenship, which made them less vulnerable to exploitation and unfree labour, as Parisa's quote describes:

> "My friends at the company [kindergarten] said don't come back, we have to do this because we need it for our residence permit, but you don't need it, so don't come back." (Parisa)

Her quote implies that her friends had to submit to exploitative working conditions because their residence in Finland was dependent on work in the formal economy. This confirms previous research on racial capitalism, which has shown that unequal access to citizenship facilitates the production of refugees as unfree and low-paid labour in the formal economy (Frydenlund & Dunn, 2022).

While working in the informal economy is not necessarily a collective act, the decisions to work in the informal economy were collectively articulated based on migrant women's shared interests, aspirations and knowledge. I am referring to 'disobedient knowledge' that ruptures (il)legalities by illuminating their constructed nature in global power structures and that is generated in the everyday struggles of racialised minorities and people categorised as migrants (Keskinen et al., 2024, pp. 8–13). Participation in informal work was based on disobedient knowledge, which was articulated by my interviewees' friends with migration backgrounds as warnings about the formal sector or as an encouragement to work in informal sectors, as my interviewee's stories illustrated. This elucidates women's care, trust and solidarity for each other as they collectively thought through different survival strategies to navigate precarious livelihoods. Thereby, the collective disobedient knowledge about the formal and informal sectors strengthens the collective consciousness of people racialised as non-white, which I argue is a powerful counter-force to the operation of racial capitalism in everyday life. The seemingly individual attempts at financial independence and acts of self-care can foster more organised forms of anti-capitalist political resistance (Collins, 2000; Keskinen, 2022)

The diverse economic practices in which women participated were also, in many ways, collectively enacted in practice and contributed to reproducing the precarious lives of my interviewees and their families. While in the first part of this chapter, working in an informal market provided women with a degree of economic and functional well-being, what follows shows that diverse economic practices also nourish other aspects

of well-being. In reference to a theory of diverse economies, all-encompassing well-being comprises many aspects, including economic, social, functional and communal well-being (Gibson-Graham et al., 2019, p. 60). Thus, I analyse the ways in which making handicrafts and edible gardening in common are processes of resistance by nurturing a holistic well-being. I will argue that they may inspire social transformation and the creation of anti-capitalist economies as they show aspects of more viable alternative economies.

My interviewee, Layla's story illustrates how working in handicrafts is a process of resisting precarious livelihoods by nurturing holistic well-being. Layla was a highly educated woman with a Finnish vocational degree, yet she had a history of low-paid and part-time work. Before starting her second degree, she had been unemployed for a long time and had started making handicrafts to sell 'off the books' as unemployment was having a devastating effect on her mental health. Layla and her husband had no children. Her husband had a permanent job and supported the family with his salary. They jointly took care of the unpaid domestic tasks in the household.

Layla also wanted to contribute financially to her family's well-being with handicrafts that she marketed through social media channels and sold on social media and markets, although she did not earn much. Making and selling handicrafts is time-consuming because it involves many different tasks: preparing the materials needed to make the products, photographing the products before posting them online, downloading them online, marketing them online, searching and reserving market spaces, to name a few. Layla was also giving handicrafts as a gift to her friends, enabling her to save money instead of buying things. Working on handicrafts had another social aspect for her family, as she and her husband made and sold the products often together, as the following quote describes:

> "I do it as a gift, like when we go somewhere and we have to buy something, I start doing it myself. And if I can get money for it, it makes me feel good. […] We went to *** with my husband and I rented a table and we went there. And last month I started making and making almost every day and then I asked my husband for help." [Layla]

Her story illustrates the ways in which selling handicrafts as self-employed but 'off the books' is a process of resistance to precarious livelihoods: for Layla, making handicrafts had given her a sense of purpose and rescued her from isolation and loneliness, as she had started making them during a period of long-term unemployment. Working with

her husband towards a common goal, i.e. the welfare of their family, gave her a sense of belonging, strengthened their relationship and contributed to their financial well-being. Thus, although the 'off-the-books' sale of handicrafts is unregulated and in breach of tax legislation, and therefore a socially stigmatised economic practice, it promotes aspects of non-capitalist and solidarity-based community economies, including the sharing of monetary and non-monetary resources, trust and caring for one another, to name but a few. In so doing, the making of handicrafts seems to oppose the neoliberal ideology that celebrates competition, individualism and profit maximisation.

While Layla was living in a precarious situation and making handicrafts was at first a way of coping emotionally and economically, she had become convinced that in the future, she wanted to help others to make handicrafts. She wanted so, even if she no longer needed financial help, because it had given her a sense of hope for the future, and she wanted to share this experience with others, as the following quote describes:

> "Now, when I'm under a lot of stress, I start making them because it's really good to do something with my hands. And I've been thinking about it, for example, because there are a lot of people who have experienced a lot of different problems and this could help them. I've been thinking that I could do it [handicrafts] with other people in a reception centre or in a shelter or in a prison, for example." (Layla)

Her concern for others stemmed from a shared understanding of everyday struggles in a racist society, in this case, the struggle she shared with her husband, which revived solidarity and care for others. She dreamed of making handicrafts with other people in distress, with whom she could also continue to meet social and collective needs in the future. As Ebun Joseph and Kesiena Mercy Ebenade (2023) argue, Nigerian women in Ireland continued to support their invention of a self-help bank called Esusu, which had initially helped women resist their systematic exclusion from formal employment, even when they were no longer in need of urgent economic assistance, but because this practice helped them to meet their social and communal needs.

I argue that the work of selling handicrafts, which grew out of the everyday struggles of Layla and her husband, resisted neoliberal ideologies and yet stimulated the imagination of alternative livelihoods, as Layla's vision was to expand social needs and economic autonomy through the communal production of handicrafts. Indeed, imagination feeds social transformation and the creation of anti-capitalist futures; as

Kelley (2000) argues, the oppressed mobilise social transformation because of their hope and radical dreams of worlds different from the one they have inherited. Referring to Kelley, I then argue that collective dreaming and visioning of alternative economies in the present represent forms of anti-capitalist resistance, which stimulates social transformation and the creation of anti-capitalist economies.

For my other interviewee, Nada, edible gardening is a process of resistance to precarious livelihoods, as this practice nurtured holistic well-being for her and her family. She had been unemployed for many years in Finland and, at the time of the interview, was retired. Her husband's situation was characterised by movement between the gig economy and unemployment. They had children of different ages, some still living at home and some who had moved out. As Nada was not engaged in productive and monetised labour, gender divisions in the family were reinforced. Nada did the unpaid domestic work around the house, even though her husband did not work in paid labour permanently. Nada also spent many hours gardening as it gave her a sense of purpose and contributed to her family's economic well-being. Edible gardening allowed her family to save money on food and then afford other things, as she described:

> "I go there [to the garden] at 1 or 2 p.m. and come home after 6 p.m. [Then] I go home, wash and chop and freeze and use in the winter. I cook food from everything. I don't buy from the shop [...] Yeah, I've got cucumbers and celery and parsley and pickles...I don't buy anything...and mangoli...And I put them in foil and freeze them. Winter or summer, then I cook them. [...] I want my son to have a hobby, I don't want him to sit at home. I pay the bills, the rent and the hobbies first." (Nada)

Further, edible gardening gave her a sense of belonging, as she worked on it with her husband and daughters. She used the vegetables from her garden for cooking, which brought family, relatives and friends together to eat and spend time. She also gave her vegetables as gifts for her family members and other relatives, and she was given berries as a gift from her acquaintances for baking, as the following quote shows:

> "My back can't take it [tilling the soil], but I don't want to sit at home. My husband tills the soil, but I clear away the weeds and plant the seeds. And my little girl comes. [...] Yes, and a visitor comes, and a friend and the children and cousins come to visit, so I make onion pie, and I bake. In our culture, we like to eat together and talk. [...] If my daughter comes with me to the garden or a friend, I give them a cucumber or a parsley. In our culture,

> we give. My cousin and my wife's friend gave me blueberries, and I like to make blueberry pie". (Nada)

Her family's collective edible gardening resurged from the daily struggles to make ends meet in precarious labour market circumstances. It contributed to strengthening their collective consciousness. Edible gardening can be seen as a process of resistance to precarious livelihoods because, through this economic practice, Nada gained financial support and a sense of purpose and belonging, even though she was living in precarious circumstances. Her unemployment from monetary work had reified the gendered division of labour within her household. Hence, the situation was still far from ideal, as Nada hoped to get more help from her spouse for housework. However, this does not negate the fact that coping with precariousness also demonstrates care, trust, reciprocity, and solidarity among migrant families, relatives, and friends. As Marianna Pavlovskaya (2020, p. 135) argues, "an ethic of care and cooperation common within practices of social reproduction, precarious work and informal livelihoods sharply contrasts with capitalist logics of profit maximization and competition."

In Nada's family, their communal edible gardening cultivated aspects of non-capitalist and solidarity-based economies as they participated in building nonmonetary networks and strengthening their economic autonomy. Her family relied on mutual aid and reciprocal distribution of resources to save extra money through edible gardening, which enshrined their economic autonomy. They did not work in the garden to accumulate wealth but to save enough money to pay for hobbies and bills, to cook for their friends and relatives, and to give each other gifts out of care and solidarity. Through these actions, they met their social needs and strengthened their ties to their community. In so doing, Nada's family ensured their social reproduction by relying on distinctly non-capitalist practices of edible gardening (and unpaid domestic labour) that fostered solidarity and an ethic of care, thus contrasting with the logic of neoliberalism. Collective edible gardening, I argue, represents existing aspects of more viable economies and, as such, decentralises the hegemony of racial capitalism, allowing us to extend the hope and visions of non-capitalist economies – the necessary conditions to inspire social transformation, as I have argued previously (Kelley, 2000).

What we can learn from the stories of my interviewees in this chapter is that migrant women in precarious situations have had to expand their informal economic practices

to reproduce their lives and the lives of their families. In the first part of this chapter, the stories illustrate that the boundaries between the formal and informal sectors are not static and immutable but that for women racialized as non-white in precarious labour market positions, the informal sector may be more emancipatory than working in a formal sector. This breaks down the stigma of the informal sector by showing the unfree and exploitative aspects of formal work, thus undermining arguments in defence of capitalist modernity based on the notion that the development of capitalism produces universally free labour.

The racial welfare state obscures the unpaid domestic and other informal economies from the public radar, as these economic practices are necessary conditions for the reproduction of capitalism itself. While it is not the intention to romanticize precarious livelihoods, the second part of this chapter has shown that the reproduction of the well-being of migrant women and their families relied on distinctly non-capitalist practices. These economic practices nurtured solidarities and ethics of care, suggesting they may create inspiring sites for resisting neoliberalism, stimulating social transformation and envisioning anti-capitalist futures. Next, I proceed to my closing chapter.

6 Discussion and conclusion

The chapter summarises my findings and answers the research questions. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of how my study relates to various academic discussions and literature, and how I contribute to them both empirically and theoretically. The final subchapter suggests some ideas for future research.

6.1 Summary of findings

Drawing on the stories of the women interviewed, the study attempted to illuminate the processes of racialisation in public services, while elaborating on how public services reproduce the racial order in order to make explicit the link between the racialised welfare state and racialised capitalism. The research further sought to redefine these women as active economic subjects by exploring their diverse economic practices and to understand these practices as processes of resistance.

The study was based on semi-structured interviews with women with a background in what I call the 'Middle East'. Through the first two chapters of analysis of findings 5.1 and 5.2, the study sought to answer my first research question: What kind of racialised, gendered and classed positionings are produced for women with Middle Eastern backgrounds in the hierarchies of labour in Finland, and how do public services reproduce racial order? In the first chapter 5.1., I argued that one way in which processes of racialisation are put into practice is through language training within the integration procedure in Finland, which affects the future employment prospects of migrants. Thus, I analysed the ways in which language training demonstrates the production and management of racialised, gendered and classed differentiation of labour by providing differential access to Finnish language learning among migrants. I examined three processes of labour differentiation in language training: (i) ignoring the gendered division of labour within families, (ii) providing language training with different qualities, and (iii) neglecting to provide advice about available options for mothers without prior education. According to my analysis, access to language training is not equal but operates on the basis of assumptions about people's labour market potential, thus relying on and reproducing racialisation.

In Chapter 5.2., I examined the production of unfree and non-workers through processes of racialised and gendered differentiation of labour in TE services. First, I focused on measures such as on-the-job language and obligatory job search, through

which I examined the processes of racialisation and its interplay with gender that produced unfree workers: (i) confining to low-paid and language-degrading jobs and (ii) unrecognising the differences between ways of living. Second, I analysed the production of non-workers through a process of racialisation: (i) the provision of differential access to services. As I showed, racialisation in TE services allowed for the extraction of value from migrant women's labour by restricting their freedom of choice and channelling them into low-paid and insecure labour market positions. I also demonstrated that the production of non-workers created differential future life and work prospects for migrants.

Through processes of racialisation and their interplay with gender and class in public services, women were produced as either undeserving of services, resources and labour or as exploitable and precarious workers relative to white citizens. Yet, some women were more disadvantaged than others due to their gender and/or class background. They were reproduced in and through these processes as 'undesirable' subjects because women's capacities, previous education, skills and interests were not valued and because they fall outside the imagined community of white Finns. My findings indicated, therefore, that these services designed to improve the work and life prospects of women categorised as migrants are counterproductive.

Here, I argue that the production of racialised gendered and classed differentiation in public services contribute to render migrant women categorised as migrants into a pool of 'surplus' populations, positioning them in low-paid and precarious labour market positions within the structures of racial capitalism or excluding them from wage-capital relations, abandoning them outside the formal labour market. The production of 'difference' in these services makes the link between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism explicit. That is, public services reproduce racial and classed differentiation and hierarchisation; ergo, they operate to stabilise the social order by fragmenting the working class and maintaining the status quo.

In the final chapter of my findings 5.3., I sought to answer my second research question: What kinds of diverse economic practices do migrant women engage in and how do they relate resistance to precarious livelihoods? In this chapter I expanded the range of women's economic practices, such as working in the informal market, handicrafts and edible gardening. I also analysed the ways in which diverse economies are processes of resistance for migrant women who have no choice but to resist racial

hierarchies and their exploitation and exclusion from stable wage labour through alternative economic practices. I elaborated on working in informal markets as a process of resistance to precarious livelihoods and illustrated two of these processes: (i) leaving the degrading treatment of employers and gaining a sense of autonomy and self-defined humanness, and (ii) finding a safe place for recovery. For my interviewees, working in the informal sector provided a sense of self-defined humanity and safe places. My analysis then nuanced the hierarchical binary between the formal and informal economies.

I also suggested that diverse economic practices, such as making and selling handicrafts 'off the book' and edible gardening, can be understood as processes of resistance to precarity. I presented two different stories that showed how these practices promoted broader aspects of wellbeing beyond economic wellbeing. As I showed, women's diverse economic practices fostered solidarity and ethics of care between their families and communities. I argued that they emerged as inspiring practices and sites of anti-capitalist resistance, social transformation and the creation of anti-capitalist futures.

What follows is a more detailed discussion of the ways in which my study contributes empirically and theoretically to previous research. I have grouped these contributions under different headings based on the academic literature and discussions that my study relates to and seeks to advance.

6.2 Dialogue between paranoia and reparative: racial capitalism and diverse economies

By analysing the processes of racialisation and their interplay with gender and class in integration and public employment services, my study relates to previous literature on racial capitalism in the Finnish context (Näre & Wide, 2022; Krivonos, 2023). In doing so, it goes beyond representational and discursive analyses of racialisation (e.g., Irni, 2009; Kurki et al., 2019; Kurki, 2019; Tuori, 2009; Mulinari, 2021; Stormhøj, 2021; Yang, 2009) and instead supports the understanding of racialisation as processes that are intertwined with the interests of capital value extraction and accumulation. Thus, this thesis contributes to the work of earlier literature on racial capitalism that has extended the framework beyond the black-white binary and applied it to the study of racialisation in the country located on the 'civilisational' frontier, which often tends to escape race-critical analyses (Näre & Wide, 2022; Krivonos, 2023).

Previous studies drawing on racial capitalism in Finland have examined (i) how mechanisms of racialised differentiation have brought Filipino migrant workers into a capitalist order as exploitative wage workers and reduced their rights for family and social life in their relation to citizens (Näre & Wide, 2022), and (ii) how migrant workers from Eastern Europe are racialised vis-a-vis to hegemonic whiteness and Muslims/asylum seekers, and how these same workers contribute to the racialisation of the Other (Krivonos, 2023).

As a departure from these studies, my analysis focused on racialisation in public services, which divided women as undeserving vis-a-vis white workers. Through racialisation processes, women positioned as migrants were rendered as 'surplus' populations who may at some point be exploited for their cheap labour, but as my analysis showed, many of the women were rather abandoned and excluded from all services and employment opportunities. This is in line with Arun Kundani's (2021) analyses of neoliberal capitalism, which argue that the intensification of neoliberalism produces more surplus populations with no purpose in the global racial capitalist order. Drawing on racial capitalism, Suvi Keskinen (2023) argues that the idea of surplus population is already symbolically exploited in the rhetoric of the Finns Party, which seeks to exclude migrants by portraying them as manual workers who waste taxpayers' money and who are about to be excluded from wage labour due to increasing technological development. My study provides evidence that racialisation processes produce a materially surplus population in Finland, which serves as a catalyst for increasing racism and more repressive migration and workfare policies towards unemployed people categorised as migrants and racial and ethnic minorities.

By examining the diverse economic activities of migrant women in Finland, which has not been done before, this research showed that the women interviewed are active subjects who reproduce the means of subsistence for themselves and their families even when the formal social and economic system jeopardises their livelihoods. In doing so, the study makes a theoretical contribution to the theorisation of racial capitalism (e.g., Robinson, 1983; Kelley, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2018; Melamed, 2011; Lowe, 2015) by complementing it with diverse economies (Gibson-Graham & Domroski, 2020; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2019). The balance between these theories allowed me to broaden an understanding of the heterogeneity of the economic activities of the women interviewed, and to avoid falling into the trap

of reproducing the hegemony of racial capitalism by focusing only on critiquing its dependency on exploitation. The combination of these theories provided a unique opportunity to rethink the diverse ways in which economies are continually organised. Before continuing with the discussion of diverse economies as processes of resistance, the next section discusses how the analysis of processes of racialisation in public services simultaneously traced the gap between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism.

6.3 Public services as mechanisms of the racial welfare state apparatus

The analysis of the processes of labour differentiation in public services suggests that these services can be seen as a mechanism of the racial welfare state apparatus. This is to say that these services seem to protect and reproduce the privileges of white citizens and suppress resistance by dividing access to work and resources along racialised, gendered and classed lines in times of eroding public services. By being complicit in the production of 'difference', public services make the connection between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism evident. Indeed, in the understanding of the relationship between the state and capitalism as outlined in the theory of racial capitalism, the purpose of the state in this nexus is to stabilise the social order as the market mechanism destabilises it (Gilmore, 2002, p.261, 2007; Kundani, 2021; Virdee, 2021). What we have here is the evidence that the racial welfare state is involved in stabilising the social order and maintaining class rule by organising access to services and resources on the basis of neoliberal notions of human capital and racialised, gendered, and classed hierarchies.

Here, my study contributes to the existing literature on the racial welfare state (Schclarek Mulinari & Keskinen 2022) and advances the theoretical understanding of the welfare state by outlining its connection and operation with racial capitalism. Even in the academic welfare state literature, it is often taken for granted that the Finnish welfare state model is outside the global racial capitalist order because methodological whiteness and nationalism evade Finland's complicity in processes of colonialism and racism (e.g., Keskinen et al., 2009; Rajas, 2012; Keskinen, 2019, 2021, 2022).

This research goes beyond these methodological currents, arguing that the Finnish racial welfare state is not exceptional and disconnected from the global economic system organised along the colour line. The study extends the important work of

Leandro Schclarek Mulinari and Suvi Keskinen (2022), who have elaborated on the racial welfare state by showing the continuum of policing and surveillance practices throughout the Nordic nations' earlier histories until the waning of the welfare state and how these practices act against people who have never be seen as belonging to an imagined community of white Nordic nations.

My analysis was situated in the Finnish context and showed how public services, which are supposed to protect workers from market mechanisms, are rather self-actualising agents in the production of racialised, gendered and classed differentiation, serving the interests of capital value extraction and accumulation. This logic of differentiation has been encoded into the operation of racial welfare, as the nation-building project cannot be separated from its earlier history entangled with colonialism and racialisation, through which Finland's self-perception as a white and homogeneous nation has been constructed (e.g., Keskinen et al., 2009; Rajas, 2012; Keskinen, 2019, 2021, 2022). Hence, this research advances the theorisation of the racial welfare state by bridging the gap between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism by providing an overview of public services that are complicit in sustaining social order and class rule. What follows is that I am going to elaborate on my contribution to the Black radical tradition.

6.4 New endeavours for everyday resistance

In section 5.3, the study extended the theorisation of the Black radical tradition beyond the black/white binary and analysed migrant women's diverse everyday economic practices as processes of resistance in Finland. Drawing on the Black radical tradition, Suvi Keskinen's (2022) study of activists racialised as 'non-white' in the Nordics has shown how these collective activist spaces foster mutual care, love and solidarity among them and are spaces for radical anti-capitalist resistance.

This research was inspired by the Black radical tradition and Black feminism, but it focused on the everyday resistance of migrant women rather than the political organising of activists. As the lives of my interviewees were characterised by precarious, low-paid and exploitative work and unemployment, they responded to these challenges by engaging in creative and innovative ways with diverse economic practices that nuanced the stigma of the informal economies, promoted their well-being and fostered aspects of community-based solidarity economies.

Expanding the range of these women's economic practices allowed for a broader understanding of the everyday forms of resistance exercised by people living on the margins of capitalism. For example, Black feminists have theorised home and social reproduction as sites and practices of everyday collective resistance. My work extends this by exploring the diverse economic practices these women engage in and their relationship to resistance. My interviewees' decisions to work in the informal sector were collectively articulated, and provided a sense of self-defined humanness and increased my interviewees resilience in a racist society. In addition, some practices were collectively enacted, and they cultivated solidarities and ethics of care. These then became sites of anti-capitalist resistance and places that could stimulate social transformation and the creation of alternative economies.

Thus, bringing the economic aspect of diverse economies into dialogue with theories of everyday resistance derived from the Black radical tradition advances the work of freedom dreaming by contributing to anti-capitalist resistance by showing the co-existence of more ethical economic practices alongside capitalism. This expands thinking about everyday forms of resistance by contributing to the work of imagining how economies might be organised after the abolition of capitalism, thus developing the making of post-capitalist futures.

6.5 Avenues for further research

As we live in a time of increasing neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state, it would be essential to continue towards analyses that extend beyond methodological nationalism and whiteness to move the understanding of the welfare state from a national project to its connections with global economic processes rooted in colonialism and racism (Keskinen, 2023). Understanding the welfare state as part of global processes could help to redistribute the wealth of the welfare state more equitably among all people, avoiding the differentiation of people as deserving or undeserving of welfare resources (Bhambra & Holmwood, 2021; Bhambra, 2022). This is particularly crucial since there is rising support for right-wing politics that seek to deny non-white migrants' entitlement to resources of the welfare state based on ideas of national belonging encoded in whiteness (Keskinen, 2023).

For further research, the study of racialisation processes and their articulation with gender and class in integration and employment services could be complemented by

the social category of nationality. What I mean by this is that it would be interesting to explore the ambiguities and interplay of racialisation and migrantisation in these processes, and one way of doing so would be to have research participants with backgrounds from different geographical locations, within and beyond the imagined borders of Europe.

Further, the intensification of neoliberalism and increasing technological development are to create more surplus populations, suggesting that the Finnish state will have to respond to people's increasing dissatisfaction in new ways. In terms of further research, it would then be important to examine more thoroughly the relations between the racial welfare state and racial capitalism in Finland and to identify and examine mechanisms of the state apparatus, as the decline of public services and increasing unemployment suggests that the racial welfare state will have to use more, even violent, mechanisms to maintain the social order and class rule in Finland.

In this regard, there is an urgent need to start thinking differently about how economies are organised, because the global economy is based on the exploitation of some people and other Earthly beings. The quest for infinite growth and profit maximisation in the name of development and progress has turned out to be a nightmare and needs to be challenged. Since there is no ready-made blueprint for building more livable worlds, this will require stimulating our vision beyond capitalocentrism in Finland. As diverse economies are one of the many theories that attempt to respond to this call through readings of economic differences and the study of community economies, I argue that an interesting avenue for further research is to centre anti-capitalist resistance and the community economies of people living on the margins of capitalism in Finland. Rather than centring wealthy people who have chosen to engage in downshifting or community economies, new ways of organising a more livable and living futures can be found in the lives of people who have no choice but to resist racial hierarchies and engage in alternative economies, be they migrant workers, non-white citizens, illegalised people or stateless populations, to mention a few.

7 References

Ahmad, A. (2020). When the name matters: An experimental investigation of ethnic discrimination in the Finnish labor market. *Sociological Inquiry*, *90*(3), 468-496.

Ahmed, S. (2000a) *Strange Encounters. Embodied others in postcoloniality*. London: Routledge.

Alhojärvi, T. (2020) Critical Gibson-Graham: Reading Capitalocentrism for Trouble. *Rethinking Marxism* 32(3) 286–309.https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2020.1780667

Amelina, A. (2022). Knowledge production for whom? Doing migrations, colonialities and standpoints in non-hegemonic migration research. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *45*(13), 2393–2415. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2064717

Anderson B (2016 [1983]) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (2019). New directions in migration studies: towards methodological de-nationalism. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *7*(1), 1-13.

Andreassen, R., Lundström, C., Keskinen, S., & Tate, S. A. (Eds.) (2023). *The Routledge International Handbook of New Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*. (1st ed.) (Routledge International Handbooks). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003120612

Autto, J. (Ed) (2023). *Talouskuri tuli Suomeen*. Vastapaino.

Bakker, I. (2020). Variegated Social Reproduction in Neoliberal Times: Mainstream Silences, Feminist Interventions. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, *28*(2), 167–172. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2020.1714178

Bacchi, C 2017, 'Policies as gendering practices: re-viewing categorical distinctions', *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, vol. 38*, no. 1, pp. 20-41.

Bendixsen, S., & Näre, L. (2024). Welfare state bordering as a form of mobility and migration control. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2298540

Bhambra, G. K. (2017). Brexit, Trump, and 'methodological whiteness': On the misrecognition of race and class. *The British journal of sociology, 68*, S214-S232.

Bhambra, G. K. & Holmwood, J. (2021). "*Colonialism and Modern Theory*". Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bhambra, G. (2022) Relations of extraction, relations of redistribution: Empire, nation, and the construction of the British welfare state. *The British Journal of Sociology 73*(1), 4-15.

Bhattacharya, T. (2017). *Social reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentering oppression.* Pluto Press.

Bhattacharyya, G. (2018). *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival*. Cultural Studies and Marxism.

Bilge, S. (2010). Beyond subordination vs. resistance: An intersectional approach to the agency of veiled Muslim women. *Journal of intercultural studies*, *31*(1), 9-28.

Blachnicka-Ciacek, D., & Budginaite-Mackine, I. (2022). The ambiguous lives of 'the other whites': Class and racialisation of Eastern European migrants in the UK. *The Sociological Review*, *70*(6), 1081-1099.

Bledsoe, A., McCreary, T. & Wright, W. (2019) Theorizing diverse economies in the context of racial capitalism. *Geoforum*. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geofo rum.2019.07.004

Borchorst, A., & Siim, B. (2002). The women-friendly welfare states revisited. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 10*(2), 90–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/080387402760262186

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative research in psychology, 3(2), 77-101.

Brah , Avtar and Phoenix , Ann . 2004 . "Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality" . *Journal of International Women's Studies* , 5.3 : 75 – 86 .

Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York: Zone Books.

Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration (2023) *Mikä muuttuu kotoutumisen edistämisessä ja valtion korvauksissa vuonna 2023?* https://kotoutuminen.fi/kotoutumislain-muutokset-2023

Cernusakova, Barbora. "Roma Workers under Czech Racial Capitalism: A Post-Socialist Case Study." *Černušáková, B.(2021). Roma Workers under Czech Racial Capitalism: A Post-Socialist Case Study. Journal of Law and Political Economy* 2.1 (2023).

Crenshaw, K.. (1991) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." Stanford law review 43.6: 1241–1299. Web.

Crenshaw, K.(2016). "The urgency of intersectionality". Ted Talk, available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o.

Davis, A. Y.(1983) [1981]. *Women, race & class.* First Vintage books edition. New York, Vintage Books.

Davis, A. Y. (1983) [1981]. Chapter 13: The approaching obsolescence of housework: A working-class perspective (pp. 222-245). In *women, race, & class*. New York,Vintage Books

Davis, A. (1972). Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves. *The Massachusetts Review*, *13*(1/2), 81–100. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25088201

Davies, C. B.,. (2016). A Black Left Feminist View on Cedric Robinson's Black Marxism. Black Perspectives, November 10, 2016. https://www.aaihs.org/a-black-left-feminist-view-on-cedric-robinsons-black-marxism/.

Davydova, O. (2012) Venäjän lännestä Suomen itään : sukupuolittunut maahanmuutto ja haurastuneet työmarkkinat. Keskinen, S. P., Vuori, J., & Hirsiaho, A. (Toimittajat) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli: Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampereen yliopistopaino.

DeVault, M. L., & Gross, G. (2012). Feminist qualitative interviewing: Experience, talk, and knowledge. *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*, *1*, 206-236.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1996 [1903]) *The Souls of Black Folk*, New York: Penguin

Ebun J. and Kesiena Mercy Ebenade (2023) "Black Irish Women and Esusu: The Case of Self-help among Nigerian Women in Dublin, Ireland, Ebun Joseph and Kesiena Mercy Ebenade" In: Caroline Shenaz Hossein, Sharon D. Wright Austin, and Kevin Edmonds (eds) *Beyond Racial Capitalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Elomäki, A., Kantola, J., Koivunen, A., Ylöstalo, H. (2021). Changing Feminist Politics in a 'Strategic State'. In: Keskinen, S., Stoltz, P., Mulinari, D. (eds) *Feminisms in the Nordic Region*. Gender and Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53464-6_4

Elomäki, A. & Koskinen-Sandberg, P. (2020) Feminist Perspectives on the Economy within Transforming Nordic Welfare States, *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 28*(2), 81-85. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2020.1747248

Esping-Andersen, G. (1989). The three political economies of the welfare state. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie, 26*(1), 10–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.1989.tb00411.x

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 32–46.

Farris S (2017) *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth* (Les damnés de la terre, 1961). New York: Grove Press.

Federici, S. (2012). *Revolution at point zero: Housework, reproduction, and feminist struggle.* PM Press

Federici, S. (1975). *Wages against housework* (pp. 187-194). Bristol: Falling Wall Press.

Fossland, T.(2013) Crossing borders – getting work: Skilled migrants' gendered labour market participation in Norway. *Norwegian Journal of Geography 67* (5), 276–283. https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2013.847854

Frydenlund, S., & Dunn, E. C. (2022). Refugees and racial capitalism: Meatpacking and the primitive accumulation of labor. *Political Geography*, *95*, 102575.

Garner, S. (2007). Whiteness as a kind of absence. In *Whiteness: an introduction*. Routledge.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. & Domborski, K. (eds.) (2020) *The Handbook of Diverse Economies.* Edward Elgar, Cheltenham & Northampton.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. ym. (2019) *Elävä talous. Yhteisen tulevaisuuden toimintaopas*, Tampere: Vastapaino.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: performative practices for `other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(5), 613-632. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132508090821

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *The End Of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy* (2006 edition). Univ Of Minnesota Press.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. ym. (2019) *Elävä talous. Yhteisen tulevaisuuden toimintaopas*, Tampere: Vastapaino.

Gibson-Graham, J. K., & Dombroski, K. (2020). Introduction to the handbook of diverse economies: Inventory as ethical intervention. In *The handbook of diverse economies* (pp. 1-24). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Gilmore R. W., . et al. (2002). "Race and Globalization." In *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, edited by Johnston R. J., Taylor, Peter J, and Watts, Michael. New York: Wiley-Blackwell. 261–274.

Gilmore, R. W. (2007). *Golden gulag: Prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California* (Vol. 21). Univ of California Press.

Goldberg, T. (2006). Racial Europeanization. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 29*(2), pp. 331–364.

Goldberg DT (2002) *The Racial State*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Günther, I., and Launov. A. (2012). "Informal Employment in Developing Countries: Opportunity or Last Resort?" *Journal of Development Economics 97* (1): 88–98.

Grosfoguel, R. (2009). A decolonial approach to political-economy: Transmodernity, border thinking and global coloniality. *Kult*, *6*(1), 10-38.

Gunaratnam, Y. (2003). *Researching 'race' and ethnicity: Methods, knowledge and power*. London: Sage

Hall, S. (1980) Race, articulation and societies structured in domination. Reprinted in: Hall, Stuart. "6. Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance [1980]". Essential Essays, *Volume 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies*, edited by David Morley, New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2018, pp. 172-221.

Hall, S. (2017). *"The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation"*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist studies 14*(3), 575-599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Hernes, H. (1987). *Welfare state and woman power: Essays in state feminism*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Hossein, C.S, Austin S. D. W., and Edmonds, K. (2023) *Beyond Racial Capitalism: Co-operatives in the African Diaspora.* New York: Oxford University Press.

hooks, bell (1990). Homeplace: a site of resistance. In: *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, 41-19. Boston: South End Press.

hooks, B. (2014). *Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315743165

hooks, b. (bell) (2015 [1981]). 'Continued Devaluation of Black Womanhood'. In: *Ain't I A Woman*, 76-121. London: Pluto Press.

Himanen, M & Könönen, J 2010, Maahanmuuttopoliittinen sanasto, [Immigration Policy Glossary], *Like*, Helsinki.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203900055

Hübinette, T., & Mählck, P. (2016). The racial grammar of Swedish higher education and research policy: the limits and conditions of researching race in a colour-blind Context. In *Affectivity and Race* (pp. 59-74). Routledge.

Hyvärinen, P. (2020). Sienestystä pohjoisilla puupelloilla: metsien moninaiset taloudet ja plantaasiosentrismin ongelma. *Alue & Ympäristö, 49*(2), 22-43.

Irni, S. (2009). 'Experience is a National Asset': A Postcolonial Reading of Ageing in the Labour Market. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni & D Mulinari, (eds) *Complying with colonialism: gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, (pp. 171–187). Farnham: Ashgate

Issar, S. (2021). Theorising 'racial/colonial primitive accumulation': settler colonialism, slavery and racial capitalism. *Race & Class*, *63*(1), 23-50. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1177/0306396821996273

Jones, C., (1949) "An end to the neglect of the problems of the Negro woman!". *PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements*. 467. https://stars.library.ucf.edu/prism/467

Kantola, J., Koskinen-Sandberg, P. & Ylöstalo, H,. (2020). Johdanto: Tasa-arvopolitiikka muutoksessa [Introduction: Equality policy in change]. In: Kantola J., Koskinen Sandberg, P. & Ylöstalo, H. (eds) *Tasa-arvopolitiikan suunnanmuutoksia: Talouskriiseistä tasa-arvon kriiseihein*, (pp. 7-30). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Kantola, J., & Lombardo, E. (2017). Gender and the politics of the economic crisis in Europe. In J. Kantola & E. Lombardo (Eds.), *Gender and the economic crisis in Europe: Politics, institutions and intersectionality* (pp. 1–25). London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Kananen, J. (2012). Nordic paths from welfare to workfare: Danish, Swedish and Finnish labour market reforms in comparison. *Local Economy,* 27(5-6). https://doi.org/10.1177/0269094212445351

Karimi, Z. (2024). I am not the info desk for Islam and Arabs: the racialization of Islam and boundaries of citizenship. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *47*(1), 45-63.

Kelley, Robin D. G. (1994): *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press.

Kelley, Robin D. G. (2002). *Freedom Dreams. Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Kelley, R. (2020) [2000], Foreword in Robinson, C. (ed.) *Black Marxism. The making of the Black radical tradition*, pp. xi-xxvi (11-26). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Kelley, R.D.G. (2017, November 7).What is Racial Capitalism and Why Does it Matter? [Video].YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=--gim7W_jQQ&t=4540s

Keskinen, S., Aminkeng Atabong, A., & Seikkula, M. K. (2024). Introduction: Race, (b)ordering and disobedient knowledge. In S. Keskinen, A. Atabong Alemanji, & M. Seikkula (Eds.), *Race, bordering and disobedient knowledge: Activism and everyday struggles in Europe* (pp. 1-22). (Racism, Resistance and Social Change). Manchester University Press.

Keskinen, S. P. (2011). Borders of the Finnish Nation: Media, Politics and Rape by 'Foreign' Perpetrators. In E. Eide, & K. Nikunen (Eds.), *Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region* (pp. 107-124). Ashgate.

Keskinen, S. (2022). *Mobilising the Racialised 'Others': Postethnic Activism, Neoliberalisation and Racial Politics*. (1st ed.) Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003002031

Keskinen, S. P. (2017). Securitized Intimacies, Welfare State and the 'Other' Family. *Social Politics*, *24*(2), 154–177. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxx002

Keskinen S. (2016) From welfare nationalism to welfare chauvinism: Economic rhetoric, the welfare state and changing asylum policies in Finland. *Cadernos de saúde pública* 36(3): 352–370.

Keskinen, S. (2011). Women's Rights, Welfare State Nationalism and Violence in Migrant Families. In R. K. Thiara, S. A. Condon, & M. Schröttle (Eds.), *Violence against Women and Ethnicity: Commonalities and Differences across Europe* (pp. 367-382). Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-63388-3

Keskinen S, Mulinari D, Irni S, et al. (2009) "Introduction: Postcolonialism and the nordic models of welfare and gender". In: Keskinen S, Tuori S, Irni S, et al. (Eds) *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, (pp. 1–16). Farnham: Ashgate.

Keskinen, S. P., Vuori, J., & Hirsiaho, A. (Toimittajat) (2012). *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli: Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampereen yliopistopaino.

Keskinen, S., & Andreassen, R. (2017). Developing theoretical perspectives on racialisation and migration. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *7*(2), 64-69.

Keskinen, S. P. (2012). Kulttuurilla merkityt toiset ja universaalin kohtelun paradoksi väkivaltatyössä. In S. Keskinen, J. Vuori, & A. Hirsiaho (Eds.), *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli: Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa* (pp. 291-320). Tampereen yliopistopaino.

Keskinen, S. (2023). The 'crisis' of white hegemony, far-right politics and entitlement to wealth. In R. Andreassen, S. Keskinen, C. Lundström, & S. A. Tate (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of New Critical Race and Whiteness Studies* (1st ed., pp. 265-277). (Routledge International Handbooks). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003120612

Keskinen, S. (2019). Intra-Nordic Differences, Colonial/Racial Histories and National Narratives: Rewriting Finnish History. *Scandinavian Studies*, *91*(1-2), 163-181. https://doi.org/10.5406/scanstud.91.1-2.0163

Keskinen, S. (2021). Chapter 4:Kolonialismin ja rasismin historia Suomesta käsin. In: Keskinen, S., Seikkula, M., & Mkwesha, F. (Eds), *Rasismi, valta ja vastarinta* (pp. 69-84). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Khan, M. 2021. ""The Indebted among the "Free": Producing Indian Labour Through the Layers of Racial Capitalism"." In *Histories of Racial Capitalism*, edited by D. Jenkins, and J. Leroy, 85–110. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Korhonen, S. (2014)."*Hyvä, mutta vaikea." Maahanmuuttajien kokemuksia kieliharjoittelusta.* Pro gradu -tutkielma. Helsingin yliopisto. Suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitos.

Koskinen Sandberg, P. (2018). The corporatist regime, welfare state employment, and gender pay inequity. *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 26(1), 36–52.
Kuisma, M. (2007). Social Democratic Internationalism and the Welfare State After the 'Golden Age'. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 42(1), 9–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836707073474

Kundnani, A. (2021). *The racial constitution of neoliberalism*. Race & Class, 63(1), 51-69. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396821992706

Kuokkanen, R. J. (2007). Saamelaiset ja kolonialismin vaikutukset nykypäivänä. In J. Kuortti, M. Lehtonen, & O. Löytty (Eds.), Ko*lonialismin jäljet: keskustat, periferiat ja Suomi* (pp. 142-155). Gaudeamus

Kurki, T., Brunila, K., & Lahelma, E. (2019). Constituting immigrant care workers through gendering and racialising practices in education. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *9*(3), 329-345. https://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2019-0009

Kurki, T. (2019). *IMMIGRANT-NESS AS (MIS)FORTUNE? IMMIGRANTISATION THROUGH INTEGRATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN EDUCATION*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki] http://hdl.handle.net/10138/294719

Kurronen, Sanna (2021). Maahanmuuttajanaisten loukku. Heikko työllisyys heijastuu myös toisen polven pärjäämiseen. EVA Arvio 30, 9.2.2021. Saatavilla: https://www.eva.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/eva-arvio-030.pdf. Luettu 31.7.2024.

Krivonos, D. (2023). Racial capitalism and the production of difference in Helsinki and Warsaw. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *49*(6), 1500-1516.

Krivonos, D. (2019). The making of gendered 'migrant workers' in youth activation: The case of young Russian-speakers in Finland. *Current Sociology*, *67*(3), 401-418.

Larja, L. (2019), Maahanmuuttajanaiset työmarkkinoilla ja työmarkkinoiden ulkopuolella. In: Kazi, V. & Alitolppa-Niitamo, A. & Kaihovaara, A. (Eds.), *Kotoutumisen kokonaiskatsaus 2019 – Tutkimusartikkeleita kotoutumisesta, (pp. 28–*42). Helsinki: The Ministry of Employment and the Economy. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-327-487-7

Lehtola, V. (2015). Sámi Histories, Colonialism, and Finland. *ARCTIC ANTHROPOLOGY, 52*, 22 - 36.

Lehtovaara, H. (2022). Maahanmuuttaneiden naisten työllistymisen esteitä. *Siirtolaisuus Migration*, *48*(1), 14-17. Article 4. https://siirtolaisuus-migration.journal.fi/article/view/120002

Lehtovaara, H. (2021). Korkeasti koulutettujen maahanmuuttaneiden naisten kokemuksia työnhakuvaiheen syrjinnästä. *Työelämän tutkimus*, *19*(4), 620-645. https://doi.org/10.37455/tt.112503

Leino, A. (2012). *Kielenoppija keskustelussa − aktiivinen osallistuja vai toimintojen kohde*? Pro gradu -tutkielma. Helsingin yliopisto. Suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitos.

Lehtovaara, H. & Säppi, J. (2021) Erillisiä työllistämispalveluja maahan muuttaneille naisille – yhdenvertaisuutta vai toiseuttamista? Sukupuolentutkimus – Genusforskning 34 (3), 50–54.

Lentin, A. (2020). *Why Race Still Matters.* U.K.: Polity Press.

Leroy, J., & Jenkins, D. (Eds.). (2021). *Histories of racial capitalism*. Columbia University Press.

Lindlof T, Taylor B (2011) *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (3rd edn). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Lowe, L. (2015). *The intimacies of four continents*. Duke University Press.

Maaroufi, M. (2022). Contingent Conjunctures and Infrastructures of Racial Capitalism: Activating and Confining Refugees after the'Summer of Migration'. *Emancipations: A Journal of Critical Social Analysis*, *1*(2), 5.

Melamed, J. 2011. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Melamed, J. (2015) Racial capitalism. *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1(1), 76-85.

Merivirta, R., Koivunen, L., & Särkkä, T. (Eds.). (2022). *Finnish colonial encounters: From anti-imperialism to cultural colonialism and complicity*. Springer Nature.

Mies, M. (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London and Atlantic Heights, N.J.: Zed Books Ltd

Miles, R., (1989) *Racism*. London: Routledge.

Miles, R., (1993). *Racism after 'Race Relations'*. London: Routledge

Ministry of Economic affairs and Employment of Finland. (2023). *Kotoutumisen vuosikatsaus.* https://kotoutuminen.fi/documents/56901608/71065357/Kotoutumisen-vuosikatsaus-2023.pdf/cf79939b-fbd8-644a-ad77-7ed94e840662/Kotoutumisen-vuosikatsaus-2023.pdf?t=1683697461259

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment. (2022, October 6). *Key aim of the Integration Act reform is to speed up integration and employment of immigrants.* https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/-//1410877/key-aim-of-the-integration-act-reform-is-to-speed-up-integration-and-employment-of-immigrants-

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Zubaan.

Mulinari, D. (2021). "And They Cannot Teach Us How to Cycle": The Category of Migrant Women and Antiracist Feminism in Sweden. In: Keskinen, S., Stoltz, P., Mulinari, D.

(eds) *Feminisms in the Nordic Region. Gender and Politics.* Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53464-6_9

Mulinari, D., & Neergaard, A. (2017). Theorising racism. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *7*(2), 88-96.

Mulinari, P., & Neergaard, A. (2023). Trade unions negotiating the Swedish model: Racial capitalism, whiteness and the invisibility of race. *Race & Class*, 64(4), 48–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/03063968231153561

Naylor, L., & Thayer, N. (2022). Between paranoia and possibility: diverse economies and the decolonial imperative. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *47*(3), 791-805.

Nordberg , C. C. (2015). ' Invisibilised Visions : Migrant mothers and the reordering of citizenship in a Nordic welfare state context , *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* , vol. 5 , no. 2 , pp. 67-74 . https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2015-0011

Nordberg, C. (2006). Claiming Citizenship: Marginalised Voices on Identity and Belonging. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(5), 523–539. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600954952

Näre, L., & Wide, E. (2022). *Social reproductive struggles of Filipino migrants in Finlan*d. In Näre, L., & Isaksen, L. W. (Eds.), Care Loops and Mobilities in Nordic, Central, and Eastern European Welfare States (pp. 175-198). Palgrave Macmillan.

Näre, S. & Näre, L. (2022). *Työttömyys sattuu. Arjen kamppailuja työllistämistoimien rattaissa.* Gaudeamus, Helsinki.

Näre, L., & Nordberg, C. (2016). Neoliberal postcolonialism in the media: Constructing Filipino nurse subjects in Finland. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *19*(1), 16-32.

Näre, L 2013, 'Ideal workers and suspects: employers' politics of recognition and the migrant division of care labour in Finland', *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, vol. 3*, no. 2, pp. 72-81.

Obeng-Odoom, F., (2020) Feature essay: stratification economics and the black radical tradition. *LSE Review of Books* (29 Oct 2020). Blog Entry. Read on 21/07/2024.https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2020/10/29/feature-essay-stratification-economics-and-the-black-radical-tradition/.

OECD (2018). OECD Economic Survey of Finland 2018. Saatavilla: http://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-finland. htm. Luettu 18.6.2024.

Pavlovskaya, M. (2020). Precarious labour: Russias other transition. In *The Handbook of Diverse Economies* (pp. 129-136). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Peck J (2001) *Workfare States*. London: Guilford Press.

Plumwood, Val. 2006. “Feminism.” In Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge, edited by Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley, 51–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Raffass, T. (2017). Demanding activation. *Journal of Social Policy*, *46*(2), 349-365.

Rajas, J. (2012). Assemblage of Pastoral Power and Sameness: A governmentality of integrating immigrant women. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *2*(1), 5-15.DOI: https://doi.org/10.2478/v10202-011-0022-0

Ranta, K. & Kanninen, J. (2019) *Vastatuuleen: Saamen kansan pakkosuomalaistamisesta*. Helsinki: Kustantamo S&S.

Rastas, A. (2012). Reading History through Finnish Exceptionalism. In K. Loftsdottir, & L. Jensen (Eds.), *Whiteness and Poscolonialism in the Nordic Region : Exceptionalism, Migrant others and National Identities* (pp. 89-103). (Studies in Migration and Diaspora).

Robinson, C. 1983. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Roelvink, G. (2020). Framing essay: Diverse economies methodology. In *The handbook of diverse economies* (pp. 453-466). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Said, E.W. (1978). *The Scope of Orientalism*. In: Orientalism. New York: Pantheon.

Schclarek Mulinari, L., & Keskinen, S. (2022). Racial profiling in the racial welfare state: Examining the order of policing in the Nordic region. Theoretical Criminology, 26(3), 377–395. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480620914914

Seikkula, M. & Hortelano, P. (2021) Arjen rasismi ja rasisminvastaisuus arjessa. Teoksessa S. Keskinen, M. Seikkula & F. Mkwesha (toim.) *Rasismi, valta ja vastarinta: Rodullistaminen, valkoisuus ja koloniaalisuus Suomessa.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 147–161

Sedgwick, E. K. (2003). *Touching feeling: Affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Duke University Press.

Smith, L. T. (2012/1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples (2nd ed.)*. London & New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Spivak, G.C.(1998). “Can the Subaltern Speak?”. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (Eds) *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 24-28. London: Routledge.

Stormhøj, C. (2021). 'Danishness' repressive immigration policies, and exclusionary framings of gender equality. In S. Keskinen, D. Mulinari, & P. Stoltz (Eds.), *Feminisms in the Nordic Region: Neoliberalism, Nationalism and Decolonial Critique* (pp. 89-109). Palgrave Macmillan. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53464-6_5

Sweet, E., L. (2016) Locating migrant Latinas in a diverse economies framework: evidence from Chicago, *Gender, Place & Culture, 23*:1, 55-71, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2014.970135

The Combahee River Collective (2014 [1978]). "A Black Feminist Statement". *Women's Studies Quarterly 42* (3/4): 271-280.

Tudor, A. (2018). Cross-fadings of racialisation and migratisation: the postcolonial turn in Western European gender and migration studies. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *25*(7), 1057–1072. https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1441141

Tuori, S. (2009). *The politics of multicultural encounters: Feminist postcolonial perspectives* (Doctoral dissertation, Åbo Akademis förlag-Åbo Akademi University Press).

Tuori S. (2009). "Postcolonial and Queer Readings of 'Migrant Families' in the Context of Multicultural Work in Finland." In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni & D Mulinari, (eds) *Complying with colonialism: gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, (pp. 171–187). Farnham: Ashgate

Van Maanen J, Sørensen JB, Mitchell TR (2007) The interplay between theory and method. *Academy of Management Review 32*(4): 1145–1154.

Vaittinen, T., & Näre, L. (2014). Ihmisoikeusnäkökulma työperusteiseen muuttoon: Filippiniläiset hoitajat ja siivoojat Suomessa. In: E. Niskanen (Eds), *Ihmisoikeudet Aasiassa* (pp. 120-141). Into kustannus.

Virdee, S. (2019). Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation. *The Sociological Review*, *67*(1), 3-27. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118820293

Vogel, L. (2000). Domestic labor revisited. *Science & Society*, 64(2), 151–170

Vuori, J. (2012). Arjen kansalaisuus, sukupuoli ja kotouttamistyö. Keskinen, S. P., Vuori, J., & Hirsiaho, A. (Toimittajat) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli: Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampereen yliopistopaino.

Vuorela, U. (2009). Colonial Complicity: The 'Postcolonial' in a Nordic Context. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, K. Irni, & D. Mulinari (Eds.) *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*. London: Routledge.

Yang, C. L. (2009). Whose feminism? Whose emancipation?. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni & D Mulinari, (eds) *Complying with colonialism: gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, (pp. 241-256). Farnham: Ashgate

World Economic Forum. (2020). *Global gender gap report 2020*. Geneva: Author.