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**SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS ON
THE FINNISH LABOUR MARKET IN 2020**

Alternative futures

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1 INTRODUCTION

Finland is slowly becoming more multicultural. Increasing numbers of immigrants have arrived here from 1990s onwards, and currently the foreign-born population amounts to approximately 220,000 (Statistics Finland 2009b). This has already led to some changes in the appearance of cities and in workplaces. Despite the comparatively small size of immigrant population, the increasing diversity has generated active discussion in politics, media and in the everyday life. Immigrants and the issues associated with their integration are one of the most controversial topics of discussion in Finland.

One topic that is often left out of the discussion is the position of second-generation immigrants, i.e. the children of immigrants, in the Finnish society. Immigration into Finland is a part of a more global increase in migration which has been occurring over decades (Margolis 2009, 17). Thus it seems probable that immigration into Finland will continue to increase and that as a result the number of second-generation immigrants will rise as well. Their acceptance as full members of the Finnish society has wider implications for example for the labour market, and because of this it is useful to consider their possible futures when they are still quite young.

1.1 Second-generation immigrants and work

Second-generation immigrants are people whose parents have made the decision to migrate and who then grow up in the receiving country. Thus they live and balance between two different cultures. At present there are approximately 60,000 second-generation immigrants living in Finland, and their numbers are likely to increase as first-generation immigrants have children. At the moment the second generation in Finland tends to be young, which offers scope for futures studies.

In literature on immigration it is generally recognised that the acculturation of second-generation immigrants has implications for the future of the receiving societies. The relationship of the immigrant group and the receiving society might reflect successful multiculturalism, assimilation, segregation, or marginalisation, or a combination of these. What the outcome for Finland will be is still to large extent open, and this study attempts to highlight some possibilities.

In this thesis I will focus on the future of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020. The main reason for this focus is the great significance assigned to work in the Finnish society. Gainful employment is generally taken as a sign that a person fits in with the society and is a part of it (Forsander 2001, 42). As a result of the importance of work it seems likely that labour market status and opportunities reflect the general standing of a group in the society. Thus labour market status is

important both in itself and as an indicator of broader acceptance into the society. The focus will be on second-generation immigrants as employees, even though entrepreneurship among immigrants has also been a popular topic of study. The year 2020 was chosen because by then second-generation immigrants will be moving into the labour market in much greater numbers than is currently the case and it is useful to consider alternative futures in advance. Thinking about alternatives could for example enable the addressing of potential causes of inequality before they become fixed. The relatively short ten-year timeframe can also make thinking about the future easier for the informants, who in this study were not experienced in futures thinking.

1.2 Definitions

There are various ways to define immigrants, and for example the definitions used in the statistics of OECD countries vary (OECD 2008a, 311). Most of the quantitative data used in this study concerning immigrants in Finland is from Statistics Finland, and thus I will use their definition of ‘immigrant’ as someone who comes to Finland and plans to stay here for at least a year without interruption (Statistics Finland 2009a). This definition excludes for example exchange students, and is fairly clear.

Determining who is a second-generation immigrant is rather more difficult. They can be defined as people who have been born in a country into which at least one of their parents has arrived as an immigrant (Martikainen 2008, 39). In studies of second-generation immigrants different definitions have been used. For example, in a study done by the Finnish National Board of Education on the education of immigrant youth the classification ‘second-generation immigrant’ covered those who had been born in Finland and whose native tongue was something other than Finnish or Swedish (Kuusela, Etelälahti, Hagman, Hievanen, Karppinen, Nissilä, Rönnerberg and Siniharju 2008, 11). This definition is narrower than the first one since it probably excludes a significant proportion of people with one Finnish and one foreign parent. Even more exact classifications have been used in the United States (see Rumbaut 2007), but in Finland the quality of data available does not make this worthwhile

In this thesis I will use an adapted version of the definition in Portes and Rumbaut (2001). They define the second generation as ‘native-born children of foreign parents or foreign-born children who were brought to the United States before adolescence (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 23). My working definition of a second-generation immigrant is a person whose both parents are foreign and who has either been born in Finland or who has migrated here in primary school age at the latest. This corresponds with the common Finnish usage of the term ‘second-generation immigrant’, which refers to

children, and later on adults, with immigrant background (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004a, 50).

Some other notes on the terms used are also necessary. ‘First-generation immigrant’ refers to people who have themselves migrated at an age older than 12. The term ‘native Finn’ is used to refer to people whose both parents are Finnish. ‘Person (or people) with immigrant background’ is the broadest term used, and encompasses both first- and second-generation immigrants. To some extent it also relates to people with one Finnish and one foreign parent, although they are not included in the study.

1.3 Outline of the study

In this study I aim to answer four research questions. Firstly, what are the most important factors which influence the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020? Secondly, what types of alternative futures might second-generation immigrants have on the Finnish labour market in 2020? Thirdly, how can we get from the present to these different futures? The answers to this question will be in the form of scenarios, descriptions of pathways to future. And finally, how do these futures and scenarios compare with the theoretical framework and results of previous studies both in Finland and abroad? A broader, underlying goal of this study is to expand people’s consciousness of the possible futures of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market, as one of the general aims of futures studies is to create more extensive knowledge (Malaska 2003, 13).

In futures studies it is important to start the futures work on the basis of as accurate information about the present as possible. Thus I will first present an overview of relevant theoretical approaches and of findings of previous studies, which will act as a basis for the futures research part of the thesis.

Chapter 2 of this thesis outlines selected theoretical approaches to acculturation and labour markets, and will formulate a theoretical framework for this thesis. In chapter 3 the Finnish labour market is discussed, with a particular focus on the future labour market needs. Chapter 4 contains findings from previous studies about immigrants on the Finnish labour market. Chapter 5 presents findings from studies concerning second-generation immigrants in selected European countries as a background to an overview of earlier studies on immigrant youth and children in Finland in chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses the methodology of the empirical part of the study. The results of the research process are presented in chapter 8, and the alternative futures and the scenarios are discussed in chapter 9. In chapter 10 the results are compared with the theoretical framework and with earlier research, and the thesis finishes with concluding remarks which highlight the importance of action to attain the desired future.

2 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR MARKETS

Theoretical approaches to immigration can be classified into two broad categories. Firstly, there are theories of acculturation, which contemplate the different ways in which immigrants and their children adapt to the receiving society. The mode of acculturation may have an impact on the labour market status of second-generation immigrants, and therefore I will discuss different acculturation theories in more detail below. Secondly, there are theories on why people migrate. As these are not particularly relevant in the case of second-generation migrants, who have not themselves decided to migrate, I will exclude these theories.

In addition to theories of immigration, I will examine theories of labour market. There are various theoretical approaches which explain why some people succeed on the labour market, and I will offer a review of these. I will then briefly discuss theoretical approaches to discrimination, particularly in the context of the labour market.

As this study is concerned with the future, I will also present certain key theoretical insights from futures studies. This chapter will finish with a theoretical framework for the study, in which the theories of acculturation and of labour market status will be combined. The assumptions of futures studies will underlie this framework.

2.1 Theories of acculturation

Acculturation as a concept describes cultural change between two cultures which come into contact with each other (Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000, 22-23). As such it can be used to refer to the way immigrants adapt to the receiving society, and also to the way the receiving society may change in response. However, in immigration research the focus has generally been on the way the immigrants adapt (Forsander 2001, 32). Most theories focus on the acculturation of first-generation immigrants, with only occasional reference to the experiences of the second generation. I will first introduce the most commonly used theories of this type, and then turn to theories that discuss the second generation more explicitly.

2.1.1 Traditional theories of acculturation

The early classics of acculturation research are American studies from the early 20th century. These assimilation theories, for example Park (1996 [1928]), assumed that

when immigrants came to a 'melting-pot' such as the United States they would over time merge with the dominant native population. The result of this merger would be new types of culture. The assimilation would be achieved by forming families across group boundaries. Within this general theoretical approach there are different weights assigned to different issues. For example Park (1996) focused on the immigration of individuals, while others, such as Thomas and Znaniecki (1974 [1918], 1469) emphasised the importance of group in the process of assimilation. Immigrants could for instance develop new forms of social organisation by combining features of the receiving culture and that of their home country (Thomas & Znaniecki 1974, 1471-1473).

Already these early theories recognised difficulties associated with the process of assimilation. The ethnic group of the immigrants tended to be a more important organising force than the American society even for second-generation immigrants (Thomas & Znaniecki 1974, 1477). It also appeared that the process of assimilation was particularly problematic when the immigrants were of different race than the receiving population. These racial differences made interbreeding less likely, and thus limited the extent of assimilation (Park 1996, 163-164). In sum the assimilation theories argued that immigrants would become assimilated, but that the speed and ease of this transition would vary and that there would also be new, hybrid forms of culture.

Assimilation theories have been developed further for example by Gordon (1964). Gordon (1964, 242-244) separates structural assimilation (a complete absorption in the receiving country society) from cultural assimilation, also termed acculturation. He argues that structural assimilation is a difficult goal, particularly for first-generation immigrants. The emphasis of integration policy should instead be on providing immigrants with instrumental skills, such as language, and on trying to assist them in achieving some level of cultural assimilation. Gordon maintains that in second-generation cultural assimilation was likely to be advanced, but that structural assimilation would not necessarily take place even in second generation.

There are two main criticisms of assimilation theory. Firstly, it assumes that the receiving culture is homogeneous, which in the current world is hardly likely to be the case. Secondly, it is argued that assimilation theory applies best to American society in a particular historical situation in the early 20th century, when immigration was relatively low for a long period of time (Faist 2000, 252-253). Both of these criticisms serve to make the usefulness of assimilation theory in the current migration situation doubtful. The underlying assumptions of assimilation theory regarding for example the inevitability of social stratification have also been criticised and it has even been argued that assimilation theory altogether fails to explain the persistence of racism and racial discrimination (Thompson 1989, 84-102). Furthermore, these theories could be criticised for an implicit attitude that assumes that assimilation would be a desirable

goal. In the modern world there is no single culture to assimilate to; even if there was one in the early 20th century United States and the flows of migrants are much greater than when these theories were developed. Nevertheless, assimilation theory offers some insights into the way people's cultures change when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact with each other. It could thus be assumed that in the face of a dominant culture the culture of the immigrants would change to a greater extent.

The other traditional theory of acculturation is ethnic pluralism. The idea of ethnic pluralism also began to emerge in early 20th century United States. Kallen (1996 [1915]) discussed the problems of Americanisation and argued that many immigrants in the United States had formed their own communities, where their language and culture were dominant. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) elaborated on this approach. They maintained that even though an immigrant group can easily lose its language and culture within two generations, new ethnic groups are formed in the United States. These new groups also serve as interest groups, and form a new kind of order in a society (Glazer & Moynihan 1963, 13-18). They also emphasised the likelihood of different outcomes for different immigrant groups (Glazer & Moynihan 1963, 311-313). It should be recognised that even according to this theory the immigrant groups are not completely separated from the receiving culture. Instead ethnic social ties remain an important part of their lives, even though they have acculturated to an extent (Faist 2000, 255-257). This might be a more relevant concept in the modern world, as it does not assume a complete assimilation into a homogeneous culture, but the role of ethnic groups in a society will probably change over time.

2.1.2 Berry's bidimensional model of acculturation

The theory of different acculturation strategies adopted by immigrants, developed by Berry and colleagues, is widely cited in the literature on acculturation (see for example Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000, 28-29). The theory seeks to explain how cultural groups and individuals within them choose the way in which to acculturate. The model consists of two dimensions: the extent of cultural maintenance and the contact with and participation in the mainstream society. From the point of view of the non-dominant group in a given situation the combinations of these factors can lead to four distinct strategies: integration, separation (or segregation if forced on the group by outsiders), assimilation, or marginalisation. In integration strategy value is placed on maintaining the group's own culture, but relationships with the society are also valued. Separation strategy by contrast values only the maintenance of the own culture, not links with the wider society. Assimilation strategy values links with the society, but does not focus on

upholding cultural traditions, and in marginalisation the group does not consider either their own culture or links with the society as worthy of maintenance (Berry 1997, 9-10).

These strategies are not completely freely chosen. Marginalisation differs from the other strategies in that it is rarely chosen voluntarily, and instead people are forced by external actors or policies to become marginalised. Integration and separation as strategies demand the support of the group, as an individual can hardly uphold the cultural traditions alone. Successful integration also requires the support of a multicultural society, since it is necessary for the society to accept different cultural practices among its members. Assimilation by contrast can be chosen by an individual, but even it requires a society that does not isolate immigrants into segregation or marginalisation (Berry 1997, 10-11). The importance of group in the acculturation process has been emphasised already in some early assimilation theories (Thomas & Znaniecki 1974, 1469). Due to the strong links between the strategies and the society, policies and programmes of a given society can be assessed in terms of which of these strategies best describes them (Berry 1997, 11). For example Ekholm (2001, 165-168) has classified European countries into five different categories which partly match the strategies discussed by Berry.

Berry's model is useful to the extent that it recognises that all immigrant groups and immigrants do not acculturate in the same way. However, there are some aspects of acculturation processes which the model does not really address. Examples include conflict between different ethno-cultural identities, and motivations for ethno-cultural continuity (Ward 2008). More significantly for this thesis, Berry's model is not entirely applicable to second-generation immigrants, as both links with the society and maintenance of their own culture are likely to have a different significance for them. A hypothetical second-generation immigrant in Finland, for example, will be legally bound to attend school, which is obviously a strong link with the wider society. They may or may not value their parents' culture, but they will definitely be in contact with the dominant culture, which will probably impact the desire for maintaining their parents' culture one way or another. These shortcomings make a move to theories with a stronger focus on second-generation immigrants worthwhile.

2.1.3 *Transnational social spaces*

The theory of transnational social spaces focuses on processes related to migration, which are transnational, border-crossing, in nature. In essence it is concerned with the fact that migration is not necessarily an end state, and that the migrant may choose a transnational life as a coping strategy (Faist 2000, 197). Transnational lives, meaning families spread out in many locales and countries, have been a feature of most

international migrations, but lately their scale has increased and their nature has changed (Faist 2000, 211-212). It is recognised that continuing cross-border ties and social networks influence many immigrants and their descendants (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2007, 181). It also appears that these transnational connections are nowadays maintained more intensively than before (Vertovec 2007, 150). The theory of transnational social spaces attempts both to explain these changes and to clarify what types of immigrant identities they may lead to.

Transnational social spaces have three main defining characteristics. They require sustained social and symbolic ties, dynamic processes and the use of different types of capital, including human and social. Transnational social spaces serve as one explanation for migration, as in a social space it is possible to utilise social capital, which in turn makes it easier to sustain a flow of people and goods across borders (Faist 2000, 199-201). It is also interesting to note that an existing transnational social reality can influence nonmigrants as well as immigrants (Vertovec 2007, 155). For example, if people know or hear about others who have migrated, this creates a connection with the receiving country and a possibility for future migrations. It appears likely that a continuous transnational flow in its turn strengthens the transnational social ties, enabling an increase in the volume of the flows. Thus the changes in the scale of transnational lives can be explained through a type of a virtuous cycle, where resources build up on each other.

A transnational social space does not emerge suddenly, and Faist (2000, 201-202) distinguishes two stages in their development. In the first stage they only include first-generation immigrants and exist as a by-product of migration. In the second stage they transcend the migratory chain, and develop a life of their own, which includes positive feedback mechanisms. Faist (2000, 202-208) also discusses different types of transnational communities. In a transnational kinship group the ties are of the type found in families, and there are close links with the home country for example through remittances. A transnational circuit entails the constant flow of people, goods, and information between sending and receiving states. These are not necessarily restricted to the first generation, as the second generation may establish its own links with the country of origin. A transnational community by contrast requires a dense network of strong social and symbolic ties between people in the sending country and the migrants abroad. In these communities solidarity is extended beyond the family, and they also comprise interaction with state and non-state entities in both the sending and the receiving countries. Diasporas, such as Kurds, are an example of a transnational community.

The main reason why this theory is useful for studying second-generation immigrants in Finland is that it focuses on how people experience ties, groups and organisations in transnational social spaces, and is not concerned as much with the upholding or not of a

specific culture. This is relevant as it appears that many immigrants exist as “translated people” who constantly mediate between different cultures (Faist 2000, 226, 232). In today’s world the immigrants do not need to abandon their culture, or focus exclusively on maintaining them. Instead, in a transnational social space they can live an interconnected life between countries.

However, it appears that transnational connections are not maintained as actively by second- and later generation immigrants, even if the transnational reality has influenced their development (Vertovec 2007, 171). Nevertheless transnational links retain some of their importance, which is highlighted by the phenomenon of second- and third-generation immigrants in Western countries going back ‘home’ to look for a marriage partner (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2007, 195). In the light of this theory it is possible to hypothesise that second-generation immigrants in Finland probably have some transnational links, even if they are weaker than those of their parents. Thus their identity might be a complex mix of Finnish and foreign identities.

2.1.4 Segmented assimilation

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have developed a theory of segmented assimilation, which focuses explicitly on the assimilation of the second-generation immigrants in today’s America and this focus on the second generation serves to make it particularly useful for this thesis. They argue that the process of adaptation is complex and is influenced by several factors, the most important of which are the history of the first generation; the speed at which the parents and children acculturate; the barriers the second generations faces as they try to adapt; and the resources the family and community have to confront these barriers (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 45-46).

The theoretical model begins with the background factors of the first generation, which include the human capital of the parents, the way in which the receiving country accepts them, and the family structure. The model then looks at three intergenerational patterns, which refer to the relationships between the acculturation of parents and children. In dissonant acculturation parents and children acculturate at different speeds, and generally children assimilate more rapidly. In consonant acculturation the acculturation processes advance at the same pace, and in selective acculturation only some aspects of the receiving country culture are adopted. Second-generation immigrants handle external obstacles to the best of their ability with the resources they have. The combination of these stages can lead to three main outcomes: downward assimilation, mostly upward assimilation, and upward assimilation with biculturalism. (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 63).

This theory is a result of an extensive Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) which studied adaptation outcomes in America as the children moved from school to college or to work (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 22-23). It is likely that this theory applies at least partly only to the American context. For example, a fixed racial underclass does not (yet) exist in Finland, whereas in the American context such urban ethnically based class exists, and the term 'downward assimilation' refers to assimilation into this class.

Nevertheless, this model offers important insights, highlighting for example the role the receiving society plays in acculturation and the importance of a supportive family or community. Probably the most useful aspect of this theory for studying second-generation immigrants in Finland is the statement that all second-generation immigrants will not follow the same route to assimilation. Assimilation and acculturation are shaped by both contextual and individual factors, which means that the heterogeneous group of second-generation immigrants in Finland will acculturate differently. This will probably also result in different positions on the labour market

2.2 Theories of labour market

Labour market is a topic which has been analysed from a great variety of theoretical viewpoints both in economics and in economic sociology. I will focus on the sociological approaches which examine the reasons why some people succeed in the labour market and others do not. These explanations include human and social capital, social networks, and employment discrimination.

2.2.1 *Role of capital on the labour market*

In economic sociology there is a general recognition that economic action and social conditions are connected. Granovetter (1985) criticised both the oversocialised concept of a person in sociology and the undersocialised one in economics. He argued that economic actions are embedded in social relations, even in the modern-day industrial society. Bourdieu (1984, 113) presents a similar notion of capital as a social relation, which only exists and can produce effects in a particular field. In essence this means that economic and social aspects of for example labour markets are connected.

The connection of economic and social aspects also influences the notion of capital in economic sociology. Sociological literature on economic issues generally recognises the existence of different forms of capital. Bourdieu (1986, 243) defines these different types as economic, cultural, and social capital. The meaning of economic capital is

rather self-explanatory, as it stands for the economic resources at a person's disposal. Cultural capital is a broader, more intangible concept, which can either be a property embedded in a person or be institutionalised for example in educational qualifications. Thus it overlaps with, but is not quite the same, as the concept human capital, which is frequently discussed in economics (see for example Becker (1964)). Social capital by contrast is more difficult to define. According to Bourdieu (1986, 248-249) social capital includes those resources which are connected to a durable network of relationships. In these networks the members have access to a form of credit, which means that they possess social capital. Admittedly this definition is not exactly clear, and the lack of a firm definition of the concept of social capital is recognised as a problem for studying it (Sabatini 2009, 429). Nevertheless, social capital as a concept is often used in studying social actions and economic positions.

The different forms of capital can be converted to each other. According to Bourdieu (1986, 252-253), economic capital is at the root of other forms of capital, and the amount of capital and its transformations into other types can be measured by the effort invested in them. Human capital can be converted into economic capital on the labour market, and for instance Becker (1964) argues that higher human capital increases earnings in particular at older age. In connection with immigrants it is also significant that the location where human capital such as education has been acquired influences its exchange value to a great extent (Forsander 2002, 54).

Measuring intangible capital, in particular social capital, is obviously difficult. The volume of social capital can be conceived as depending on the size of the social network and on the volume of capital (in its different forms) possessed by the network members (Bourdieu 1986, 249). Coleman (1988) offers a review of how social capital of a family and community can be used to create greater amounts of human capital for children. He argues (1988, 110) that the human capital of parents will not help the children increase their human capital, if the parents do not have an important social role in the lives of the children. Human capital can be converted into economic capital for example in the form of higher wages, social capital can help people realise their goals, and economic capital can be utilised to purchase human capital (such as education) or to help facilitate better social connections.

Social capital serves a number of different functions. Portes (1998, 9) states that the functions of social capital are to serve as a source of social control, of family support and of benefits from wider networks. Portes (1998, 12) also maintains that the most common function attributed to social capital is the provision of benefits in wider networks. According to van Oorschot and Finsveen (2009, 191) social capital is generally conceptualised as including social network, social norms, and social trust. These obviously overlap with the functions defined by Portes (1998), and thus it appears sensible to state that social capital is connected with networks, norms, and trust.

Social capital can also be treated as a sum of civic actions in a society, as was done in Putnam (2000). All of these aspects of social capital appear positive, but Portes (1998, 15) also discusses its negative impacts. These include the exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms.

To summarise, social capital can act in a positive way by offering benefits in networks, and by creating norms and trust between people. However, it may also limit the scope of people's actions (the flipside of social norms, in a way), and act as a barrier against outsiders. Like other forms of capital, social capital can in these ways lead to inequalities.

2.2.2 Role of networks on the labour market

The connection of social capital and labour markets has mainly been studied from the point of view networks, although Granovetter (1985, 487-493) also discusses the role of trust in economic action. The central idea is that social networks relay information about the labour market to their members. The key text on the topic is Granovetter (1974). The study analysed how professional, technical, and managerial workers gained information about jobs, with a particular focus on whether they used formal means, personal contacts, or direct applications. There were a number of interesting findings, for example that even though people very closely linked with a person might be the most motivated to help, more distant connections were more likely to have useful information about jobs (1974, 52-53). One of the main theoretical implications was that the people in the best occupational positions tended to be involved in short information chains, with mostly occupational contacts, with whom they had only weak ties (1974, 93). Weak ties have been found to be important on the labour market also in more theoretical studies, for example Boorman (1975, 242).

The theory of the importance of weak ties in finding jobs has been subject to further developments. Weak ties are particularly important on the labour market when they are bridging ties, which means that they connect to people different from one's usual set of connections (Granovetter 1983, 208). Sabatini (2009, 437-438) finds that in Italy the most significant positive impact on per capita income is produced by linking social capital, which signifies ties to people or groups in positions of political or financial power. This would seem to suggest that the relative importance of weak ties on the labour market might depend on particular characteristics of the labour market in question.

Another interesting issue is the connection of social networks and inequality. Granovetter (1974, 133) touches on this topic by stating that if certain groups are

underrepresented on the labour market, it is harder for other members of these groups to become employed. Calvó-Armengol and Jackson (2004) studied the impact of social networks on unemployment and inequality. They maintain that a person's contacts are more useful in finding jobs if they are employed, that dropping out of the labour market is contagious, since it reduces the usefulness of the network, and that long periods of unemployment worsen the chances of finding employment (2004, 427). They also state that a person's position in a network can influence the chances of finding employment, because people in bridging positions in networks have access to more information (2004, 431). These studies on social networks and inequality tie with the negative aspects of social capital, as they highlight the exclusive effects of social ties.

In terms of the labour market the significance of social networks is that people find out about jobs through them. There is also a strong connection between social capital and social networks on the labour market, as social capital can be thought of as a property inherent in networks. This is obviously relevant in connection with immigrants, who are likely, at least to begin with, to have less extensive social networks than the natives do. Role of social capital on the Finnish labour market will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.2. of this thesis. For now it suffices to say that because social capital, in particular in the form of networks, appears to play such an important role in finding work, the future of second-generation immigrants on the labour market will also probably be influenced by their social networks.

2.2.3 *Employment discrimination*

There are also other theoretical approaches to labour markets. In relation to immigrants, theories concerned with employment discrimination are particularly germane. Discrimination, both in terms of gender and in terms of ethnicity, persists in OECD countries. Gender employment gaps are not completely explained by observable characteristics, such as education, but in the case of ethnic minorities differences in education offer more of an explanation (OECD 2008b, 142-149). When differences in level of employment and wages are not explained by differences in skills, it can be argued that discrimination is playing a part.

Discrimination on the labour market can be either preferential or statistical discrimination. In preferential discrimination the employer prefers to either hire or promote a person over an equally qualified other (in the case of immigrants, they prefer natives over immigrants) for reasons that are not economically rational. The employers simply discriminate because of their preferences. In statistical discrimination the employer is uncertain of the exact capabilities of the person to be hired and in the case of immigrants would rather choose a native. Possible reasons would be previous

experiences of immigrants which cause the employer to expect for example a gap between the qualifications on paper and in fact, or increased cost because of necessary changes in the workplace. However, it should be remembered that the distinction between these two types of discrimination is in many cases rather unclear and that it is overall very difficult to study discrimination (Broomé, Bäcklund, Lundh & Ohlsson 1996, 16-18).

On a theoretical level prejudice has been explained by conflict theory, by the theory of social identity, and by the contact hypothesis. The theory of social identity is based on the idea that people have a need to treat their own group in a preferential manner. According to conflict theory, which has been widely used in the Nordic countries, hostile attitudes can be explained by the real or imagined threats posed by immigrants for example on the labour market (Jaakkola 2009, 37). The contact hypothesis maintains that if there are direct personal contacts between two groups, the level of prejudice should decrease (Duckitt 1992, 144).

At first glance contact hypothesis is supported by findings of Jaakkola (2009, 35) who states that the more contacts people have with immigrants, the more positive their attitudes towards them are. However, studies in other countries show that this is not so simple, and that contacts only reduce prejudice in certain favourable conditions. The contacts should be between people of equal status, with a shared goal, and the situations should be comfortable, to name some important conditions (Duckitt 1992, 144-145). In short this means that although positive contacts can explain more positive attitudes towards immigrants, the attitudes do not necessarily become less negative simply by increasing the number of contacts. Nevertheless in the context of the labour market it could be argued that more contacts with foreign co-workers could reduce prejudices, and could lead to lower incidence of discrimination.

Discrimination obviously results in poorer labour market possibilities and lower wages for the group that is being discriminated against. Additionally, discrimination may have to broader implications and influence the employing company. If employers prefer not to hire for example people with immigrant background, they will lose the productivity of their labour, encounter higher than average labour costs, and lose profit opportunities. In the case of statistical discrimination, the negative stereotyping might be self-confirming. If employers believe some group to be badly performing, the group might lack motivation to even try to succeed (OECD 2008b, 151-152). Thus discrimination not only disadvantages the discriminated group, but also the wider economy.

The input of theories of discrimination is that people who face negative attitudes on the labour market (and society as a whole) are likely to have worse labour market opportunities than those people who face no such barriers. In Finland negative attitudes towards people with immigrant background are still rather common. For example, 45

percent of people at least partly agreed with the statement that ‘people of certain races are inherently incapable of living in a modern society’ (Jaakkola 2009, 63). This is bound to have an impact on the position of people of immigrant background also on the labour market. However, it should be noted that attitudes, in particular towards labour-based immigrants, have become more positive (Jaakkola 2009, 78). Discrimination should then be considered as a possibly influential factor on the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland.

2.3 Theoretical insights from futures studies

This thesis is concerned with the future of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market, and thus the theoretical insights of futures studies will be utilised in addition to the theories set out above. Futures studies is a broad field, and I will focus on those theoretical assumptions and concepts which are most relevant for this thesis.

One of the central ideas of futures studies is the concept of multiple possible futures. The future is a part of the present only as different possibilities, and it is still uncertain which of these possibilities will come true (Malaska 2003, 10-11). It is nevertheless possible to search for the most probable future (Kuusi & Kamppinen 2002, 119). It has been argued that futures studies should focus on those futures which are both plausible and imaginable on the basis of the current situation (de Jouvenel 1967, 18). This concept of alternative futures has become part of the mainstream of futures studies, which currently concentrates on the study of possible worlds, rather than on predicting one unique future (Söderlund & Kuusi 2002, 252). In the context of this study the significance of this approach is that I will not claim that the futures discussed are the only, or even the most probable ones. They are some alternatives, which could follow from the present situation.

Scenarios, one of the most widely used tools of futures studies, are closely related to the idea of alternative futures. In short, scenarios are descriptions of paths to the future. They explain how it is possible to get from the present to a specific future state, and also highlight the alternative courses of action available to key actors at important points of development. A good scenario describes in a consistent way how the future will be achieved, and will include details of how actors behave at key moments. A scenario will be realised if the actors behave in the assumed way and if the underlying causal predictions are correct (Kuusi & Kamppinen 2002, 120-121). A scenario is thus a description of an alternative future (Mannermaa 2003, 32).

The final key assumption, and one connected both with alternative futures and with scenarios, is the idea that the future is not predetermined and that to a greater or lesser extent the future is shaped by our actions (Bell 1997, 150-154). This is evident both in

our everyday life, and in more complex organisations (Kuusi & Kamppinen 2002, 117-118). It has also been argued that some people have more power to influence the future than others do (de Jouvenel 1967, 109). In relation to second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market this signifies that the outcome, the future, will be influenced by their own actions, and those of other relevant actors, such as the state and the employers. The futures discussed in this thesis hopefully provide guidance on where particular actions might lead.

2.4 Theoretical framework for studying second-generation immigrants on the labour market in 2020

The theories of acculturation and of labour markets presented above give indications of factors that might influence the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland. Although most of the theories do not focus specifically on second-generation immigrants, it is possible to create a theoretical framework for studying them on the basis of these theories. The theoretical insights from futures studies help in the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data.

In terms of acculturation it seems plausible that second-generation immigrants will have some form of transnational consciousness, and that second-generation immigrants from different origins will acculturate in a different way. The theories of labour market point to the importance of social capital and social networks. It could be assumed that second-generation immigrants, having been brought up in Finland, would have social networks of similar breadth as their native peers. Immigrant parents may have extensive transnational networks, but they tend to have more limited networks in the host society. Second-generation immigrants will probably have more extensive social networks in Finland than their parents do, and this would give opportunities for social mobility in the second generation. However, these possibilities might be curtailed for example by discrimination, which still appears to be widespread.

If acculturation theories and theories of labour market are synthesised, it could be assumed that because of the transnational links social networks of second-generation immigrants would extend beyond the borders of Finland. This might make them more desirable employees in Finland, as they would have more of an international outlook. Even if this does not happen, a transnational social network would offer the possibility of avoiding the obstacles possibly present in Finland. It is also necessary to keep in mind that with all probability, all immigrant groups will not face the same opportunities and challenges on the labour market. Thus there will be a variety of futures for them.

In sum it appears probable that because of wider social networks and greater Finnish social capital the second-generation immigrants will have better labour market

possibilities than their parents, and that they will be closer to the Finnish average. The transnational aspects might create more opportunities for second-generation immigrants. On the other hand discrimination might prove to be an additional hurdle for them, even though prejudices might decrease with the increase of the number of contacts between groups. Labour market possibilities can be assumed to vary by group and also in terms of family history.

Taking into account the insights of futures studies places more emphasis on alternative futures and on the importance of actions. Labour market and acculturation theories highlight some possible courses of action, but it is yet unsure for example how much the particular conditions of Finnish society will alter acculturation outcomes. It should also be kept in mind that actions taken by people, or other actors such as the state, might influence the future so that it will not follow the neat theoretical model set out above. The key theoretical assumptions of futures studies set out in section 2.3 above will guide the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data. Thus it is important to recognise that the resulting futures and scenarios are not predictions, but only alternative possibilities.

3 FINNISH LABOUR MARKET

Finnish labour market provides the context of this study. Immigrant entrepreneurship is excluded from the study and thus it is assumed that second-generation immigrants enter the general Finnish labour market. By 2020 the Finnish labour market will probably have changed in some significant ways, and this chapter outlines the most important of these changes. First I will discuss forecasts about population growth and ageing, and then present some statements about future labour market needs. Similarly to all discussions of the future, these too are subject to the uncertainties inherent in all attempts at prediction.

3.1 Population growth and ageing

Population projections are important as tools in policy-making and thus they are made and updated regularly. The projections of Statistics Finland use the technique of trend extrapolation, i.e. they assume that development will follow the same trends as it has done in the past. Thus they are unable to deal with unpredictable events in the future. For example, if climate change accelerated, this might lead to masses of climate refugees, and this might noticeably increase the number of immigrants coming to Finland.

Three important themes emerge from these projections. Firstly, the population of Finland is still growing. According to the projection the number of deaths per year will be greater than that of births in 2034, but immigration will support population growth even after this. Secondly, immigration plays an important part in maintaining population growth. Thirdly, the population is ageing, as the post-war baby boom generation reaches retirement age and moves past the age of 65 (Statistics Finland 2009e). These factors, when combined, will have a significant impact on the Finnish population.

Statistics Finland (2009e) predicts that Finnish population will continue to grow and will exceed 6 million in 2042. However, when the death rate overtakes the birth rate the importance of net immigration in maintaining population growth will increase. Annual volume of net immigration is assumed to be 15,000 persons. Others assume a much more modest volume of net migration at 7,500 a year, but even this would result in 300,000 immigrants, 6 percent of the population, by 2025 (Työvoima 2025-työryhmä 2007, 225). It is also argued that the turnaround of death and birth rates might take place in nearer future than Statistics Finland predicts, which puts even more emphasis on net immigration (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 18). Immigration is also important to population growth because larger proportion of immigrants than of all people living in Finland is in the age group of 20-44 (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 6). Thus they will

be both in prime working age and in an age when they are likely to start their own families and have children.

It is also significant that while the population continues to grow, it is simultaneously ageing rapidly. There will be more people aged over 65, and the numbers of people younger than 15-years and of those in working age are both diminishing. This means that the demographic dependency ratio, i.e. the number of children and elderly people in relation to those in working age will rise notably (Statistics Finland 2009e). This mass movement of people into retirement will begin in Finland already during this decade, while in other EU countries the same process will occur on average 15 years later (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 20). Thus, although the problems are shared by all developed countries, Finland will have to be at the forefront when attempting to solve the issues caused by an ageing population.

One final issue related to population growth is that there will probably be considerable differences between regions. For example by 2030 Etelä-Savo and Kainuu will experience significant reductions in population size. By contrast the populations of Ahvenanmaa, Itä-Uusimaa, and Uusimaa will increase by approximately 20 percent during the same time (Statistics Finland 2009e). It is reasonable to assume that the challenges faced by these areas will differ from each other, and thus any solution to the challenges of ageing will need to take into account regional differences.

3.2 Labour market needs

The rapid ageing of Finnish population will have a major impact on the Finnish labour market. The pool of people in working age will decrease, and this development will be at its quickest in the 2010s. At its peak, almost 30,000 people a year will exit the labour market. This will obviously make filling vacancies a lot harder (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 6). By 2030 the number of people in working age will have diminished by about 400,000, averaging 20,000 a year (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 18). Even though some jobs will not be filled when their holders retire, there will be a large gap on the labour market. When these people retire, they take lots of skills and knowledge with them, and replacing that will be even more difficult than just making up the numbers. Immigration has often been promoted as a partial solution, and labour-based migration would definitely be useful.

The ageing of the population will also impact the labour market needs in terms of sectors. There will be a significant increase in the number of care- and health workers needed. By contrast the demand for people working in offices will decrease (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 180). Others predict that the trend of moving from primary and industrial production to the production of services will continue to the future. Labour is

particularly in demand in the health sector and in social services (Työvoima 2025-työryhmä 2007, 84).

Another issue which ought to be discussed is the emigration of Finns. Since the first half of the 1990s the rate of emigration of Finnish citizens has been higher than their rate of immigration. From 1993 to 2002 the emigration of working-aged people doubled to reach 9,572 in 2002. In 2007 12,443 people, both Finnish and foreign citizens, emigrated from Finland. These migrants tend to be young and well-educated, and this obviously has an impact on both the population structure and the labour market resources of Finland (Heikkilä 2009). If educated Finns for example in health care sector choose to emigrate, there will be a correspondingly greater need for immigrants in these sectors of the labour market. It is also argued that immigrants and their children might be more likely emigrate in search of better labour market opportunities because they are already used to the idea of migration (Jaakkola 2000, 106). Thus it would not be sensible to assume that once skilled immigrants have been attracted to Finland they would stay here permanently, even if work opportunities are poor.

3.3 Finnish labour market in 2020

Population forecasts and other studies with orientation towards the future help to create an image of the Finnish labour market in 2020. The Finnish population is ageing rapidly, and as a result there will be labour shortages and the needs of the labour market will change. It is also probable that some jobs will not be filled when people retire, and that efficiency in the workplace will need to be improved.

Immigration, in particular labour-based migration of skilled people, has been promoted as one way to deal with these changes. Immigration will most likely continue to increase, and thus this will be at least a partial solution. At the same time immigration might create its own problems at work. Enhancing the level of cultural knowledge and tolerance will be necessary. Similarly there will be a need for development of ways to cope with different language skills and variable educational backgrounds.

Finnish labour market in 2020 will probably be much more multicultural than that in 2009. The labour market needs will also differ from those of today. This will be the context for the second-generation immigrants when they begin to enter the labour market in greater numbers. There are both challenges and opportunities, and obviously the direction of trends might change during the next 10 years. Thus it will be interesting to explore the alternative futures that might occur.

4 IMMIGRANTS AND WORK IN FINLAND

In futures studies it is important to begin studying the future with an accurate view of the past and the present, which serves as the basis for thinking about the future (Bell 1997, 244). In order to give a fuller picture of the current situation, I will in this chapter discuss first-generation immigrants in Finland and in particular on the Finnish labour market. This will give indications of the type of socioeconomic background second-generation immigrants are likely to have, as well as of the obstacles and possibilities on offer for people of immigrant background on the Finnish labour market.

4.1 Immigrants in Finland

For a long time Finland has been a country of emigration. In the early 20th century Finns migrated to North America and Australia, and after the Second World War the bulk of Finnish migrants went to Sweden. This trend was reversed when immigrants began arriving in Finland in noticeable numbers in the 1980s. A similar development has been

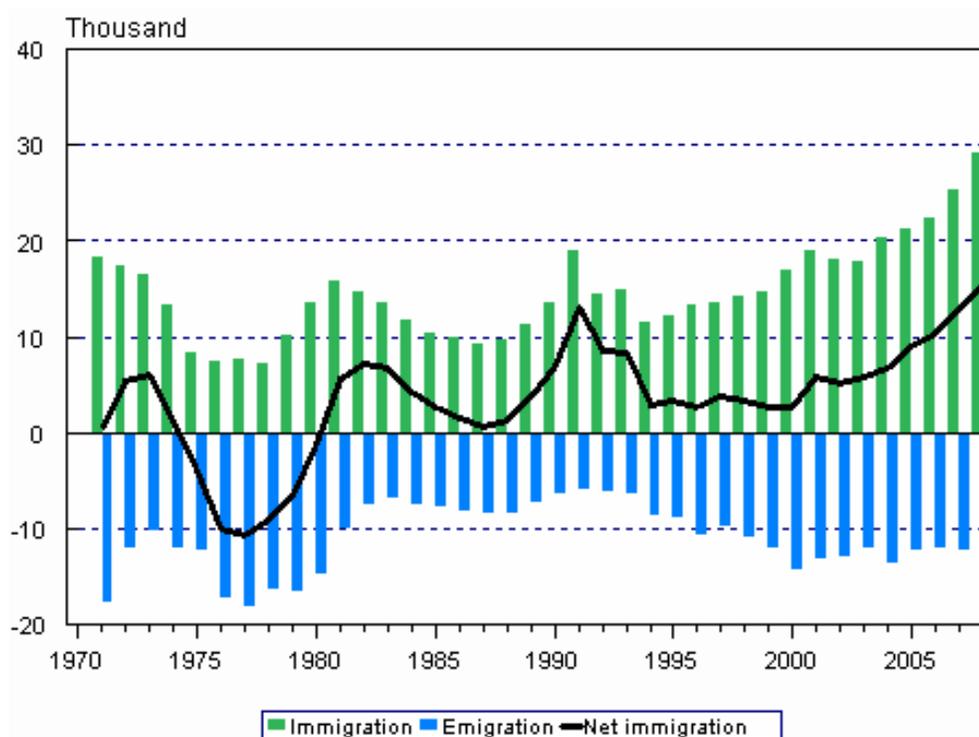


Figure 1 Immigration and emigration in 1971-2008 (Statistics Finland 2009b)

observed in other European countries that have traditionally been sending migrants, such as Spain, Italy and Portugal (Forsander 2002, 17-18). As can be seen from figure 1 on previous page, net immigration into Finland has varied considerably over time. This figure does not even show the mass migrations from Finland to Sweden that took place in 1969-70, when tens of thousands of Finns emigrated there. However, from the early 1990s onwards the yearly number of immigrants has been steadily increasing. It reached a record of 29,100 people in 2008, which was 3,100 higher than in 2007 (Statistics Finland 2009f). Net immigration has also increased from mid-1990s onwards, although at a much lower level.

It should be noted that in figure 1 the immigrants include both foreigners and Finnish citizens. Figure 2 below presents immigration into Finland, and distinguishes between Finnish citizens and citizens of other countries. This figure highlights the fact that immigration into Finland is really rather low. On average 6,700 Finns immigrate into Finland each year, and thus the number of foreign immigrants is lower than might at first glance appear. Nevertheless the numbers of foreign immigrants have been increasing since the early 1990s at a much faster rate than that of Finnish citizens.

At the end of 2008 there were 218,626 foreign-born people living in Finland. There were 143,256 foreign citizens, amounting to 2.7 percent of the population, and 190,538 with native tongue other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami (hereafter foreign native tongue), 3.6 percent, in Finland (Statistics Finland 2009d). Compared with other

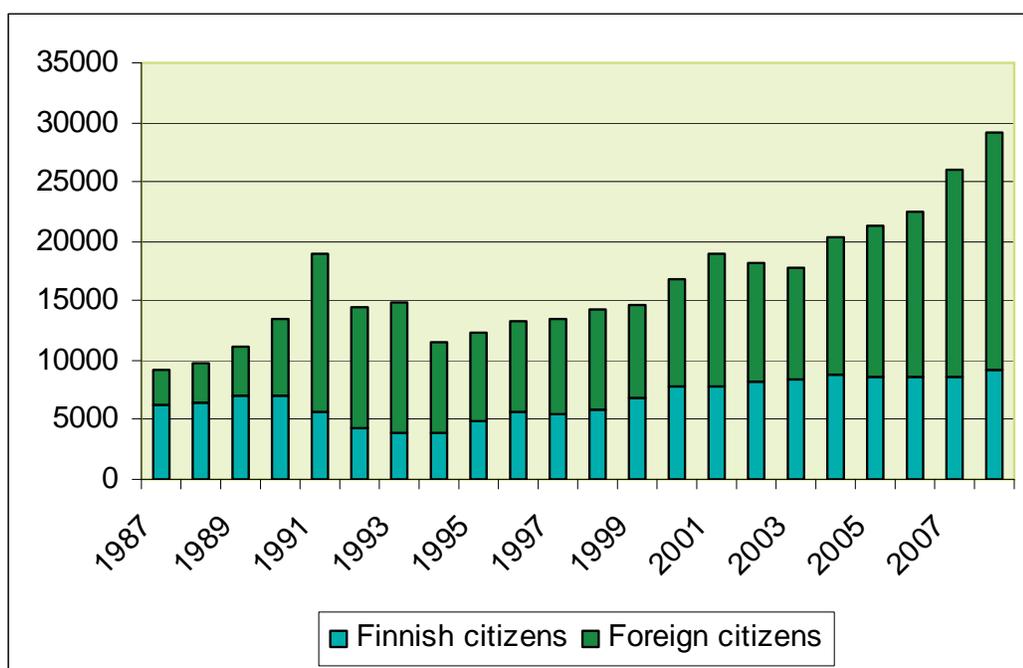


Figure 2 Immigration into Finland according to citizenship, 1987-2008 (Statistics Finland 2009c)

Western countries, the proportion of foreign-born people in Finland is very low. In Germany and Sweden the proportion hovers at around 13 percent, in the UK around 10 percent and in France at approximately 8 percent (OECD 2008a, 55).

It is important to note that immigrants are not evenly distributed across the whole of Finland. Immigrants are heavily concentrated in the most populous parts of the country, namely Uusimaa, Varsinais-Suomi and Pirkanmaa. Approximately 45 percent of immigrants settle in Uusimaa, and combined these three provinces receive 60 percent of all immigrants into Finland. Even within these areas, the settlement of immigrants is concentrated: in Uusimaa a vast majority of immigrants live in the Helsinki metropolitan region. It is also interesting that this pattern of settlement has prevailed over the 1990s (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 6-8). Thus it appears likely that the issues posed by the continuing presence and inflow of immigrants are felt most keenly in particular parts of Finland. Nevertheless, it is possible that the flows of immigrants will change course over time, and that second-generation immigrants choose to live in other parts of the country, and because of these uncertainty factors all parts of Finland need to be prepared for immigration.

4.1.1 Countries of origin, age, and reasons for migration

It is important to consider the demographic characteristics of immigrants into Finland: do they have a prior connection with Finland, where do they come from, and what the age distribution is like. The foreign-born people in Finland can be grouped into three broad categories. They can be Finnish citizens who have been born abroad (as Finnish citizenship does not require being born in Finland), return migrants (who have some Finnish ancestors) or they can be immigrants, who do not fit into the other two categories. The increasing number of foreign-born people in Finland can be attributed to immigrants, as the number of people belonging to the other two categories has remained stable since 1990 (Martikainen 2008, 40).

As seen above, Statistics Finland classifies foreign citizens and those with foreign native tongue separately. This division complicates the estimation of the most significant countries of origin of immigrants, because people with foreign native tongue may be foreign citizens, have gained Finnish citizenship, or have been born as Finnish citizens. However, some statements are possible. Russians and Estonians emerge as the largest groups both in terms of citizenship and native tongue. English is the next most common native tongue (includes people with different citizenships), and Swedish the next most common citizenship. After these in both classifications come Somalis (Statistics Finland 2009d).

In terms of the age distribution two things emerge as significant. Firstly, 77 percent of immigrants are working age when they arrive, 22 percent were younger than 15-years-old, and senior citizens were only one percent of them. Secondly, immigrants have a younger age structure than Finnish residents as a whole (Martikainen 2008, 62). If it is hoped that immigrants help Finland with the problem of ageing population, these findings offers grounds for optimism.

Migrants can be grouped into labour migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and people migrating for other reasons, for example because of family relationships or studying. Immigration into Finland includes people from all these categories. Figure 3 below shows the proportions of different categories of immigrants coming into Finland. As can be seen from the figure, a large majority of immigrants come to Finland from countries from where free movement is possible, or for family reasons (OECDa 2008, 241). The proportion of labour migrants out of all immigrants into Finland is rather small and consists of approximately 1,300 people. In addition to this figure there were about 13,000 temporary workers, and immigrants from for example other EU member states who do not need work permits (OECD 2008a, 241). Finland accepts annually a maximum of 750 refugees with an official refugee status granted by UNHCR (Suomen pakolaisapu 2009). The number of asylum seekers varies from year to year. During the period 2003-2008 the number of applicants has ranged from 1,505 to 4,035, which is much lower level than that in Sweden or Norway (Maahanmuuttovirasto 2009). This means that the proportion of refugees and asylum seekers is rather low as well, despite the amount of attention they receive in the Finnish media.

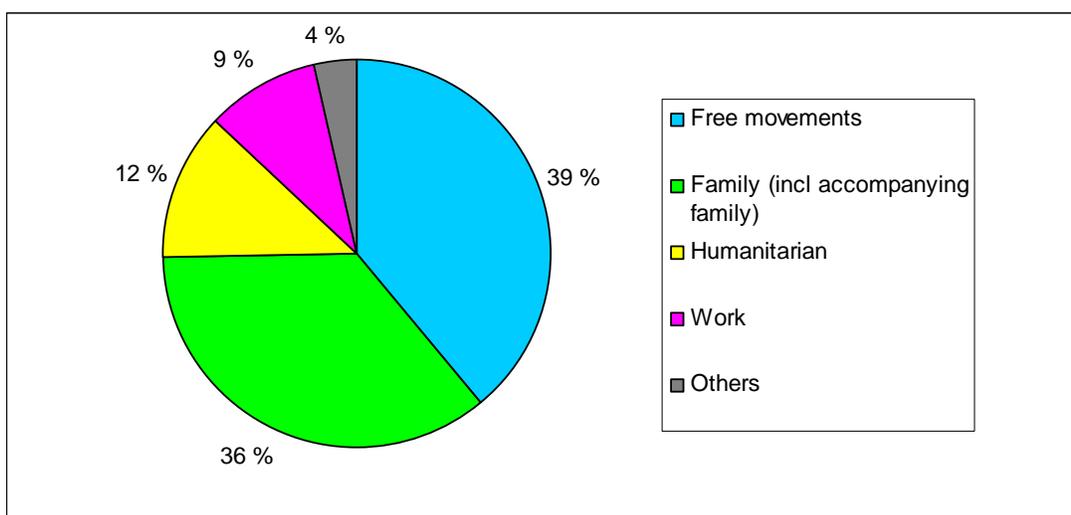


Figure 3 Reasons for immigrating into Finland for foreigners in 2006 (OECD 2008a, 241)

4.2 Immigrants on the Finnish labour market

Even if immigrants originally come to Finland for other reasons, many of them will want to work at some stage. Their possibilities on the Finnish labour market have consequently been to topic of extensive research. This is probably also due to the fact that in the Finnish society being gainfully employed is a strong signal of being normal and integrated into the society (Forsander 2001, 42). The studies have focused on issues beyond the simple rate of employment and have analysed topics such as the types of jobs immigrants have, which sectors of the economy they work in, and how well they are able to utilise their human capital.

The unemployment rate of immigrants in Finland tends to considerably exceed the overall Finnish unemployment rate. In the mid-1990s, when the repercussions of the depression were felt, the unemployment rate of immigrants reached a staggering 60 percent. By the early 21st century unemployment rates had fallen, both for immigrants and for native Finns. The rate for immigrants was still significantly higher, around 31-33 percent, which is approximately three times the unemployment rate of the whole population (Salmenhaara 2003, 51). The simple numerical rate hides significant differences between immigrant groups. Immigrants from Western countries find work most easily, whereas those such as Iraqis who have arrived as refugees have the highest unemployment rate (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 9-10). These differences may be due to discrimination or due to differences in human capital, a question which I will address below.

4.2.1 *Types of work done by immigrants*

The issue of the types of work done by immigrants has been analysed by many researchers. As a first step in the Finnish labour market immigrants tend to end up in 'entrance jobs'. This term refers to jobs which either do not require specific language or professional skills, or which are ethnospecific. Ethnospecific job is one where a particular language or cultural background is necessary, for example as a teacher of native tongue (Forsander 2002, 43). In Finland in the 1990s these first jobs were focused in the low-paid branches, in which women had traditionally been the majority of workers (Salmenhaara 2008, 16). The one dominant sector is the restaurant business, a trend which has been noticed also in other countries (Forsander 2002, 154). Trade as a broader sector is also significant as an employer of immigrants, followed by financial and other services for business, and education and research (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 10-11).

A related topic is that of primary and secondary sectors on the labour market. In the primary sector, for example as a doctor or a lawyer, employment is stable and secure, and there are good opportunities for career development. The secondary sector by contrast is characterised by instability, high risk of unemployment, and poor working conditions and opportunities for career development, and includes for example unskilled work in restaurants. As a result the mobility of employees in the secondary sector is great, both between different employers and between the status of working and being unemployed (Forsander 2002, 45). These different sectors are also characterised by the different utilisation of human capital. In the primary sector human capital is fully utilised, whereas in the secondary sector work and education do not correspond (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 15). In Finland there is evidence that immigrants are more likely to end up on an unsteady career, where employment and unemployment alternate with intermediate forms, such as employment supported by job centres (Forsander 2002, 142). This instability is one of the characteristics of the secondary sector, and thus it appears that immigrants are more likely to work in the secondary sector. This will probably influence their socioeconomic status, which in turn might impact the possibilities of their children, the second generation.

4.2.2 Human and social capital on the Finnish labour market

The type of work immigrants do is connected with their human capital, which includes personal capabilities such as education, language skills, and work experience. The educational level varies considerably among immigrants in Finland. It is noteworthy that among immigrants the educational level is more polarised than among native Finns: there is a higher proportion of people with very high level of education, as well as a much higher proportion of those with only a basic level of education. The different nationalities have different mean educational levels, but there is also considerable heterogeneity among the nationality groups (Forsander 2002, 123-125). The other aspects of human capital have not been analysed in much detail in Finland.

There is a general tendency for human capital to lose some of its value when a person migrates (Salmenhaara 2008, 14). Migrants also frequently end up with a lower status than they had in their country of origin (Berry 1997, 22). This type of process is evident in Finland. As the first significant wave of immigrants arrived in the 1990s, they mainly ended up in low-skilled and low-paid jobs, no matter what type of human capital they had. In addition, immigrants have had problems in trying to step up the career ladder to jobs which would better correspond with their qualifications (Salmenhaara 2008, 16).

However, it appears that human capital confers some benefits. Most importantly, education level correlates with the employment rate, so that those with higher education level are noticeably more likely to be employed (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 13-14). Immigrants with university level degrees have also succeeded in finding employment that corresponds to their field of expertise, even if the level of education required was below that which the immigrants had. It should be noted that many highly educated immigrants remained unemployed as well (Kyhä 2006, 125-126). It is also interesting that if an immigrant has a degree from Finland, this assists considerably in finding work. In a similar vein the knowledge of Finnish helps an immigrant on the labour market (Forsander 2002, 184-185).

In sum it appears that human capital acquired elsewhere offers some returns, mainly in the form of greater likelihood of becoming employed. Still, loss of value means that human capital is not fully utilised on the Finnish labour market, and Finnish education offers more advantages.

Social capital has also been used to explain the position of immigrants on the Finnish labour market. For example Salmenhaara (2008, 16) argues that the improvement of the immigrants' labour market status in Finland may be due to a higher level of network capital. The main role of social networks in connection with the labour market is to relay information about vacancies and to offer links with employers. The problem in relation to immigrants is that they are likely to have more restricted networks than the native Finns do, and thus they will have access to less information about jobs. Immigrants in Finland also tend to have rather weak relationships with the native population, which further reduces the utility of their social capital (Forsander 2002, 205-207). This probably explains why formal relationships, for example with teachers in courses, were most useful in helping immigrants find employment where their human capital was utilised (Forsander 2002, 210).

Forsander (2002, 216-228) also discusses the importance of trustworthiness on the Finnish labour market. In short the argument is that because immigrants can appear rootless and have no long-term background in Finland, they are not seen as trustworthy. This problem can be overcome by having a responsible person with connections to the employer act as a spokesperson, or alternatively by improving their level of being Finnish. The latter strategy is particularly pertinent to the second-generation, who do have Finnish educational background, and thus are likely to have similar levels of social capital as their native peers. The importance of social networks in relaying job information in Finland has also been highlighted by Ahmad (2005, 138-145).

4.2.3 Discrimination on the Finnish labour market

The last important feature of immigrants' experiences on the Finnish labour market is discrimination. Experiences of discrimination are very common, as according to surveys approximately half of immigrants in Finland have encountered ethnic discrimination in recruitment or working life. Finland has even been criticised by international organisations for the high incidence of ethnic discrimination on the labour market (Salmenhaara 2003, 58). Although experiences of discrimination have become less common over the past couple of years, discrimination still persists, especially against Somalis. The reduced level of discrimination is probably due to the fact that attitudes towards immigrants, particularly labour migrants, have become more positive during the past few years (Jaakkola 2009, 78-80). However, this positive development might be adversely influenced by the current recession, which has already provoked a change of attitude towards receiving more immigrants (Rantanen 2009).

Discrimination on the Finnish labour market is particularly prevalent in recruitment. There are for example excessive requirements concerning the knowledge of Finnish, and sometimes unfounded insistence on Finnish citizenship. In some cases the employers even falsely claim that the position has already been filled (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2007, 15). The employers may also state that they would be willing to hire the immigrant, but that other employees and customers have anti-immigrant opinions (Forsander 2002, 212). These ways of rejecting immigrant applicants are closely connected with the concept of trustworthiness and being Finnish discussed above. The immigrant is rejected because they do not correspond to the norm of what a Finnish employee should be like, and this rejection is hidden underneath supposedly objective requirements, such as language skills. It will be interesting to see if there is discrimination against second-generation immigrants as well, since it could be supposed that they would at least have Finnish education and language skills, and in many cases Finnish citizenship, even if they lack a Finnish appearance.

In terms of attitudes towards foreigners the contact hypothesis, i.e. that more frequent contacts between groups reduce prejudices, appears to hold for Finland. Contacts with immigrants have become more frequent, and the more foreigners people knew, the more positive is their attitude towards receiving more immigrants (Jaakkola 2009, 28-29).

It is important to note that discrimination is not something that simply happens and that cannot be combated. Finland has in place an Equality law (since 2004), and there are also other rules and regulations to protect against discrimination, in particular on the labour market (Yhdenvertaisuus.fi 2005). Thus it can be hoped that discrimination on the labour market of the future will be less common than it appears to be today.

4.3 Current situation of immigrants in Finland

The number of immigrants in Finland has been increasing in recent years, but is still comparatively low. The largest immigrant groups are from the neighbouring countries of Russia and Estonia, but there is significant diversity among the immigrant population of Finland. The majority of immigrants reside in the most populous areas of the country, particularly in Uusimaa and within it in the Helsinki metropolitan region.

The labour market position of immigrants in Finland has generated plenty of research interest. The general findings are that they have a higher rate of unemployment than Finns do, and that their work generally does not correspond with their level of education. While this devaluation of human capital is a common phenomenon among immigrants worldwide, it nevertheless leads to a waste of human capital.

The rather poor labour market position might be due to lack of human and social capital, or due to discrimination, and in Finland it appears that both of these components play a role. On the one hand some immigrants have barely any education, immigrants generally do not know Finnish when they arrive, and they do not have a social network, which would give them information about the labour market and jobs. On the other hand discrimination exists in Finland and negative attitudes towards foreigners are still relatively common. Thus there is no simple solution to the question of how to improve the socioeconomic position of immigrants. Finland-specific education, for example in Finnish language, is obviously useful to an extent, but measures to address discrimination are also necessary.

The importance of socioeconomic status of first-generation immigrants relates to the fact that the status of parents generally influences the resources they have to offer for their children. If the parents are not able to reach a socioeconomic position their educational level would allow, this might influence the possibilities available for second-generation immigrants. This is definitely something that needs to be considered when thinking about the future of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market.

The next chapter will introduce the findings of studies from selected European countries, which serve as the basis for discussion on second-generation immigrants in Finland.

5 SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Finland has a short history of being an immigrant country, as has been shown in the previous chapter. As a result there are only small numbers of studies concerning second-generation immigrants. They have been studied to a much greater extent in countries with longer histories of immigration. In this chapter I will offer an overview of studies done in selected European countries. I will not focus exclusively on studies of labour market performance, but will also discuss studies concerned with for example education, as educational performance can impact on future labour market possibilities. These give some guidance as to what the future of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market might be like.

5.1 Studies of second-generation immigrants

The centre of studies on second-generation immigrants seems to be the United States. American studies include some classics, such as Borjas (1993), a study on the intergenerational mobility of immigrants. There are also more recent, but nevertheless influential studies, for example Portes and Rumbaut (2001). I have chosen to omit studies done in the United States because the immigration history of the country differs so starkly from that of Finland that comparisons would be rather futile. The United States is often called ‘a country of immigrants’, and it does differ from Finland, and other European countries, in that the indigenous population is a marginal part of the whole and that most of the population is of immigrant origin.

I will focus on previous studies done in Sweden, Germany, France, and the UK. All of these countries have much larger immigrant populations than Finland does, and they began receiving immigrants in large numbers much earlier, generally in the aftermath of the Second World War. These factors have resulted in larger second generations, and many of the second-generation immigrants have already entered the labour market.

It is also interesting that these countries have different types of policies towards immigrants and minorities. In Germany immigrants are regarded as guest workers, in France the goal is to assimilate the immigrants into the French society and policies in the UK and Sweden emphasise multiculturalism (Ekholm 2001, 165-167). It is also possible to distinguish between the immigration policies on the basis of the countries’ historical experiences of migration. This classification comprises traditional countries of immigration, guest worker countries, and former colonial countries (Freeman 2007, 127). Germany would be an example of a guest worker country, while both the UK and France represent former colonial powers, and Sweden does not really fit in anywhere. It will be interesting to compare labour market outcomes in these countries in order to

discover whether differences in immigration policy appear to have an impact also on the second generation.

These countries also represent different types of welfare state. Esping-Andersen (1990, 26-28) presents a typology of three welfare state regimes, which differ in terms of the relationship between state, market and the family. In a liberal welfare state, exemplified by the UK, social benefits are marginal, and welfare provision is often associated with stigma. The role of the market is emphasised over that of the state. The second type, conservative welfare state, includes countries such as Germany and France. In these states status differences are maintained, and the family plays an important role in the provision of social services. The third type has been labelled social democratic welfare state and a prime example of this type of state is Sweden. In social democratic welfare states the role of the state is important and the level of welfare benefits is high and they are easily available. The welfare state appears to be to an extent linked with the quality of the labour market (Esping-Andersen 1990, 159). The link between welfare state characteristics and social capital inequality has also been explored (van Oorschot & Finsveen 2009). Thus the type of welfare state might impact on the labour market performance of second generation immigrants, and it is good to compare the outcomes in different types of welfare states.

5.1.1 Sweden

Sweden and Finland are similar societies with Nordic type of welfare state, and as such Sweden might be the closest comparison available. However, Sweden and Finland differ greatly in terms of immigration history. Sweden became a country with net immigration already in the early 1930s. During the Second World War Sweden received refugees from Nordic and Baltic countries, and refugee migration continued after the war from Baltic countries and Poland. From early 1950s onwards immigration into Sweden was largely labour force migration. The main source regions for these labour migrants were Finland, and Western and Southern European countries. Out of these, the immigrants from Western Europe tended to have the highest level of education (Hammarstedt 2009, 277-278).

Already in 1960 immigrant population in Sweden was close to four percent, with the majority of immigrants coming from Nordic countries (Hammarstedt 2009, 278). Thus the situation in Sweden in the 1960s was somewhat similar to that in today's Finland: the share of immigrants was relatively low and most of them came from neighbouring countries. At present the share of foreign-born population in Sweden is 12.9 percent (OECD 2008a, 55). Most immigrants come to Sweden for family reasons or have no need for a residence permit, but Sweden also receives a relatively high proportion, 27.9

percent, of immigrants on the basis of humanitarian causes (OECD 2008a, 281). This influx of refugees and asylum seekers will probably influence the composition of the Swedish immigrant population.

Second-generation immigrants in Sweden have been subject to considerable research interest. There are numerous, mainly quantitative studies about their performance both in education and on the labour market. In contrast with the other case countries, in Sweden the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants has been studied to a greater extent, which might be partly explained by the tradition of an egalitarian welfare state, in which inequalities matter more than for example in a conservative welfare state.

Tasiran and Tezic (2006) analyse the transitions second-generation immigrants in Sweden experience after compulsory education, i.e. nine years of education. The issue of whether or not to continue education can obviously influence future labour market performance, as certain prestigious occupations are only open to those with higher education. Both parental income and having one Swedish parent made continuing with post-compulsory education more likely. It also appeared that the stronger the labour market position of the parents, the more likely children were to continue to upper-secondary education. The likelihood of continuing with education was higher for students with Asian origin and low for those with African origin. This appears to signify that different immigrant groups are likely to have different educational outcomes. It also appeared that boys tended to choose technical education, no matter what their background was (2006, 507). These findings are in line with many theoretical approaches, for example Bourdieu's (1986, 244) suggestion that the benefits conferred by education depend on the earlier investments of cultural capital by the family. Thus there are attempts to pass on the advantages enjoyed by the parents to the children.

In terms of labour market performance of second-generation immigrants, several studies reach similar conclusions. Second-generation immigrants tend to do worse than native Swedes on the labour market and there are marked differences according to ethnic origin. In general non-European background is a particular hindrance, but Southern Europeans have also been found to perform worse (Tasiran & Tezic 2007, 821, Rooth & Ekberg 2003, 807). Interestingly, it appears that having one Swedish parent both reduces the likelihood for unemployment and has some positive influence on earnings (Rooth & Ekberg 2003, 807). Similar results have been found for use of unemployment compensation and social assistance: people with Western European background receive these forms of support very rarely, Nordics a little more often than natives, and Southern Europeans and non-Europeans very often (Hammarstedt & Ekberg 2004, 264). This gives an indication of their relative labour market performance. There are also slightly differing results. Behrenz, Hammarstedt and Månsson (2007, 166-170) maintain that the ethnic disadvantage is significant also for people with

Nordic or Eastern European background, and that males suffer more from the disadvantages. They also find that differences in earnings disappear to a great extent when background factors such as age and education are controlled.

Some studies take a longer time perspective, and others offer explanations for the phenomenon. It appears that first-generation immigrants tend to earn more than the natives, but that in second generation there is regression towards the mean, i.e. the earnings are closer to the native average. Interestingly, in third generation the earnings are lower than those of natives, on average by 6 percent (Hammarstedt 2009, 284-286). One possible explanation for the disadvantages is that the employers increasingly demand country-specific social competence, which in many cases may border on discrimination (Knocke & Hertzberg 2000, 27-31). In short, it seems that the disadvantages may persist over later generations and that it is difficult to pinpoint the causes and the processes whereby they occur. One possible cause of persistent disadvantages is that the more limited social networks of parents restrict the opportunities of children.

5.1.2 France

France has an even longer history of being an immigrant country, as it has had that status from the 19th century onwards. Migration to France experienced a boom after the Second World War and since then it has been one of the main destinations for immigrants in Europe (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, 445-446). Currently 8.3 percent of people living in France are foreign-born (OECD 2008a, 55). The most important source regions have been Northern Africa and Southern Europe. At present first- and second-generation immigrants from these origins constitute 8 percent and 5 percent, respectively, of the French population, and 62 percent of immigrants (Senik & Verdier 2008, 612-613). Thus France's immigrant population reflects its colonial history in Northern Africa and migration from poorer regions of Europe in search of work. Today nearly 60 percent of immigrants into France come for family reasons (OECD 2008a, 243).

Interestingly, the study of second-generation immigrants in France has been restricted for historical reasons. Ever since the Vichy regime during the Second World War differentiation of the population in terms of ethnicity has been seen to violate the principle of equality, and thus it is argued that second-generation immigrants should be treated as French citizens (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, 446). This is also in line with the French assimilationist model of immigrant policy. As a result there is rather little research on second-generation immigrants in France, although there was a surge of

interest in the topic after large-scale rioting by ethnic minority youth in autumn 2005 (see for example Koff and Duprez (2009)).

In France it appears that immigrant working-class families are more likely to prefer a general *baccalauréat* than native French families with similar socioeconomic status. A general *baccalauréat* is a diploma from high school that gives access to higher education, and is similar to the Finnish matriculation exam. There were some differences among immigrants of different origins, as North African parents had particularly high expectations of their children's desired level of education. They perceive schooling and diplomas as a means to social mobility (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, 448-451). Second-generation immigrants performed worse than natives in secondary education, but the difference is almost completely explained by differences in the parents' level of education. Socioeconomic differences in fact explained the greater part of the differences in educational careers. It is noteworthy that the aspirations of North African families tended to be much higher than what the children eventually achieved (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, 464-465). However, the educational situation of ethnic minority youth in France is claimed to be much better than that in Germany (Loch 2009, 793).

Young people with immigrant background tend to have comparatively serious problems on the labour market in France. These problems are connected with persistent problems of poverty and residential segregation (Loch 2009, 794). The experiences of integration also vary according to parents' country of origin (Duprez 2009, 758). For example, when second-generation youth move onto the labour market, those with North African background have been unable to benefit from employment in ethnic firms, which those from Southern Europe have been able to do (Senik & Verdier 2008, 622). It is also argued that the ethnic social capital of a given group, for example in the form of professional network, will influence labour market outcomes for people of immigrant background (Senik & Verdier 2008, 625). Thus it could be stated that the status of the parents, both in terms of level of education and in terms of labour market position, is easily transferred onto the children, which might make the disadvantages more permanent. It is also argued that in France the experiences of social exclusion are comparatively strong, and that this might be one of the causes of repeated ethnic rioting in the 21st century (Loch 2009, 809). Thus the French assimilationist model of integration appears to be facing serious problems.

5.1.3 Germany

The German guest worker policy began in the 1950s and already by 1964 there were one million immigrants in the country. Guest workers were needed to help reconstruct

the country after the Second World War, and were recruited from Southern Europe and Turkey. During all this time the guest workers were expected to remain in the country only for so long as they had work to do, and then return to their home. The calls for their return intensified after 1973, when Germany suffered from the impact of the oil crisis (Joppke 1996, 465-466). However, the reality turned out to be that many of the guest workers remained in Germany, brought over their families, and raised second-generation immigrants.

By 1984 immigrants, large majority of them Turks, represented 4.9 of the population of Germany (Gang & Zimmermann 2000, 551-552). In addition to these classic labour migrants, immigrants in Germany include ethnic Germans, asylum seekers and refugees, and recent labour migrants from Eastern Europe. However, classic labour migrants and their offspring constitute 56 percent of foreigners in Germany, while Turks alone are 26 percent (Kristen & Granato 2007, 346). The proportion of foreign-born people overall is currently on the same level as in Sweden, at 12.9 percent (OECD 2008a, 55). At present a large majority of immigrants into Germany come on the basis of free movement, for example from other EU countries (OECD 2008a, 245).

An interesting German peculiarity is that many immigrants and even their children lack German citizenship. German citizenship is relatively difficult to gain, and there are restricted opportunities for dual citizenship, and as a result many do not apply (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen 2008, 88). Comparative data on naturalisations highlights the low probability of immigrants gaining German citizenship. In Germany the number of naturalisation per thousand foreign residents is 3.7, whereas for Sweden the similar figure is 38.5, for the UK 25.3, and for France 13.1, which is quite a large disparity (Castles & Miller 1993, 220). This has implications for the lives of immigrants in Germany, as among other things they are not eligible to vote and may be sent back to their country of origin if they lose their means of livelihood (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen 2008, 88). It could be assumed that this would create at least some level of alienation from the German society, and that this may affect the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants.

Studies on second-generation immigrants in Germany have tended to focus on education. One probable reason for this orientation is that, according to comparative mobility research, in Germany education has a particularly strong influence on integration into society and on labour market outcomes (Kristen & Granato 2007, 344). Thus educational performance relative to native peers could serve as a strong predictor of future labour market position.

There appear to be differences in the educational performance of second-generation immigrants when compared with native Germans. According to Riphahn (2003, 733-734) their educational attainment is markedly below that of natives and the educational gap has increased significantly over time. There are also differences between

immigrants of different origin, with Turks and Italians having the lowest average level of education. However, it is necessary to note that parental background indicators were not available to be used in this study (Riphahn 2003, 729).

Most other studies have reached somewhat contradictory conclusions. Gang and Zimmermann (2000, 566-567) maintain that ethnicity plays a role in educational achievement in Germany, but that second-generation immigrants achieve a more similar level of education compared with natives than is the case for their parents. Interestingly, they also claim that parents' education does not markedly affect children's education, perhaps because immigration itself is an investment in human capital. Kristen and Granato (2007, 353-355) conclude that most of the differences in educational attainment are explained by social inequalities, rather than ethnic ones. According to them, Italians perform worse than their family's educational and social origin would cause to assume, while Greeks perform considerably better. Kristen, Reimer and Kogan (2008, 136-141) found that second-generation immigrants, in particular those of Turkish origin, were much more likely to continue to higher education than their German peers. This was the case even though they had lower grades, which the authors claim shows that aspirations also play a role in educational choices.

If educational performance strongly influences labour market outcomes in Germany, it would seem likely that second-generation immigrants would perform worse than the native Germans, and that this would reflect their parents' socioeconomic position. According to Kogan (2004, 456) the employment patterns of second-generation immigrants are more similar to those of native Germans than is the case for first-generation immigrants, and their likelihood of unemployment does not differ significantly from natives. They are nevertheless more likely to end up in unskilled occupations. Still, it does not appear that the disadvantages of education are carried completely to the labour market.

5.1.4 *The United Kingdom*

Immigration into the UK is closely connected with its colonial legacy. Most immigration into the UK has been from its former colonies in the Caribbean and in Asia (Joppke 1996, 476). However, there are also sizeable groups of people from Ireland and the US in the UK (Castles & Miller 1993, 202). The foreign-born population in the UK accounts for 10.1 percent of the whole population (OECD 2008a, 55). The UK at present receives immigrants mostly for family reasons, but the share of migration on the basis of work permits is also comparatively high (OECD 2008a, 287). The experiences of immigrants in the UK may also be influenced by the more clearly defined class distinctions present in the British society, when compared with for example Sweden.

In the UK, assimilation of the second-generation immigrants has been studied quite a lot, and often the discussion is in terms of ethnicity rather than origin of parents. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1987) is an early study which attempted to operationalise Gordon's theory of cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation (see section 2.1.1 of this thesis) and study how assimilation outcomes differed between immigrant generations. Rather unsurprisingly they found that second-generation immigrants were more assimilated on each dimension of assimilation (1987, 47). More interesting is that for the younger generation cultural assimilation scores tended to be the highest, while by contrast for parents structural assimilation came on top. This means that the younger generation had adopted more of the cultural habits of the host society, while the parents merely interacted with it. They also argue that both ethnicity and gender influence assimilation outcomes (1987, 52-53).

While on the basis of these findings it could be assumed that the second-generation immigrants become more 'native', Rassool (1999, 26-27) emphasises the importance of evolving cultural identities and hybridisation of culture. Many second-generation immigrants dis-identified with the British culture, for example by returning to their parents' country of origin or by identifying with their religious background (Rassool 1999, 30). For many ethnic groups in the UK becoming British remains at the level of gaining a passport, and does not signify fuller assimilation (Joppke 1996, 481). It has also been argued that second-generation immigrants might turn to crime and violent behaviour because they are more assimilated and thus feel relative deprivation more strongly than their parents do (Young 2003, 455, 458).

Studies about ethnic group differences in academic performance in the UK have come to conflicting conclusions. As a result it is argued that the socioeconomic background needs to be taken into account in addition to ethnic origins (Frederickson & Petrides 2008, 144). It has been found that middle class students are much more likely to continue their education on the university level. Interestingly, it also appears that students from minority ethnic groups, for example Asians, in the UK are 50 percent more successful in getting a place at a university than their white peers (Robb, Dunkley, Boynton & Greenhalgh 2007, 740). By studying academically successful students from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds, it was discovered that a coherent identity is necessary for academic success. The key influences on this were private and public spheres (e.g. family and school), peers (in particular role models), and various triggers and setbacks that help with development of identity (Robb et al 2007, 749-750). These might apply to non-immigrant students as well, but the importance placed on education by immigrant families is likely to help (Robb et al 2007, 742).

In terms of the labour market, it has been discovered that there are persistent labour market inequalities and that the second-generation black youth face a particularly dire employment situation. All of these inequalities are not due to discrimination, but it has

been found that labour market discrimination persists in the UK. In one study, in 48 percent of cases the West Indian or Asian candidate did not get invited to an interview, while the white candidate did (Wrench & Solomos 1993, 161-163). Second-generation Asian entrepreneurs have also been studied, and it is argued that more than their parents they are able to use the opportunities within the UK, as well as their links with their parents' country of origin (Dhaliwal & Kangis 2006, 105). Thus it seems that second-generation immigrants in the UK have a better labour market status than their parents do, but that they still have to struggle.

5.2 Lessons to be learnt from other countries

This overview of studies conducted in other European countries yields a few noteworthy conclusions. Firstly, in all the countries studied second-generation immigrants faced some problems in reaching equality. This would seem to signify that neither immigration policy nor the type of welfare state conclusively determines outcomes for second-generation immigrants. Secondly, second-generation immigrants often underperform in education, but much of this gap can be explained by parents' socioeconomic position (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, Kristen & Granato 2007, Frederickson & Petrides 2008). Thirdly, those studies which concerned labour market performance tend to show that second-generation immigrants are more similar to natives than their parents are, but that they still face some disadvantages not explained by education (e.g. Behrenz, Hammarstedt & Månsson 2007, Hammarstedt 2009, Kogan 2004, Wrench & Solomos 1993). Finally, in all studies that addressed the question, there were differences between second-generation immigrants of different origins. These results give some indication of what the situation of second-generation immigrants in Finland might be at the moment and in the future.

Another common issue, which the previous sections did not really discuss, is that experiences of discrimination are rather common in all these countries. Audit studies and correspondence tests have been undertaken in all case countries. Both of these types of tests can be used to study discrimination in hiring practices and the difference is that audit studies use real people (often actors) while correspondence studies rely on written applications. The general conclusion is that applicants from minority groups have several percentage points lower probability of being called back for an interview than those from majority groups (OECD 2008b, 150-154). Ahmad (2005, 40-41) reaches a similar conclusion for Finland, in that people with immigrant background are more likely to be refused a job. This obviously might impact the future labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland.

It appears likely that all second-generation immigrants will not perform similarly in education and on the labour market in Finland, as they have not done so in any of the case countries. Thus there will probably be variety in the future prospects of different immigrant groups. However, it seems likely that their parents' socioeconomic position is reflected in their educational achievements and that they will face some obstacles on the labour market, more so than in the egalitarian Finnish educational system. More detailed views of the present and opinions about the future are presented in chapters 8 and 9.

There are some pitfalls in comparing Finland to other countries. One significant issue is that the number of immigrants and second-generation immigrants in Finland is still very low, in comparison with these case countries. On the one hand assimilation for example on the labour market might be easier when there are only small numbers of people with immigrant background. On the other hand contact theory states that connections with minorities increase the level of tolerance and thus larger minority groups might lead to more tolerant societies. Another interesting issue is the long history of Swedish-speaking, Sami, and Roma minorities in Finland. The existence of indigenous minority groups is not unique to Finland, but nevertheless the development of strategies to deal with these groups might have prepared Finland for immigrants. Thus the conclusions from other countries will probably not be fully applicable to Finland.

6 SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN FINLAND

The previous chapter presented findings from studies analysing second-generation immigrants in selected European countries. In this chapter the focus will shift to second-generation immigrants in Finland, the topic of this thesis. As stated in the introduction, I define second-generation immigrants as those people whose both parents are foreign-born and who have either been born in Finland or have migrated into Finland in primary school age at the latest. In this chapter I will both describe their demographic characteristics and review previous Finnish studies analysing them.

6.1 Demographic characteristics

Describing second-generation immigrants in Finland in terms of numbers and age structure of the group is a little challenging. Data received from Statistics Finland classifies people born in Finland according to the birthplace of their parents and according their age. The numbers of groups with at least one foreign-born parent are displayed in figure 2. Two things are apparent. Firstly, second-generation immigrants in Finland tend to be young, as the peak of Finland-born second generation is in the age group 5-14. Second, there are many more people with at least one Finland-born parent (data of the birthplace of the other parent may be lacking) than those with two foreign-born parents. These people are not included in this study, but they may well share some of the experiences of second-generation immigrants (see for example Rooth and Ekberg

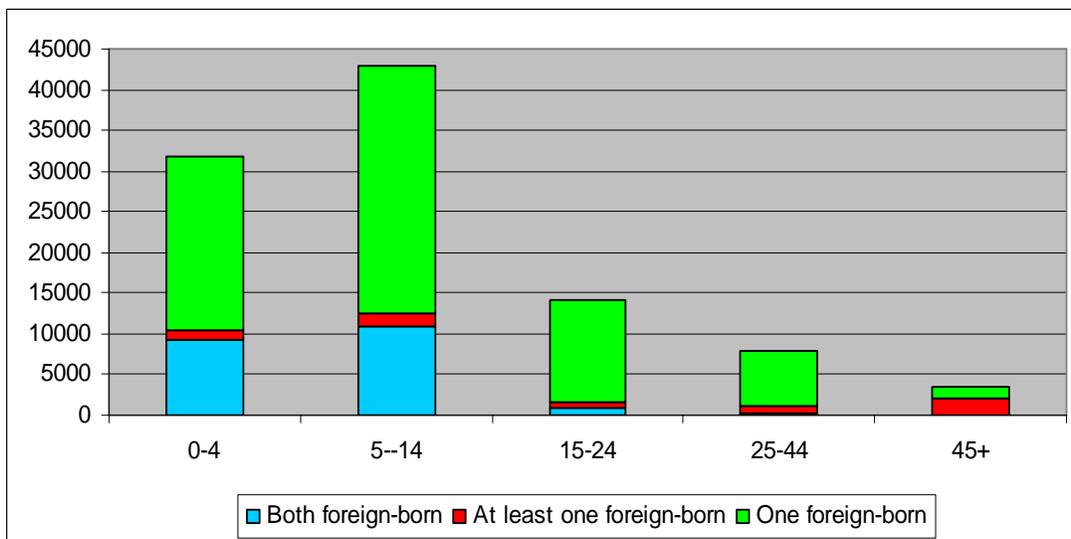


Figure 4 People born in Finland with at least one foreign-born parent, according to age and birthplace of parents, in December 2007 (Statistics Finland 2008)

(2003, 807)).

In terms of numbers, in December 2007 there were 21,429 people who had been born in Finland whose both parents were foreign-born. Out of these, 10,956 were aged 5-14, and 9,306 were younger than four years old. The second generation in Finland also comprises people who had migrated into Finland before the age of 13. According to Martikainen (2008, 49) in the period 1987-2005 10,902 immigrants under the age of 4 and 20,459 aged 5-14 arrived in Finland. In 2006 4,062, in 2007 4,548, and in 2008 5,001 immigrants aged 0-14 came to Finland (Statistics Finland 2009g). By combining these figures we arrive at a maximum estimation of second-generation immigrants in Finland, which is 66,401. This figure includes some people immigrated at the age of 13-14 who not included in the definition of second-generation immigrants used in this study. It is also possible that some of those who immigrated actually had Finnish parents. However, it appears fair to estimate the current population of second-generation immigrants as being in the region on 60,000.

The age structure of the second generation in Finland justifies the use of futures studies methods. A large majority of second-generation immigrants in Finland are still far too young to be working, but they will begin to move to the labour market in larger numbers during the next 10 years. Thus it is useful to think about their possible futures already in advance, when it might be possible to prevent difficulties that other European countries have tended to encounter.

When attempting to determine the ethnic origins of second-generation immigrants difficulties again emerge. Kartovaara (2007) discusses the problems of defining who are children with immigrant background, and argues that however statistical data is interpreted, some children who do not have immigrant background are included and others who in fact come from an immigrant background are excluded. She goes on to argue that using the native tongue registered in the official databases might be the best criteria for defining who has immigrant background and who does not.

The largest foreign language groups in Finland, in terms of the native tongue of a child, are Russian (8,091), Somali (4,463), Estonian (2,910), Arabic (2,174), Albanian (2,116), Kurdish (1,920), English (1,299), Vietnamese (1,280), and Persian (1,036) (Kartovaara 2007, 23). The largest groups include some of the same groups that came on top for the whole population, namely Russian, Somali, and Estonian, but their respective shares differ for children when compared with the population as a whole (Statistics Finland 2009d). It is interesting to note that the likelihood of the child having Finnish nationality varies for different language groups (Kartovaara 2007, 23). These figures highlight the fact that the immigrant-origin population of Finland is diverse, and that all groups do not follow the same paths. It is also possible to assume that the largest groups of second-generation immigrants in Finland would be Russians, Somalis, and Estonians, even if accurate data is lacking.

6.2 Studying second-generation immigrants in Finland

Rather unsurprisingly, previous studies of second-generation immigrants in Finland have focused on children and youth. It is also necessary to note that in many of these studies the focus is on all children or youth with immigrant background, which could include both first- and second-generation immigrants. It appears that people who migrate as teenagers might face particular obstacles in their acculturation, for example in education (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004b, 87). This can be due to their experiencing both transitions into adulthood and to a different country having at the same time, while also balancing between two cultures and living in a transnational space (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2001, 128-131). Second-generation immigrants will face fewer of these challenges at the same time. Thus the conclusions of studies which incorporate people who immigrated as teenagers as well as second-generation immigrants might not apply wholly to second-generation immigrants.

These previous studies cover a range of topics, which can be grouped under two broad headings: general acculturation, and education and working life. Studies concerned with general acculturation tend to analyse the extent to which immigrant youth feel like parts of the Finnish society, and issues related to their acceptance as Finnish by others. Some studies in this category explore the issue of racism experienced by children and youth. When the focus is on education or working life the focus is generally on how immigrant youth can best realise their potential in the Finnish society. In many studies the focus is on a particular ethnic group, which makes generalising from the results somewhat problematic.

6.2.1 Acculturation of immigrant youth in Finland

Studies of acculturation of youth with immigrant background in Finland are often done in the field of social psychology. Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) compared the acculturation outcomes of immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union, Turkey, Somalia, and Vietnam, whereas Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (2001) and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) focused on Russian-speaking youth. The conclusions emerging from these studies are that perceived discrimination makes acculturation more problematic, but that parental support and adherence to fairly traditional values helps with acculturation. Despite the fact that the immigrant groups differed significantly from each other for example in the level of stress symptoms, similar factors appear to influence acculturation outcomes for all the immigrant groups (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000, 459-462). Even though acculturation is not directly connected with labour market performance, acculturation problems might for example increase behavioural

problems at school and thus influence the future labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants. Experiences of discrimination and strong families might then play their part on the future labour market possibilities of second-generation immigrants.

Racism appears as an everyday occurrence among young immigrants. There are differences along gender lines, as girls seem to experience less racism, in particular in threatening, violent situations, than boys do (Honkasalo 2003, 176-178). It is rather worrying that increasingly even children experience racism in their everyday life. Children can receive racist comments from other children during for example arguments, and even when they are very young they experience racist treatment from adults. It also appears that teachers often do not treat racism seriously enough or choose not to address it (Rastas 2007, 113-118). Unfortunately, experiences of racism are not surprising, considering the persistence of prejudices against immigrants (Jaakkola 2009, 78-82). If perceived discrimination has a negative effect on acculturation outcomes, as research seems to suggest, experiences of racism might lead to less acculturated second-generation immigrants. Furthermore, racism in education and labour market will probably influence their labour market opportunities.

6.2.2 *Education and working life*

There have been numerous studies on immigrant youth in the Finnish educational system. Most of these focus on a single ethnic group, which makes generalisations somewhat problematic. Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Solheim (2004) studied the school adjustment of immigrant adolescents of Vietnamese origin in Finland. They argue that for example experiences of parental support, Vietnamese identity, and a sense of mastery over their own life had a positive impact on school adjustment, whereas perceived discrimination had a negative effect through increasing the incidence of stress. They also state that the integrative model of acculturation appears to be the most beneficial in terms of school adjustment. These conclusions are similar to those of for example Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) which were discussed in the preceding section.

Somali youth have also been studied in the context of education, in particular by Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004a, 2004b, 2002, 2001). The educational background of Somalis in Finland is very diverse, but education is very highly valued. Among Somalis in Finland the appreciation of education is combined with parental worries of their children becoming too Westernised (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2002, 279). Somali youth and educated young adults have helped to link the other Somalis with the Finnish society. However, these linkages could be improved for example by involving the parents with

school activities to a greater extent (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004a, 119-124). One interesting conclusion is that age at immigration appears to influence the experiences of immigrant youth in the Finnish educational system (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004a, 129).

Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004b, 84) presents a model of factors which influence the school performance of second-generation immigrants. Incoming resources, including human and financial capital, social capital in its various forms, and receiving society variables, such as pre-existing ethnic relations, labour market and institutions, government policies and programmes, and changing international boundaries all play their part. These background variables together with human agency combine to produce school achievement. This model has interesting similarities with the theory of segmented assimilation of Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 63), which was discussed in section 2.1.4. In the theory of segmented assimilation the combination of parental human capital, modes of incorporation, and family structure results in different kinds of intergenerational acculturation patterns. Although Alitolppa-Niitamo's model only focuses on education, it would be interesting to see if the same factors play a similar role for other immigrant groups as for Somalis.

In contrast to these studies Kuusela et al. (2008) studied educational achievement and entry to secondary education for all youth of immigrant background, in comparison to native Finns. Interestingly they find that second-generation immigrants perform better at school than native Finns, but all other immigrant groups perform worse (2008, 142). A more worrying finding is that students with immigrant background are more likely to remain outside secondary education, even when they have applied for it (2008, 169). This statistical analysis does not offer reasons for better or worse performance, but at least it offers some indications of trends.

The age structure of the second generation in Finland is rather young, and because of this, it is not surprising that their labour market performance and prospects have hardly been studied. However, it is addressed to some extent by Harju (2002) and Kuusela et al. (2008), although both also include people who have migrated to Finland in their teens. Harju (2002) interviewed students in secondary education about their expectations of their future in education and on the labour market. Kuusela et al. (2008) touch on the likelihood of employment at the age of 24.

Harju (2002, 62-64) argues that immigrant youth did not see their own immigrant background as a hindrance on the labour market, even though in general terms they believed that not being a native Finn might make finding employment more difficult. Furthermore, their hopes and plans did not differ significantly along ethnic lines or from those of native Finns (Harju 2002, 74). Kuusela et al (2008, 175-183) maintain that having a degree from secondary education significantly improves the position of young people in the labour market, when compared with those without a degree. This benefit conferred by education appears to be greater among those with immigrant background

than among native Finns. Nevertheless, those with immigrant background have a noticeably higher risk of remaining outside employment, or further studies, than the native Finns do.

6.3 Current state of second-generation immigrants in Finland

It is useful to provide a short summary of what the current state of second-generation immigrants in Finland appears to be. Firstly, in terms of demographics, they are young, diverse, and there are approximately 60,000 of them. Secondly, previous research tells us something about them. Experiencing racism is common, and this will probably have a negative impact on acculturation. Positive factors by contrast include family support and traditional values, and it would also appear that high value placed on education would help second-generation immigrants.

Unfortunately there is rather little to be said on the basis of previous research about educational or labour market achievements of second-generation immigrants. They appear to perform better than native Finns in education, but on the labour market immigrant background seems to be a hindrance.

The numbers of second-generation immigrants currently on the Finnish labour market are small, but in time they will increase significantly. Futures studies might thus be able to highlight some opportunities and challenges on the way to a multicultural Finnish labour market. The experiences of other European countries presented in chapter 5 highlight some possibilities, but the same alternative futures might not apply for Finland.

The following chapters contain the empirical part of this thesis, and analyse the factors influencing labour market position of second-generation immigrants in Finland, and explore their alternative futures on the labour market, as well as pathways to those futures.

7 METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters of this thesis have explored the theoretical background and earlier empirical findings which relate either to second-generation immigrants or to first-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market. Second-generation immigrants have not been studied very much in Finland, and their labour market performance in Finland has been studied even less. As the second generation in Finland is rather young, I had an excellent opportunity to explore their futures on the Finnish labour market.

In this study I aim to answer four research questions. Firstly, what are the most important factors which influence the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020? Secondly, what types of alternative futures might second-generation immigrants have on the Finnish labour market in 2020? Thirdly, how can we get from the present to these different futures? The answers to this question will be in the form of scenarios, descriptions of pathways to future. And finally, how do these futures and scenarios compare with the theoretical framework and results of previous studies both in Finland and abroad?

In this chapter I outline the process of method selection and then describe the research process. The results are presented in the following two chapters.

7.1 Method selection

When selecting the appropriate research method I had to keep in mind both my research questions and the principles of futures studies, which include the concept of alternative futures and that of our power to influence future outcomes. Thus the first task was to choose between qualitative and quantitative approaches and the second to decide on the best futures studies method to answer the research questions.

7.1.1 *Qualitative or quantitative?*

The first important decision concerning the research method was to choose between qualitative and quantitative approaches. Quantitative methods include for example survey research, and they should produce statistically representative data, on the basis of which generalisations can be made. Qualitative methods by contrast have a smaller breadth, but tend to go deeper into the subjects. Their advantage is that they produce more detailed data and that they are particularly well-suited to the study of social relations (see for example Flick 2006, 11).

I decided to use the qualitative approach for two main reasons, one of them practical and one of them theoretical. On the practical side, there is only limited data available on second-generation immigrants in Finland, particularly on their labour market performance. There are at present such small numbers of them on the labour market that creating any generalisations or predictions on the basis of their performance would be very problematic, even if I obtained a statistically representative sample of them. On a more theoretical note, it appears to me that quantitative futures studies methods can cause people to assume that the future is somehow predetermined, even though it is uncertain and influenced by our actions. For example the population projections of Statistics Finland (2009e) are often assumed to describe the actual development of Finnish population in the future, even though the projections are merely continuations of current trends. Qualitative methods make generalisations more difficult and may thus make the uncertainty inherent in futures studies more obvious.

7.1.2 Which futures studies method?

The next step was to choose which qualitative futures studies method to use. I quite quickly narrowed the choice down to two methods, Delphi and futures workshop. Delphi is a well-known expert method in futures studies. In Delphi experts on a particular issue answer questionnaires about the future anonymously, the answers are analysed, the results (especially those that differ markedly from other replies) are fed back to the experts and they are asked further questions relating to these statements. The experts can thus modify their statements in the light of comments of other experts and often consensus is the outcome of the process (Kuusi 2002, 205-207).

I decided against Delphi due to three main reasons. Firstly, the number of experts on second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market is rather limited. This is the case even if the experts are taken to include second-generation immigrants themselves. Secondly, successful use of Delphi requires solid knowledge of the area under study, for example for the formulation of unambiguous questionnaires. As this is an explorative study, Delphi is not the most suitable method. Finally, futures workshop has more of the advantages shared by group methods such as focus groups. In group methods such as futures workshops and focus groups informal discussion in a group produces data and insights which might not appear in the absence of group interaction (Flick 2006, 197-198). In Delphi there is interaction between the informants, but as a method it is much more structured than a futures workshop, and lacks the possibilities for spontaneity which exist in workshops. Thus the opportunities to develop new insights might be lesser in Delphi than in a futures workshop.

Futures workshop is one qualitative method for studying the future. Its main benefits are that it gives power to the people who are concerned with a particular issue, and that it helps to create innovative futures that people can work towards achieving (Jungk & Müllert 1987). In this study the focus is on the exploration of alternative futures, and on using qualitative methods to seek for varied alternative futures, not on empowering the participants. As a method a futures workshop has similarities with focus groups, one form of gathering data in a group setting. Futures workshop offers the opportunity to explore something unknown, and the participants should represent different interested groups, not the population as a whole (see for example Macnaghten and Myers 2004). The main differences are that a futures workshop tends to approach the topic in more structured way than a focus group does, and that it focuses on the future. In this case the workshop was structured so that it would guide the participants to produce alternative futures, not just discuss second-generation immigrants on the labour market or factors which might influence their labour market possibilities.

When futures workshops as a method were developed their aim was to enhance the opportunities of democratic participation (Bell 1997, 300). Thus futures workshop as a method can be included in category of participatory futures studies. Participatory futures studies helps to explore issues that are of interest to the wider population, and to create alternative futures that are closer to the expectations of stakeholders (Nováky 2006, 688). Futures workshops have been used for example to develop broader future scenarios related to sustainable futures (VanWynsberghe, Moore, Tansey, and Carmichael 2003). Increasing multiculturalism of the Finnish society is a rather contentious issue with wide-ranging effects, and thus participatory futures studies are a useful tool for considering its implications.

In the development of the futures workshop I took the guidelines set by Jungk and Müllert (1987) as a starting point. According to them, at first the problems related to the topic of the workshop are identified. The participants then brainstorm to create solutions to the problems and alternative futures. The solutions explain the end state, what the situation is when the problems have been resolved, and can also be called visions. After brainstorming the visions and the futures are then assessed in terms of how interesting and realistic they are. Some of the visions are then discussed further and developed into strategies, plans of how to achieve the solution. The results of the process are generally published at the end.

The workshop I organised was modified in some ways. The approach of Jungk and Müllert (1987) starts from the premise that there is a problem that needs to be solved in the future. Very little was known in advance about the labour market position of second-generation immigrants in Finland, and because of this I did not want to assume that there would be problems. Other modifications were made because I had more limited time available than is generally recommended. The workshop was more

structured, and I for example used futures table as a tool to guide the discussions about the future. This approach might have curbed the imagination of the participants by forcing them to ‘think inside the box’, and thus the resulting futures might not be as creative as they might have been had there been more time. However, it also allowed for consideration of a variety of factors more quickly than would have otherwise been possible. Due to the limited time available I also had to leave out the part of Jungk and Müllert’s method where the participants develop the more detailed descriptions of the visions, but I had planned to include this stage.

7.2 The research process

In this section I will outline the way in which the research process progressed, and what was the purpose of each stage of the process. The main data gathering method was the futures workshop, but both for practical reasons and to improve the validity, the research process also included a qualitative questionnaire and qualitative interviews. The results of all stages of the research process are presented in chapter 8. The scenarios and comments on them can be found in chapter 9.

At the beginning of the description of the process it is useful to state that the whole research process was conducted in Finnish. This was more convenient for the workshop participants, as English was a foreign language for all of them. The interviews were also conducted in Finnish, because even though two of the interviewees were first-generation immigrants, their Finnish was very good. For this thesis I have translated the questionnaires and the outcomes of the workshop into English, but I feel confident no important information has been lost in the process.

7.2.1 Selection of informants

As stated above, a futures workshop needs to include participants who are in some way stakeholders. In this case I identified second-generation immigrants, researchers focused on immigrant issues, and people working with immigrants as the key constituencies. I further narrowed down the definition of second-generation immigrants to include only those who already had some work experience, as they would have personal experiences of the Finnish labour market. The resulting group of informants is obviously not representative of the whole Finnish population, but represents only the key groups. The term ‘participant’ refers to people who attended the futures workshop, ‘interviewee’ to those I interviewed individually, and ‘informant’ covers both these groups.

I found the informants through a combination of direct contacts, contacting organisations and snowballing. Snowballing stands for asking people who are participating for suggestions of others who might be eligible and interested. Contacting organisations and snowballing are recommended for example by Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003, 94-95) as means of locating informants when the groups are rare or difficult to find. The numbers of second-generation immigrants in Finland are still so low that these approaches appeared to be the most suitable ones. I used these methods also to find participants who were working with immigrants. For researchers I adopted a different approach. I directly contacted researchers whose work I was familiar with or who were recommended to me, as I knew they would have interest and expertise in the issue at hand.

I began searching for informants on 27 May 2009, and the final email was sent on 13 August 2009, only some days before the workshop. In total I sent out 83 invitations to the workshop by email, and was actively seeking participants for approximately two months. Table 1 below shows the breakdown of the number of sent invites, according to the type of recipient. Each invite was personalised to an extent, but they all explained the basic details of my research project and the workshop, asked if the recipient was interested in participating in the workshop, and asked if they could suggest other possible participants. In many cases I also requested that they forward the invitation to for example their members, in the case of organisations. Five of the final participants were invited due to their particular experience or due to recommendations, although one of them had to in the end send his colleague as a replacement.

Table 1 Workshop invitations sent. Classified according to type of recipient

Type of recipient	Number of invitations sent
Organisations and companies having an interest in immigrants, and their representatives	22
Government and municipalities	12
Researchers	12
Institutes of higher education	10
Youth organisations of political parties	10
Job centres and Employment and economic development centres	7
Individuals	6
Trade unions	4

The response I got was mainly very positive. People were interested in the idea, were happy to suggest participants and to help me in any way they could. Through the help of others the invite was included in RASMUS newsletter of a network against racism and xenophobia, Selma mailing list of a regional multicultural information centre, on the website of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and on the notice board of Caisa, a cultural

centre in Helsinki. I am grateful for their help, as two of the participants found out about the workshop through these open invitations.

In addition to sending out invitations, I used more personal methods of searching for informants. I asked virtually everyone I know for possible contacts, and networked at immigration-related events. I found four of the participants through personal contacts, but unfortunately one of them fell ill before the workshop and could not attend.

Nevertheless, the process of selecting informants was very time-consuming, many people did not reply, and even more of them were unable to attend. In hindsight I should have allowed more time for this, and maybe had a more systematic plan of how to proceed.

It was relatively easy to locate researchers and people who are working with immigrants. Locating second-generation immigrants with work experience was by contrast a significant challenge. This was partly due to their small numbers, and partly due to the fact that I was unsure of where to find them. Several people suggested jokingly to me that I should just go to the Helsinki Central Railway station and try to find participants among the youth who hang out there. I reckon there are severe ethical and practical problems with this approach. If I had done this, I would have assumed that people who look foreign could not be Finnish and had to be at least second-generation immigrants. It would also have labelled youth in a way they might not feel comfortable with. On a practical note, this would leave out many large immigrant categories, namely people of Russian or Estonian origin who do not differ in appearance from Finns. It is also doubtful whether this method would have uncovered motivated participants.

In the end I relied on emailing various organisations to try to get in touch with second-generation immigrants and asking various people for suggestions. I recognise that this approach probably only reached people who are in some way active and connected with the Finnish society. It could be assumed that some second-generation immigrants exist in the margins of the society, as this is the case also for the native population. I tried to reach these people through job centres, but unfortunately I got no response to by emails to them. Thus the second-generation immigrants participating in my study are active, educated, and have similar work experience as their Finnish peers. It is likely that they do not represent the second-generation immigrants as a whole.

7.2.2 *Participants and interviewees*

At the end of the process of sampling I had 11 participants to the workshop. In addition to these, I had two persons who might be able to attend. In the end one of the researchers became ill before the workshop and could not attend, and one person working with immigrants had another engagement and sent his colleague as a

replacement. Those who were unsure did not come to the workshop. The list of participants in appendix 1 lists those people who attended the workshop, in total 10 persons.

The workshop participants included two second-generation immigrants, one of Iranian background and one of Russian background. Both of them had come to Finland as young children. Three researchers participated in the workshop, and they specialise either in immigrant youth or in immigrants in the labour market. Three people work with immigrants, either full-time or on the side of their own job, and one of them actually assists immigrants looking for work. The last two participants belonged to a mixed category, i.e. they do some research on immigrants and work with immigrant issues to some extent, but do not fall squarely in either group. The gender distribution among the participants skewed towards women, as seven out of the 10 participants were women. The age distribution was rather wide, although the majority of people were in their twenties or thirties.

In order to get the input of a greater variety of people, I supplemented the workshop with three interviews. I found the interviewees during the search for informants, but they were for various reasons unable to attend the workshop. They are also listed in appendix 1. One of them is a researcher on migration and labour markets, and the two others are first-generation immigrants who work with immigrants or immigration issues. In addition to wider perspectives the interviews also served the purpose of triangulation by producing data by a different method, which helps with external validation (see for example Lewis and Ritchie 2003, 275-276).

All in all I was happy with the selection of participants I got. Some groups were obviously not represented, both in terms of ethnic background and in terms of labour market status. Nevertheless the variety of participants was great enough so that a single group could not dominate the workshop and to allow for a variety of views to be presented.

7.2.3 Questionnaire

Futures workshops are often rather time-consuming. For example, Jungk and Müllert (1987, 59) state that most commonly futures workshops last an entire day. I assumed that many of the potential participants could not make this sort of commitment, and thus I decided on a shorter workshop lasting three hours to enable more people to participate.

In order to save time on the day of the workshop, I gathered data about the current situation in advance through a qualitative email questionnaire. It served as a replacement for the stage of a traditional futures workshop where problems of the current situation are identified; with the distinction that I did not presume that there

would be problems. Very little is known about the current labour market situation of second-generation immigrants in Finland, and the questionnaires helped to chart this.

The questionnaire was sent to 10 out of the 11 original participants, and the two potential participants. It was not sent to Tommi Laitio, as he is my colleague and at that time I thought that he would merely be assisting me in the workshop. The questionnaire was different for second-generation immigrants and for other participants. This was the case because I wanted to hear about their personal experiences on the Finnish labour market, and I also wanted to give them the opportunity to voice issues in a more anonymous manner. The questionnaires consisted of open-ended questions, and thus the analysis of the results will be qualitative. They were sent out in Finnish, and can be found in appendices 2 and 3, translated into English.

Six people replied to the entire questionnaire, and one to only some of the questions. The respondents included both second-generation immigrants, two people working with immigrants, and three researchers. One of the researchers who answered the questionnaire was Antero Leitzinger from Finnish Immigration Service who did not attend the workshop. I have still included his replies in this study. The results of the questionnaire are presented in section 8.1 of this thesis. A short summary of the results of the questionnaire was sent to the participants in advance of the workshop in order to give them some idea of the views of the group. I also used the results of the questionnaire to draw a mind map to help with discussion at the workshop.

7.2.4 Workshop

The aim of the futures workshop was twofold. The first goal was to identify the most important factors which influence the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants in Finland today and in 2020. The second goal was to create alternative futures images of the labour market position of second-generation immigrants in 2020. The results of the workshop, along with commentary on the process are documented in section 8.2.

The workshop was organised on 19 August 2009 at the offices of Demos Helsinki in central Helsinki. The workshop started at 5pm and lasted for three hours. The time and duration were chosen to allow as many people as possible to participate. I work part-time at Demos Helsinki and was thus able to utilise the office for the purpose of the workshop.

In terms of methodology, it is necessary to note at the very beginning that the workshop was not recorded. This was because I was more interested in the end result of the workshop than in the details of the flow of discussion. I took notes during the discussion and the main points of the discussion were written down so that the

participants could see and approve them constantly. The fact that the participants accepted the documentation removes many of the uncertainties associated with the accuracy of interpretation in qualitative research.

The structure of the workshop differed somewhat from that set out for example by Jungk and Müllert (1987), Nurmela (2003), and Siivonen (2006). They all start by identifying the problems related to the topic and move on to creating visions of the future and ways to solve the problems so that the vision can be reached. I began the workshop by identifying key variables through brainstorming, which were then plotted into a futures table. This was followed by the gradual development of alternative futures, which were developed into scenarios after the workshop. This process of creating scenarios in a step-by-step manner by utilising a workshop is quite similar, albeit on a much smaller scale, as that described in Seppälä (2003).

The approach used did not assume that the labour market situation would be problematic and allowed better for the exploration of alternative futures rather than the creation of visions, ideal futures, to strive towards. The goal of the workshop also differed from that set out for example by Jungk and Müllert (1987), where the purpose is to create a vision where a particular problem has been resolved and to develop strategies to achieve the vision. In this workshop the goal was to explore alternatives, and to highlight possible outcomes of certain actions. This might empower the participants to a lesser extent, but might be more useful for instance for decision-makers by presenting alternatives.

The workshop began with short introductions of the participants, as knowing something about the others was likely to put the participants more at ease. Some of the participants appeared to know each other already, but most of them did not know anyone else. I had also organised some refreshments and food for the workshop and this, along with sitting in a circle around a big table, was meant to create a comfortable atmosphere. Despite these actions, in the beginning of the workshop people were a little reserved, and it might have been a good idea to spend some time on for example a game to relax people.

To start the conversation I briefly introduced the results of the questionnaire that had been plotted onto a mind map. This was followed by filling in the mind map with factors that might influence the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020. The questionnaire had already charted the present, and thus I thought it was acceptable to move directly to the future. Obviously similar factors also influence the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants at present, which made thinking about these variables somewhat easier. The discussion covered both factors which might be helpful to second-generation immigrants and those that might hinder their progress on the labour market. I was not critical when writing things on the mind map, and tried to include all ideas. In some

cases I formulated the ideas somewhat more clearly, but these alterations were accepted by the participants who suggested the variables.

In terms of facilitating the workshop I tried not to influence the flow of the discussion too much. I mainly focused on ensuring that the conversation stayed within the boundaries of the topic and that the moves to the next stages of the workshop were achieved easily. In the early stages of the workshop I had to encourage the people to speak, and I did this by asking questions such as ‘can you clarify that?’, and ‘can you think of any more variables?’. Some of the participants were quieter, and I attempted to draw them in for example by using eye contact and this worked quite well, as everyone contributed to the discussion. As the workshop proceeded, I did not need to stimulate discussion so much, and could focus on giving instructions and on keeping the conversation from straying.

The next stage after filling in the mind map was asking the participants to vote for those variables they thought would be the most influential ones in terms of the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020. The task was to narrow down the variables to manageable eight key ones. I advised the participants that they should choose those variables that they thought would be particularly relevant in terms of labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants, as opposed to people in general, in 2020, and not at present. Each participant got eight votes, which they could divide up or concentrate as they preferred. The voting was by making crosses on the mind map during a short break.

After this the variables with the most votes were placed in a futures table, which in essence is a table, where the future states of selected variables are plotted. I had a futures table set up on my laptop and I projected this on the wall for all the participants to see. The table was then filled out with different states for each variable. Filling out the table so that the participants could see it all the time had the advantage that they approved the way I interpreted their statements. If I had just done this on my own or from recordings after the event, I might have interpreted some statements in a wrong way and represented some opinions inaccurately.

This stage of the workshop was the most tiring and difficult one, and I had to explain repeatedly what types of states could be included in the table. Even though futures workshop is an interesting method, it requires a lot of input from the participants, and when they are not experienced in thinking about the future, the process can be demanding for them. I should have offered clearer guidance, and should have planned it in greater detail beforehand. I had a plan of how the workshop was going to proceed, but when there were hitches I had to think on my feet and create new explanations in order to encourage the participants. It might for example have been good to give the participants more information in advance concerning thinking about the future and about how the process would work, as this would have made the facilitation a lot easier.

I also had to resist the impulse to fill out the table myself, or to feed variables to the participants, as the goal of the workshop was to for them, not me, to create a futures table. The resulting futures table was produced by the participants, but the process was demanding and rather time-consuming.

In hindsight I also should have allocated more time for this stage of the workshop, because now I felt I had to rush things a little too much. In this stage the atmosphere was notably more relaxed, and as a result the conversation sometimes wandered into topics that were not related directly to the task at hand. Due to the limited time available, I had to direct the discussion back to the futures table even if the discussion was interesting in itself.

The filling-out of the table was followed by a well-deserved short break. The final stage of the workshop was combining states of different variables into coherent futures, i.e. situations of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020. The participants created three alternative futures, which represent the continuation of current trends, positive developments, and negative developments. A greater number of futures might have produced greater variations, but the three futures might make the fact that these are only some alternatives clearer. The limited number also makes it more obvious which states are considered positive and which negative, and this might be helpful for example in decision-making. I had planned that the participants could develop these futures further into more detailed stories, but unfortunately there was not enough time for that.

7.2.5 *Scenarios*

The futures produced in the workshop, while interesting, were nevertheless a little narrow. They did not explain how this outcome would be possible, or what the complete picture of the future situation would be like. Thus I developed them further into scenarios, descriptions of pathways to the futures, which can be described as a final product of the process of futures studies (Kuusi & Kamppinen 2002, 123).

In the creation of the scenarios I utilised both the results of the workshop and of the questionnaire. The results of the workshop provided me with the end points of the scenarios, and the questionnaire offered some starting points in the future. Unfortunately all the key variables discussed in the workshop which ended up in the futures table did not appear in the results of the questionnaire. In these cases I supplemented the data from the questionnaire with those from the workshop and from previous research.

When I had the start and end points, I could fill in the middle to create scenarios. To make this process clearer, I used tables to assist me, and plotted the year 2015 as a mid-

point. Then I used the data of the present situation, possible economic trends, and the theoretical framework to create three alternative scenarios. These correspond with the futures images created in the workshop.

The criteria used to assess the quality of scenarios are rather varied. Scenarios should include the relevant actors, they need to be physically, psychologically, and socially possible, and they need to be logically consistent. A combination of these factors should result in an understandable scenario (Mannermaa 2003, 28-29). It can also be argued that it is not enough for a scenario to be understandable and well-founded, but that it should also influence the society (Mannermaa 2003, 35-37). Other discussions concentrate on the importance of values in futures studies (Malaska 2003, 13). Yet others emphasise the need for futures studies to inform decision-making (de Jouvenel 1967, 128). The criteria used in this study are a combination of these approaches. I assess the scenarios on the basis of how believable they are, how desirable they are, and how useful they are to decision-makers.

When scenarios are developed by a single researcher, as was the case here, there is a danger that they are too subjective. Subjectivity would be an even greater pitfall if I assessed the quality of the scenarios on my own. In order to provide a more objective evaluation of the quality of the scenarios I asked the workshop participants to comment on these scenarios either in an online questionnaire or by email. The online questionnaire was set up at www.surveymonkey.com, an online facility for creating surveys. In it I asked them to assess the believability (how likely it is to happen?), desirability (should this happen?), and usefulness (is this helpful to decision-makers?) of the scenarios on a five-point scale from very good to very bad. I also asked them to provide open comments. I offered the opportunity to answer the same questions by email, if they preferred it. I also discussed the scenarios in the three interviews, where commenting on them was less structured.

Only two of the workshop participants commented on the scenarios, which was rather disappointing. I sent all participants one reminder email, but thought that to hassle them further to answer could be counterproductive and a little rude. After all they had already answered one questionnaire and participated in a workshop, and I thought this was a sufficient contribution to the research process. Luckily those comments I received were helpful and interesting, and the feedback I got on the scenarios from the interviewees was also useful.

The scenarios, along with comments on them are presented in chapter 9.

7.2.6 *Interviews*

As stated above, I organised three qualitative individual interviews in addition to the workshop in order to address the issues of both validity and representativeness. They both offered the opportunity for wider participation, albeit in a different form, in the research process and helped with triangulation. These interviews were organised in early September 2009 in both Turku and Helsinki, and the interviewees are listed in appendix 1. The interviews were not taped, but I took extensive notes. I decided on this approach because I was more interested in the general arguments they made than in the way they expressed themselves.

The topics of the interviews were broadly similar, but the passage of the interviews varied to an extent. I had a general list of questions, but overall the interviews were quite unstructured. The topics discussed included the factors influencing the labour market position of immigrants, and the factors influencing second-generation immigrants on the labour market. Differences between second-generation immigrants, first-generation immigrants and native Finns were also discussed. In addition to this, broader themes were covered in the discussions. The interviewees were also asked to comment on the scenarios which they had been sent in advance of the interview.

The data from the interviews has many similarities with that from the workshop, but also some interesting differences. The results of the interviews are documented in section 8.3 and the interviewees' comments on the scenarios can be found in section 9.2.

8 FUTURES OF SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS ON THE FINNISH LABOUR MARKET IN 2020

The purpose of the futures workshop was both to identify the most important factors influencing labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland, and to create alternative futures of their labour market position in 2020. I would like to emphasise that the results of this workshop only highlight some factors that influence labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020. As was discussed in the workshop, grouping all second-generation immigrants together might not be sensible because their experiences, skills, and backgrounds vary significantly. The results of this workshop thus offer insights into potentially influential issues and some pointers as to the areas that require further research and possibly policy steps. They are by no means the only alternative futures, and the future state that will occur depends on many factors, including our own actions.

In this chapter I present the results of the email questionnaire, the futures workshop and the interviews, and offer some additional commentary on the research process. The alternative futures are discussed in more detail in the following chapter in the form of scenarios. The research was conducted in Finnish, and the results have been translated into English.

8.1 Results of the questionnaire

According to the replies to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire sent before the workshop to the participants, the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants are at the moment seen as similar to those of native Finns. They are also thought to be significantly better than those of first-generation immigrants. It was stated that personality plays a greater role in finding work than immigrant background does.

Knowledge of Finnish opens doors for second-generation immigrants and they might even have the possibility of creating work opportunities for others. Foreign language skills and international experience are useful even for native Finns, so in this sense second-generation immigrants have a good position on the labour market. A different background may also help them to stand out in a positive way among other job applicants.

However, the situation is not completely equal. Even though it was stated that all young people face challenges when they move into working life, doubts about language skills and discrimination may create additional challenges for second-generation immigrants. In an economic downturn anti-immigrant attitudes may harden, which creates more problems in finding work. Other possible challenges on the labour market

are more limited social networks and the absence of working adult role-models. Limited networks and lack of role models may cause second-generation immigrants to have less comprehensive knowledge of vacancies and the Finnish labour market than native Finns do.

If the development of the position of second-generation immigrants were to follow the model of some other country, it was thought most likely that it would resemble that in other Nordic countries with a strong welfare state model. History of immigration also impacts on the integration of the second generation, and some stated that Finland would probably not follow in the footsteps of any other country.

It is interesting to note that the views of the present situation of second-generation immigrants on the labour market were quite optimistic, and that this was the case also in the replies of second-generation immigrants. In the case countries (see chapter 5 of this thesis) second-generation immigrants tend to be at least to an extent at a disadvantaged position when compared to natives, both in education and on the labour market. This optimism might be partly due to the small numbers of second-generation immigrants working at present, since there might be no need to create barriers against such a small group. Nevertheless, the replies to the questionnaire provided a good basis for identifying relevant variables and for the construction of futures images and later on scenarios.

8.2 Results of the futures workshop

The main method of gathering data I used in this study was a futures workshop. The research process, including sampling, has been described in section 7.2 of this thesis. In this section I will present the results of the workshop, alongside some further commentary on the process.

After the short introductions of the participants the workshop began in earnest with the filling in of a mind map with factors that might influence the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020. I had picked out some variables from the e-mail questionnaire, but during the discussion several more were brought forward. The discussion in this part of the workshop was interesting, but still a little constrained, and thus I had to encourage participants to present ideas. This was to be expected, because it takes time for people to relax in unfamiliar social settings. Nevertheless, all participants offered some ideas, although naturally some were more vocal than others.

The final mind map is presented in table 2 on the next two pages. For the sake of

Table 2 Variables influencing the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants in Finland.

Variable	Number of votes
Economic situation	3
Level of education	6
Attitudes	8
-discrimination/ racism	0
-own attitudes	0
-others' attitudes	1
Finnish language skills	0
Value placed on international experiences on the labour market	0
Social networks	8
Role models	0
Family	4
-family relationships	2
-parents' educational and work background	1
-goals	0
-support and guidance, e.g. in education	0
Structural obstacles e.g. recruitment practices	6
-lack of entry-jobs	0
Culture	2
-traditions	0
Year of immigration	0
Trade unions	0
Religion	0
Place of residence	2
Chance	1
Reason for immigration (i.e. the family's)	0
Employers' policies towards diversity	2
Global developments	0
-societal change	3
Job structure of labour market	0
Practices	0
Legislation	0
Equality politics	1
Immigration politics	1
Number of immigrants	1
Personality	5
-appearance	4
-in between two cultures	1
Health	3
Relationships between groups	0
Skills in applying for jobs	1
Language skills	5
Work experience	3
Teaching of/skills in native tongue	0
Ethnic background	0

Diversity (different types of second-generation immigrants)	0
Gender	3
Age	0
Name	0

clarity the results are presented in table format. Those variables marked in bold appeared in the questionnaires and I had plotted them on the mind map as part of preparation for the workshop. The variables are ordered so that those belonging to the same categories are listed below each other. In total there are 49 different variables, which is a very representative selection.

As can be seen from the diversity of these variables, the discussion in the workshop ranged far and wide. In sum it can be stated that it appears that the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants were thought to be influenced both by factors that influence labour market performance in general (e.g. level of education), and by factors that influence the labour market performance of immigrants (e.g. culture, used here as a shorthand term for various cultural practices). It was interesting that work experience was initially left out of the mind map and its absence was only noted in the voting stage, in particular because one of the participants studies labour market issues and one assists immigrants in finding work.

To some extent the participants seemed to state variables that were connected with their own experiences. For example second-generation immigrants presented experiences of being treated differently because of their appearance and name. Other people also then offered their own examples of this type of behaviour, from their own experience or from research contexts. The researchers who participated tended to mention variables that connected with their own topic of research, which was the case for variables such as health and family.

There was obviously an overlap between some of these variables, and many of them are linked with each other. The links were so many and so complicated that I did not even attempt to connect them on the mind map.

It was also good that after initially stilted conversation once the participants relaxed a little more, the ideas began to flow more freely. I think this is one of the benefits of futures workshop, as it offers the participants the possibility to bounce ideas off each other, which would not be possible for example in traditional interviews. Even Delphi studies, while offering opportunities for limited interaction with ideas of others, do not offer the same benefits of working in a group.

Another benefit is that some of the variables are not those I would have included. For example family and skills in applying for jobs would not necessarily have crossed my mind. I was also a little surprised by how big a barrier the Swedish language requirements were thought to be. Apparently many students with immigrant background choose not to study Swedish, and this obviously creates hurdles later on, for example if

they want to work for the government. All the participants were from the Helsinki region, and thus the situation would probably be reversed for people in the Swedish-speaking regions of Finland, where learning Swedish is prioritised over Finnish.

The diversity of the variables was narrowed down to eight key variables by the means of a vote. The results of the vote can also be seen in table 2 above. A little over a half of the variables got some votes, and it is interesting to note which did not. The impact of name and of ethnic background was discussed quite a lot, but still no one voted for them. It is possible that people chose instead to vote for appearance or personality. The value placed on international experiences on the labour market and the existence of role models both appeared already in the questionnaires, but again, no one voted for them. They might also have been classified under some other category, for example family, or it might be that by 2020 they are no longer as significant as at present. I was rather surprised that legislation got no votes, because I would have assumed that anti-discrimination legislation would help to achieve equal status on the labour market. The fact that work experience was only added to the mind map in the voting stage is also very interesting, as even common sense should point to its important role in finding employment. This might signify the important role education is often thought to play on the Finnish labour market or the externalisation of responsibilities for performance to outside actors, such as employers. However, it might merely be an oversight, as people might have been preoccupied with other thoughts, or have assumed that second-generation immigrants would be young and thus have only limited work experience. All in all I would not draw too far-reaching conclusions from the late inclusion of work experience.

8.2.1 Futures table – second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020

After the votes had been counted, it was time to create a futures table. Those variables with the most votes were placed in a futures table, presented as table 3 on the next page. These represent the factors which are thought to most strongly influence the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland in 2020. The social networks and attitudes both got eight votes, and the other variables are ordered according to the number of votes received. For the sake of clarity the states of the variables have been organised so that the different futures are in columns. The states were brought forward in a different order, and in fact the state for education in alternative 2 consists of two states which were originally distinct.

Table 3 Opportunities and challenges of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020.

Variable	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Not selected
Social networks	Work-related networks the most important ones	Transborder networks	Immigrant networks become more important for finding jobs	
Attitudes	Both tolerance and “when in Rome” thinking	Multiculturalism is appreciated (also because of economic possibilities)	Monoculturalism dominant	
Structural obstacles	Structures remain similar	Structures become more flexible to allow for multiculturalism in practice	More structural obstacles are created	Structures fall apart
Level of education	Fragmented level of education	Vocational education increasingly common Higher education increasingly common	Apprenticeships/traditional skills	
Language skills	Language skills are not an obstacle	Swedish requirements for offices are abolished	Emergence of new, significant minority languages (e.g. Russian)	Multilingual (and multicultural) skills searched after by companies
Personality	In between two cultures (negative)	In between two cultures (positive)	The importance of earning and financial rewards higher for (some) people of immigrant background than for native Finns	Openness and sociability (in certain jobs) as a trump card
Appearance	The importance of appearance remains similar	Appearance not (really) important any more	In work you have to fit in with the company image (e.g. uniforms)	In certain jobs difference is sought after
Family	Family not knowledgeable about the educational	Family supports fast gaining of vocational qualifications	Support for family-centric values	Family supports all-round education (i.e.

	system			high school)
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The futures table has been accepted by the participants of the workshop, and I have only organised it and translated it into English. In a futures table it is important that the states of the variables differ enough from each other. In my opinion, this futures table achieves that goal. The states of each variable differ clearly from each other, which enables the later creation of truly different futures. What might be somewhat problematic is the overlap between the variables. For example the impact of appearance and personality might be similar, and appearance and attitudes are also connected in the case of people of immigrant origin.

One noteworthy issue is that the majority of the variables which were chosen for the futures table are variables which influence the labour market performance of everyone, not just second-generation immigrants. Social networks, level of education, language skills, personality, and family background influence the labour market performance of all people to some extent. Their importance has also been shown in many of the studies presented earlier in this thesis. Even appearance impacts labour market possibilities for most people, although its role might be greater for people whose appearance is different from that of the majority. The variables which mostly influence the labour market possibilities of people with immigrant background are attitudes and structural obstacles. This emphasis on factors which influence labour market performance more generally could indicate that it is thought that second-generation immigrants have equal opportunities in comparison to native Finns or it might be caused by the difficulty of focusing only on second-generation immigrants. However, it is possible that the impact of these variables is different for second-generation immigrants than for native Finns.

Some of the states of the variables require more extensive explanations at this stage. The state for variable ‘attitudes’ in alternative 2 describes a situation in which multiculturalism is not merely tolerance, but has become the norm because it creates economic opportunities, for example in providing services for people with immigrant background. The state for variable ‘level of education’ in alternative 3 refers to a situation where second-generation immigrants utilise their group background and learn for example certain building skills or traditional arts and crafts.

As a researcher I would not necessarily have chosen these variables for the table. Instead I might have for example selected legislation instead of personality. I would have also included the socioeconomic background of the parents as a variable separate from the family, as its impact particularly on educational performance has been shown to be significant (see for example Kristen and Granato 2007). It is also interesting that some of the states of the variables were not the type that I would have picked. For

example for level of education I would have focused on the level of education in relation to people with native Finnish background, and not on the type of education. I think this would have offered more insights into their competitive position on the Finnish labour market.

This is one of the benefits of futures workshop as a method: it allows people to discuss a topic quite freely, and this can result in the emergence of new ideas which the individuals themselves might not have thought about. These variables and their states make sense both in terms of earlier empirical findings and in terms of common sense, even if I might have preferred other alternatives.

The next stage of the process was forming the alternative futures by selecting one box from each row, i.e. a state for each variable. These would then form a coherent, alternative future. In table 3 the results are presented in columns, and the corresponding scenarios are presented in section 9.1.

In contrast to the process of filling in the futures table, the formation of alternative futures was relatively easy. Getting started took some time, but when they began from the row 'structural obstacles' and created a future that would be the continuation of the present situation, the way the process works became clearer. After this the group created a positive future and a negative one. The discussion in this stage was interesting, but unfortunately time was running out and I had to again direct the conversation a little more than I had initially planned. Nevertheless I do not think my influence corrupted the process.

Even though the goal was not to create the most probable futures, the group placed a strong emphasis on the creation of possible futures. This led to setting certain conditions under which the states could come true. For example the selection for 'personality' in alternative 3, i.e. the importance of earning, was selected on the premise that something would happen to Finnish social security system which would reduce possibilities of surviving without work. This condition and selection were results of extensive discussion.

Some other states also require a little more elaboration at this stage. In the row 'appearance' the state where looking different might be an asset for some companies was not chosen because it was thought that this would lead to 'freak shows' and that hiring people for their exotic looks would not really be progress. In the row 'language skills' the box where new minority languages emerge originally referred to the acceptance of new official languages in Finland. Its meaning changed over the course of the discussion, and alternative 3 it stands for development of ethnic niches where minority languages dominate.

A couple of the other selections also deserve to be discussed here. In terms of 'language skills' I was surprised that the group chose abolishment of Swedish requirements over high appreciation of multilingual and multicultural knowledge. This

might indicate that the requirement to learn Swedish, in addition to all the other languages, is a significant structural constraint for second-generation immigrants. On the other hand it might reflect the declining importance of Swedish in Finnish society in general. Another issue is that it was though unlikely that the entire structure of the labour market, including obstacles, would to fall. This is probably true, at least during the short timeframe of the futures. Last interesting note is that encouraging vocational training was thought to be the most useful way to help second-generation immigrants find employment.

Overall I was very pleased with the workshop process and its results. It was very interesting to hear the opinions of different types of stakeholders and this gave a much broader perspective than could have been achieved through interviews or a literature review. I had planned that the participants could develop the futures further, so that they would not be merely collections of states of different variables. This was not possible due to time constraints, which was a shame.

I did not want to leave the images at this cursory level, and thus I developed them further into scenarios. They, as well as the process of developing scenarios, are presented in the following chapter, and they provide a more rounded picture of the alternative futures. Writing scenarios can be rather subjective, and because of this I decided to improve their validity by asking the workshop participants to comment on them. This enabled them to state if they agree with my interpretation of the futures table (see for example Flick 2006, 372). Comments on the scenarios are presented in section 9.2.

8.3 Results of the interviews

The results of the individual interviews overlap to an extent with those of the workshop. However, their aim was more to discuss factors which might influence the labour market performance of second-generation immigrants rather than to create alternative futures.

The first topic in the interviews, after introductions, was the position of first-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market and the factors influencing it. I thought this was a good warm-up topic, as all of the interviewees would be more familiar with issues facing first-generation immigrants. The factors that influence the labour market position of first-generation immigrants in Finland, according to my interviewees, include both various personal properties of the immigrants and macro-level factors. Among personal properties influencing labour market position are educational background, country of origin, Finnish language skills, gender, and own activity level. The main emphasis in the interviews was on macro-level variables, such

as social networks, structural obstacles (for example requirements concerning citizenship and Swedish skills), bureaucracy, and attitudes among the general population. Finnish society was also described as slow to recognise changes and in responding to them. None of these variables were very unexpected, as most of them can be found in previous studies concerning immigrants on the Finnish labour market (see chapter 4 of this thesis). Nevertheless, it was good to hear a confirmation of the importance of these factors.

Discussions about second-generation immigrants and the labour market and their different positions in comparison to first-generation immigrants and native Finns produced more interesting and unique data. In two of the interviews the tone was quite optimistic, and in one the focus was more on the problems they might encounter. Problems and challenges were, however, discussed in each of the interviews.

Second-generation immigrants were perceived to have some obvious advantages in relation to first-generation immigrants. They can be expected to be fluent in Finnish, they have gone to school in Finland, and they understand the Finnish society. Other advantages were discussed in relation to native peers. Second-generation immigrants might have wider, transnational networks which extend to their parents' home countries. These experiences of international life were thought to be valued on the future labour markets, and they give the second generation both language skills and possibly the ability to understand difference. Other positive factors which were discussed include the high value placed on education, the advantages some cultural traditions (for example not drinking alcohol) give on the labour market, and that it is possible to break through the first obstacles with an active approach and then progress will be easier. The Equality law was also stated to help in providing more equal opportunities. Overall second-generation immigrants can be seen to have many factors in their favour.

Even though many positive factors are at play, these are only one side of the issue. The most important challenge, which was discussed in some way in all of the interviews, was the problems second-generation immigrants have of becoming accepted as Finnish. Their identity and Finnish skills can be questioned on the basis of a foreign-sounding name, and their appearance might not fit the corporate image of the employer. This appears to be a serious problem, and one that needs to be addressed. If second-generation immigrants feel excluded from the Finnish society, the resulting marginalisation might have far-reaching consequences. This question of acceptance is related to the challenge of living in between two cultures, which might pose challenges to their identity. Another potential problem discussed in one of the interviews is the impact of high unemployment rates among first-generation immigrants on second-generation immigrants. The unemployment of both parents might influence the labour market opportunities of their children. It is still unclear whether seeing relatively more unemployed people pulls second-generation immigrants down the path of

unemployment or whether it makes them even more motivated to avoid becoming unemployed.

Some other interesting issues were also discussed in the interviews. The issue of migration of second-generation immigrants was raised in two of the interviews. At present many skilled and well-educated Finns migrate, and second-generation immigrants might be even more likely to do so, since they have transnational social networks and experiences of migration in their near family. It was also stated that Finland is to some extent a transit country, where people come for a short time and then migrate again. If the first generation chooses to leave, there will be no second generation at all. The other points related to the threat of marginalisation and to means of combating it. If second-generation immigrants are not accepted into the Finnish society, the resulting marginalisation might lead to public unrest along the lines of Sweden. Due to the smaller numbers this would probably be on a much smaller scale, but in Finland its impact might be significant. One interesting suggestion of a way to prevent marginalisation was to have more people with immigrant background in visible jobs and in the media, as this would make diversity more normal than it currently is.

8.4 Key findings

Somewhat different themes and issues emerged from the questionnaire, the workshop, and the interviews. However, some themes were discussed in all the stages of the research process, and thus I want to present the key findings here. The differences probably result largely from the slightly different emphasises in the distinct stages of the research process, and because of this the similarities are all the more important.

The overall tone of the replies to the questionnaire, of the workshop, and of the interviews was quite optimistic. This proved that my decision to abandon the problem-orientation of Jungk and Müllert's (1987) approach was a sensible one, as assuming the existence of problems would have directed the course of the process to too great an extent. Problems were nevertheless discussed in all stages of the process, which probably indicates recognition of problems encountered by first-generation immigrants and an assumption that at least some of these will form of part of the experiences of the second generation as well.

Four themes which came up in the questionnaires, the workshop and the interviews were social networks, personality, attitudes, particularly anti-immigrant ones, and knowledge of Finnish as a language. The way these themes were discussed differed to some extent in between the different mediums. In all stages the important role of social networks in finding work was recognised, but the emphasis was different. In the replies to the questionnaire the focus was on the more limited social networks of immigrants

and how this might influence second-generation immigrants. In the workshop the emphasis was on the role of social networks in transferring job information, and in the interviews most attention was devoted to transnational networks, which might both be an asset on the labour market and make migration of second-generation immigrants more probable. The emphasis on the role of the networks might be partly due to the fact that the informants included so many researchers who are familiar with studies on this topic.

In contrast to the more structural factor of social networks, the importance of personality in finding work was also recognised. Personality is obviously influential for everyone looking for work, but according to my data second-generation immigrants might have some favourable personality traits in contrast to natives. For example in some replies to the questionnaire it was stated that people with immigrant background might find it easier than native Finns to stand out in a positive way.

Anti-immigrant attitudes and the knowledge of Finnish are to an extent linked issues. One key aspect of anti-immigrant stances is precisely the questioning of the rights of immigrants to live and work in Finland. This attitude can be particularly harmful for second-generation immigrants, who know Finnish, have been educated here, and know the Finnish society well, but who might nevertheless face doubts about their level of being Finnish. Knowledge of Finnish was considered an asset in relation to first-generation immigrants, and it will probably help second-generation immigrants on the labour market. However, knowledge of Finnish could also be thought of as one structural obstacle, especially if it is questioned on the basis of immigrant background.

Other themes were discussed in two of the stages of the research. The potential lack of working role models and its impact on labour market status emerged from the questionnaires and in the interviews. Issues of education, family support, and structural obstacles were considered in the workshop and in the interviews.

As stated above, the stages of the research had slightly different foci, and thus the results also differ somewhat. The questionnaire was designed to chart the current situation, and as a result there were quite many comparisons of the situation of second-generation immigrants in relation to both first-generation immigrants and native Finns. In the workshop the focus was more narrowly on finding the most important variables and on creating images of the future. As a result there were fewer comparisons, and more talk about the influential factors themselves. In the interviews there were again more comparisons between second-generation immigrants and other groups, and the focus was particularly strongly on the advantages second-generation immigrants have in relation to other groups.

On the basis of the data I have gathered, the current situation of second-generation immigrants on the labour market appears to be quite good. They are in a similar position as native Finns, and in a considerably stronger position than first-generation

immigrants. They have many factors in their favour, for example fluency in Finnish, good language skills, and transnational social networks. Nevertheless they face some problems, mainly related to questioning their level of being Finnish and to anti-immigrant attitudes. This current situation provides quite a hopeful starting point for the future.

The futures created in the workshop present some possibilities for the year 2020. The labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland appear to be largely influenced by factors which influence everyone's labour market performance, which might point to a belief in the equality of the Finnish labour market. The futures portray alternatives, which might come true if we undertake some particular actions. They also provide evidence of value judgements, both obvious and surprising ones. The obvious value choices include the importance of multicultural values for improved labour market possibilities of second-generation immigrants. One example of a more surprising value choice is selection of abolishment of Swedish as the way to improve labour market possibilities. The relation of these futures and value judgements to previous studies and theories is discussed in more detail in the conclusion, but the possible pathways to the future are presented already in the following chapter.

8.5 Reliability and validity – a self-assessment

Reliability and validity are basic criteria according to which research is evaluated. However, in the case of qualitative research there has been discussion on whether or not these criteria should be replaced by other criteria better suited to qualitative studies (see for example Lincoln 2002). It might be even more difficult to apply these criteria to futures studies than to qualitative research in other subjects, since futures studies analyses something that does not yet exist. Nevertheless I chose to pay attention to the traditional criteria of reliability and validity, whereby reliability refers to the accuracy of the results and validity to the quality of the conclusions of the research. I have utilised the guidelines from Flick (2006) and Lewis and Ritchie (2003) in the assessment of reliability and validity.

According to Flick (2006, 370-371) reliability tends to receive less attention in qualitative research than validity does, and clear and accurate reporting of both the process and of what the subject has said are ways to enhance reliability in qualitative research. In this study I have reported the process in as much detail and as clearly as possible, which hopefully helps in assessing the quality of the research. In terms of the reporting of the statements of the subjects the one problem is that the workshop and the interviews were not recorded. However, I took detailed notes, and have made it clear in this thesis when I am reporting the statements of the informants and when I am

analysing the data. In the case of the workshop the accuracy of the reporting was improved by writing the comments of the participants first on the mind map and later in a futures table projected on a wall. This enabled the participants to keep track of what was going on and also to notify me if I had misinterpreted something they said. Thus the mind map and the futures table have been accepted by the participants as they are and they represent the outcomes of the workshop accurately.

In qualitative research validity, i.e. does the researcher see the phenomenon accurately, seems to be the more crucial criterion. I have used some tools, for example the additional interviews and asking the participants to comment on the scenarios, to help improve the validity of this study.

The one significant problem with the validity of this study is caused by the selection of informants. The problems are not related to its non-probability nature, as the aim was not the find a statistically representative selection. As stated above in sections 7.2.1. and 7.2.2. I had problems with the selection of informants, and although the final informants were quite a varied group, there were important issues of representativeness. Even though I tried to gather as representative a group of informants as possible, I did not get a wide enough selection of second-generation immigrants to participate. The workshop participants did not include people from some of the largest immigrant groups in Finland, namely Estonians and Somalis, and all second-generation immigrants who participated were educated and closely connected with the Finnish society. I assume some second-generation immigrants have more problems in their relationship with the Finnish society, as many native Finns have them as well, and these people were not represented at all. Thus the results of the study might be biased and present a more optimistic picture of the current situation and the future than would be the case if the selection of informants was more representative.

In terms of issues besides the selection of informants the validity of this study should be good. The combination of the questionnaire and the workshop allowed me to gather data in two different ways both about the present and about future possibilities. The supplementary interviews gave the viewpoints of other people independently of the workshop participants, and thus acted as a tool for triangulation. The workshop process allowed the participants to ensure that my interpretations of their speech were accurate, and the opportunity to comment on the scenarios gave them a further opportunity to control the interpretations. The same provisions were not available for the interviewees, but they were also able to comment on the scenarios and thus to evaluate the quality of the outcome of the workshop. The data that has been presented in this chapter is reported as accurately as possible, even though it is possible that something has been lost in the process of translation from Finnish to English.

9 PATHWAYS TO 2020

Scenarios are one of the basic tools of futures studies and in essence they describe paths to the future. The images formed in the futures workshop are interesting descriptions of end states in 2020, but it is also important to consider how we would progress to a particular end state. In order to provide answers to this question I combined the information gained from the questionnaire and the futures table to create three distinct scenarios after the workshop. The alternative futures connected with each scenario are presented in columns in table 3 on pages 70-71.

The construction of the scenarios was initially quite difficult because the description of the current situation gathered from the questionnaires did not contain all the same variables as the futures table formulated in the workshop. In order to make the process easier, I created tables, on which I plotted the future state and the present state, if available. If the present state was not discussed in the replies to the questionnaire, I used information from previous research to fill in the gaps. The next step was determining an intermediate stage for year 2015 for each variable, which would explain how to get from the present to the future. Once I had filled in the whole table, I wrote descriptions of the processes of change. This process was conducted in Finnish, and I have since translated the results, including the scenarios, into English. The scenarios are presented in section 9.1. and each one is followed by the table I used as a tool in creating them.

Creating the scenarios is not enough, as their quality also needs to be assessed. In order to achieve this, I asked the workshop participants to comment on the scenarios and rate them according to their believability, desirability, and usefulness. This assessment was the reason why I initially wrote the scenarios in Finnish. The participants could assess the scenarios online at www.surveymonkey.com or send me the replies by email. I also asked the interviewees for comments on the scenarios. The comments are presented in section 9.2 along with some analysis of the comments.

9.1 Three scenarios to year 2020

All of the scenarios depart from the same starting point, the present state. The current states for variables ‘social networks’, ‘language skills’, ‘personality’, and ‘appearance’ are from the replies to the questionnaire sent to the workshop participants. The results of the questionnaire are reported in section 8.1. of this thesis. The state for ‘structural obstacles’ is mainly based on discussion in the workshop, although it was mentioned in passing and in relation to language skills in one of the replies to the questionnaire. The current state of the variable ‘family’ is completely based on the discussion in the workshop, where the role of the family was emphasised repeatedly. The current state of

'attitudes' is inferred from Jaakkola (2009) and the state for level of education from Kuusela et al (2008).

The most difficult part of the scenario process was finding states for the year 2015 that would enable to development from the present day situation to that stipulated for 2020. Some of these states do not describe the condition of a particular variable in 2015, but rather explain what changes need to take place for the state of 2020 to come true. When creating the scenarios I utilised the theories and the previous studies as a guideline to what might be useful and what might be necessary for something to happen. I obviously had to take a number of subjective decisions, but I think the resulting scenarios are feasible in terms of the assumptions made in them. The tables presented after each scenario hopefully help in assessing the quality of the scenario process.

One assumption made in each of the scenarios is that recovery from the current economic downturn or recession will take time and that the situation might become even more severe before improvements occur. The Finnish economy is struggling, particularly in terms of the employment levels, and even though the recovery might be complete by 2020, the current economic situation will probably influence the pathway to the future Finland will follow. This assumption seemed plausible when considering the long-term impact of the depression of the early 1990s and the more global extent of this recession, but if it is not accepted, the scenarios will seem less believable.

The first scenario presents a continuation of the current trends, in which no decisive actions to improve the labour market position of a particular group are taken, even though other policy steps might occur. In the second scenario steps are taken to encourage more equal opportunities on the labour market, and these include steps to prevent marginalisation also of native Finns. It corresponds with the positive future, as defined by the workshop participants. In the third scenario anti-immigrant sentiments increase their popularity and any actions to improve for example the employment rate are targeted to native Finns. This scenario represents the path to the future the workshop participants perceived as the negative one. All of these scenarios can follow from the present situation, but they are by no means the only alternatives.

9.1.1 Scenario 1: A step towards multicultural Finland

The rate of immigration continues to increase and as a result Finland becomes more multicultural, although to a limited extent. Immigrants find employment more easily than at present, because they are no longer perceived as so different as today. This leads to broadening of immigrants' social networks, which in their turn make finding work easier both for first- and for second-generation immigrants. In 2020 work-related

networks have a central role when it comes to second-generation immigrants finding work. Second-generation immigrants also benefit from the much wider recognition of their good skills in Finnish.

An efficient campaign is organised against the anti-immigrant sentiments, and this campaign does not remain at the level of mere talk about tolerance. As a result anti-immigrant attitudes move more and more to the margins of society. In 2020 Finnish society exhibits both tolerance and attitudes according to which foreigners should adapt to the Finnish culture. Some employers still have doubts about hiring people with immigrant background, and this resistance has been influenced also by the worsening economic situation. In addition to these issues, as multiculturalism increases, second-generation immigrants have to think about their identities and about their position in between two cultures in more depth. These developments result in the continuing importance of appearance in recruitment and make living in between two cultures a challenge also in 2020.

Even though there are several improvements, there are also negative developments. The government attempts to battle the economic crisis with actions designed to increase the employment level. These actions target the population as a whole, and there are no attempts to remove the structural obstacles faced by people with immigrant background. Resources to combat falling out of the education system are not available due to economic constraints. As a result some second-generation immigrants perform well in education, but others fall outside the educational system. Even the positive attitudes of immigrant families do not help, since many of them are unable to find clear information about the Finnish educational system. Thus in 2020 the structural obstacles remain similar as today, the second generation has a fragmented level of education, and immigrant families are unfamiliar with the educational system.

In sum, the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants are somewhat better in 2020, because they can utilise wider social networks and language skills are not an obstacle to finding work. Nevertheless they face more structural obstacles and prejudices than the native Finns do, and this leads to weaker opportunities than those of natives but better than those of first-generation immigrants.

9.1.1.1 Development of scenario 1

The table 4 on the next two pages contains the table I used to construct scenario 1. It presents the preceding scenario in a more cursory form, and should clarify any unclear points about it.

Table 4 Scenario 1: A step towards multicultural Finland

Variable	Now	2015	2020
Social networks	Networks are more narrow than those of natives, limit opportunities	Immigrants find work more easily than at present -> parents have better networks, and also second-generation immigrants enter many sectors of the economy	Work-related networks the most important ones
Attitudes	Anti-immigrant attitudes relatively common, large variation between different regions and groups of people	There is effective action against anti-immigrants movements, which move more and more to the margins of the society, but do not disappear	Both tolerance and "when in Rome" thinking
Structural obstacles	Structural obstacles, for example language requirements and recruitment practices exist	Due to the recession attention is focused on increasing the employment rate of the whole population -> no specific programmes targeting those with immigrant background	Structures remain similar
Level of education	Fragmented, but no dramatic differences in relation to native Finns	Some second-generation immigrants do well, others fall outside the educational system -> no steps to address the situation	Fragmented level of education
Language skills	Knowledge of Finnish is of key importance and is sometimes questioned. Other languages are a bonus, just like for native Finns	The Finnish skills of second generation are recognised as equally good as those of natives	Language skills are not an obstacle
Personality	Personality plays a key role in finding work	As immigration increases there are more people with	In between two cultures (negative)

		immigrant background on the labour market-> the second generation has to increasingly think about their position in between two cultures	
Appearance	Can lead to discrimination	The challenging economic situation causes some employers to maintain prejudiced attitudes	The importance of appearance remains similar
Family	Important role, for example in supporting education	Immigrant families mainly supportive of education, but cannot find information about the educational system	Family not knowledgeable about the educational system

9.1.2 Scenario 2: Finland as a multicultural hotspot

The rate of immigration increases at a considerably faster pace than currently and thus Finland becomes even more multicultural. Increased immigration and a challenging economic situation occur simultaneously, and this leads to ever more people searching for work and study opportunities abroad, and to increases in migration from Finland. In 2020 the role of transborder networks on the labour market is thus significantly greater than at present. The increasing level of immigration also leads to more contacts between native Finns and people with immigrant background. These successful encounters lead to better recognition of opportunities offered by immigrants. Therefore in 2020 multiculturalism is valued both in itself and because of the economic opportunities (e.g. exotic beauty parlours) it offers.

Greater numbers of people with immigrant background are seen in the Finnish media, for example as reporters, which makes ethnic diversity more of an everyday occurrence. Second-generation immigrants also begin to increasingly recognise the benefits they may gain through their knowledge of two cultures. This applies on the labour market, but also in the society in a wider sense. In 2020 the experiences of second-generation immigrants of living in between two cultures are an asset on the labour market. This increases their self-confidence, and the importance of appearance in recruiting is much lesser than today.

The public sector begins to acknowledge the fact that the Finnish society cannot afford to waste labour resources, and starts to develop measures to make it easier for people with immigrant background to enter the labour market. The educational sector begins to develop effective means to prevent marginalisation of all students. At the same time the popularity of vocational training continues to rise. There is recognition that immigrant families may lack knowledge of the Finnish educational system and clear information packages about the system are developed for them. As a result in 2020 second-generation immigrants continue their education either in institutes of higher education or in vocational schools. Their families still support fast gaining of vocational qualifications, as these are thought to offer better opportunities on the labour market.

In terms of the labour market it is accepted that in order to recover from the recession, the labour force must be fully utilised. Thus plans to abolish structural obstacles begin to emerge. One suggestion is the removal of the requirement of Swedish skills for public offices. These actions are successful. In 2020 the labour market allows for multiculturalism to much greater extent than at present, and for example the requirements concerning Swedish skill have been abolished.

Overall the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants are much better in 2020 than at present. They face no more obstacles than the native Finnish youth, because they have similar level of education and equally wide social networks. They are also better able to utilise their cultural background, which improves their labour market opportunities in an increasingly international Finland.

9.1.2.1 Development of scenario 2

The table used to create scenario 2 is presented on the next two pages. As can be seen, this scenario contains more decisive actions than scenario 1, and thus the changes from the present situation are greater.

Table 5 Scenario 2: Finland as a multicultural hotspot

Variable	Now	2015	2020
Social networks	Networks are more narrow than those of natives, limit opportunities	Due to increasing immigration and challenging economic situation even more people focus on other countries or migrate	Transborder networks
Attitudes	Anti-immigrant attitudes relatively common, large variation between different regions and groups of people	Increased immigration leads to greater number of contacts -> positive experiences, potential acknowledged	Multiculturalism is appreciated (also because of economic possibilities)
Structural obstacles	Structural obstacles, for example language requirements and recruitment practices exist	The importance of skilled labour for economic recovery is recognised -> action taken to remove unnecessary obstacles	Structures become more flexible to allow for multiculturalism in practice
Level of education	Fragmented, but no dramatic differences in relation to native Finns	The Finnish educational system develops more effective ways to prevent marginalisation, and the popularity of vocational education continues to increase	Both higher and vocational education increasingly common
Language skills	Knowledge of Finnish is of key importance and is sometimes questioned. Other languages are a bonus, just like for native Finns	Language requirements are discussed as part of the removal of structural obstacles	Required level of Swedish for offices abolished
Personality	Personality plays a key role in finding work	In a more multicultural Finland the second generation begins to recognise the benefits of knowing two cultures	In between two cultures (positive)
Appearance	Can lead to discrimination	More multicultural people appear for	Appearance not (really) important

		example in the media-> becomes more normal	any more
Family	Important role, for example in supporting education	Creation of information packages about the educational system that are targeted at immigrant families	Family supports fast gaining of vocational qualifications

9.1.3 Scenario 3: Anti-immigrant Finland

Finland is hit heavily by the global recession, while immigration continues to increase. At the same time immigrants are subject to masses of negative publicity. The combination of these events leads to rising anti-immigrant attitudes and immigrants face more and more prejudices in their everyday life. In 2020 the Finnish society only values Finnish mainstream culture, which means that the society is mono- not multicultural. The government responds to the will of the people and focuses measures to increase employment rate on native Finns. This is achieved for example by imposing demands on language skills. By 2020 more structural obstacles have been created on the labour market. These hinder second-generation immigrants as they try to find employment.

People with immigrant background are laid off much more frequently than the natives. As a result they fall out of work-related networks and their social networks become narrower in other ways as well. Multiculturalism is not valued and people, even native Finns, whose appearance is in some way unusual, face many barriers in recruitment. Second-generation immigrants encounter problems in schools both in the form of attitudes and for example in interviews taken as part of entrance exams. The growing immigrant population is concentrated in specific residential areas and because of the hostile attitudes immigrant families tend to rely ever more on each other.

In 2020 these developments have led to a labour market situation where the immigrant economy operates separately from the wider labour market. In the general market the companies have strict requirements concerning the appearance of employees and they must fit in with the company image. In the immigrant economy the situation is very different. Among the immigrant population the level of earnings has a central role, because the Finnish social support system has been altered significantly as a consequence of the recession. In the immigrant economy the importance of immigrant networks in finding work is significant. Traditional skills are highly valued and second-generation immigrants tend to get their education through apprenticeship contracts. In the immigrant economy the minority languages have a key role, and for example the

importance of skills in Russian is great. Traditional values, such as the central role of the family, are dominant also in other sectors of the community.

In 2020 the labour market position of second-generation immigrants is considerably weaker than at present. They face hostile attitudes and considerably more structural obstacles than the native do. They have employment opportunities within the ethnic economy, but finding work in the general market is difficult.

9.1.3.1 Development of scenario 3

The table used to create scenario 3 is displayed on the next two pages. Its realization requires a more active approach in favour of native Finns than scenario 1, and on a purely subjective note is significantly less desirable than scenario 2. Nevertheless it is useful to highlight some actions that might lead to a future that might be less than ideal for second-generation immigrants.

Table 6 Scenario 3: Anti-immigrant Finland

Variable	Now	2015	2020
Social networks	Networks are more narrow than those of natives, limit opportunities	As a result of the recession immigrants are laid off -> the employment situation worsens -> narrower networks	Immigrant networks become more important for finding jobs
Attitudes	Anti-immigrant attitudes relatively common, large variation between different regions and groups of people	Anti-immigrant sentiments become more popular in Finland, like in other countries, immigrants receive lots of negative publicity	Monoculturalism dominant
Structural obstacles	Structural obstacles, for example language requirements and recruitment practices exist	The actions to improve level of employment are targeted to native Finns	More structural obstacles are created
Level of education	Fragmented, but no dramatic differences in relation to native Finns	Second-generation immigrants face problems in schools, both in terms of attitudes and for example in entrance exam interviews	Apprenticeships/traditional skills
Language skills	Knowledge of Finnish is of key importance and is sometimes questioned. Other languages are a bonus, just like for native Finns	More immigrants -> concentrated in certain areas	Emergence of new, significant minority languages (e.g. Russian)
Personality	Personality plays a key role in finding work	People with immigrant background have even more difficulties in finding work, multiculturalism is not appreciated, and social support is cut back due to the recession	The importance of earning and financial rewards higher for (some) people of immigrant background than for native Finns
Appearance	Can lead to	Employers avoid	In work you have to

	discrimination	people who look different (also native Finns)	fit in with the company image (e.g. uniforms)
Family	Important role, for example in supporting education	Immigrants families support each other due to hostile attitudes	Support for family-centric values

9.2 Assessment of the scenarios

As has been stated above, the creation of scenarios tends to be a rather subjective process if undertaken by a single researcher. This is generally the case even if there are attempts to follow trends made possible by some theoretical or empirical findings, as was the case here. To combat this issue I asked the workshop participants and the interviewees to comment on the scenarios. Only two workshop participants commented on the scenarios, and all three interviewees gave some opinions on them. The small numbers of respondents pose problems for generalising from the comments, but they nevertheless give useful indications of potentially influential aspects of the scenarios.

The workshop participants received the scenarios for the most part quite well. Their usefulness was rated particularly highly, as all scenarios were thought to be at least quite useful. This is good, since one of the main purposes of scenarios as a tool is to serve as an aid in decision-making. In terms of the desirability of the scenarios there were no surprises. Scenario 2 was rated very desirable, scenario 3 very or quite undesirable, and scenario 1 in the middle as either quite undesirable or quite desirable. This was to be expected, as scenario 2 described the path to the positive future, and as it seems extremely likely that the people participating in the workshop would find increasing multiculturalism a good thing. The rating of believability was in my opinion very interesting. Scenario 1 received the highest ratings, and on average was thought to be quite believable. Scenarios 2 and 3 were deemed equally believable, but while the ratings for scenario 3 concentrated around neither believable or unbelievable and quite believable, those for scenario 2 diverged. Some thought it was very believable, but others considered it quite unbelievable. This divergence probably reflects different background assumptions of respondents.

The open comments on the scenarios included interesting insights. One respondent criticised the scenarios for emphasising the impact of the current financial and economic crisis too much, and argued that it would be unlikely to influence the situation in 2020. In other comments there was emphasis on the impact of ageing population on labour market needs, and on the probable persistence of prejudices against people with immigrant background. The impact of changes in the age structure of the population, which cause both labour shortages and different labour market needs, were not fully

taken into account in the scenarios, mainly because the selected variables did not include demand side factors. The growing labour shortages projected for example by Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008) would improve labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants, while prejudices would limit the opportunities. One comment on scenario 2 highlighted the likelihood of increasing migration from Finland as a result of ageing.

In the interviews I asked the people for general comments on the scenarios and also asked them to assess the believability, desirability and usefulness of the scenarios. Again the comments on the scenarios were mainly very positive. The usefulness of scenarios was thought to be good, as they give information about what could happen, make understanding the situation easier, and work well as tools. In terms of the desirability of the scenarios it was hardly surprising that scenario 2 was thought to be the most desirable one, and scenario 3 the least desirable one. Scenario 1 was described as taking one step forward, and as a result it was the second most desirable one. Only one of the interviewees commented explicitly on the believability of the scenarios, and interestingly stated that scenario 2 was the most believable one and scenario 3 the least believable, and quite unlikely, one. The argument given to support this was that Finland will become more internationalised due to labour market needs, and that the increasing number of contacts to immigrants would lead to normalisation of difference. One interviewee also stated that recovery from the ongoing depression is uncertain at the moment, and that it would probably impact the future labour market opportunities.

The acceptance of all the scenarios as useful and for the most part believable is obviously a positive outcome. They could thus serve as tools for decision-makers, and at least help to highlight some possibly relevant features of the future. However, I would like to point out that due to the short timeframe of the scenarios there are no dramatic changes from the present. This obviously enhances the believability of the scenarios. If similar developments had been projected further into the future, for example to the year 2050, the changes would be more dramatic, and thus the believability of the scenarios would be put to a harder test.

These scenarios highlight some of the possible futures of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020. They are based on the outcomes of the futures workshop and of the questionnaire, and thus reflect the conceptions of different stakeholders of the present and of the future. It will be interesting to see how these correspond to the situation of second-generation immigrants in different European countries and to the theoretical framework, and thus I will turn to comparing the outcomes of the research process to earlier findings in the conclusion.

10 CONCLUSION

The data gathering process produced interesting results in all its stages. The data from the questionnaires, the workshop, and the interviews combined provides a fuller picture of the phenomenon of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market in 2020 than any of them would have done individually. This topic has not really been studied in Finland, and thus the data should offer some new insights. In the scenarios this data was to an extent combined with the findings of previous studies and with the theoretical framework.

In this conclusion I will compare the findings and the results of the futures workshop more extensively with the theoretical data and earlier studies to see if there are differences or similarities between these. I will first discuss the findings on a more general level, and then discuss them in more detail, and also analyse some of the issues that were absent from the data. The thesis will finish with some statements on possibilities for further research.

10.1 Findings of the study in relation to theories and previous studies

On the general level the current situation of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market appears to be good and many factors are seen to be in their favour also in the future. Their labour market opportunities are thought to be similar to those of native Finns, and significantly better than those of first-generation immigrants. They might also be able to benefit from for example transnational social networks and from better understanding of different cultures.

This tone of optimism is interesting, because in studies of second-generation immigrants in other European countries they always seem to face some problems in labour market as well as in education. There are three reasons which might explain this positive approach. Firstly, the second-generation immigrants included in the sample were well-educated and connected with the Finnish society. The views of marginalised second-generation immigrants would probably be very different. Secondly, there are currently only very small numbers of second-generation immigrants on the labour market, a situation which differs greatly from those in the case countries. Thus it could be that the small numbers of second-generation immigrants are easily absorbed in the labour market, and as a result face few problems. If this is the reason for optimism, the perceptions might change when greater numbers enter the labour market. The third possible reason is the widespread thinking that Finland is somehow exceptional when it comes to racism. In essence the argument is that because Finland has no colonial legacy,

the attitudes, such as racism, which stem from colonialism do not have the same role in Finland as in many other European countries. It is also claimed that because Finland has only had immigrants for a short time, we cannot yet be used to them, and that allowances should be made (Rastas 2007, 129). In relation to the data this would mean that the importance of negative phenomena such as racism is underplayed, because the beliefs in Finnish exceptionalism and equality are so strong.

To an extent it remains to be seen if Finland will follow the same trajectories as other countries have done when they received more immigrants. Nevertheless it seems sensible to be aware of the fact that even though the current situation appears to be good, changes for the worse might happen in the future, particularly if the problems are ignored.

The problems faced by second-generation immigrants were also discussed in all stages of the data gathering process. The most significant problems which second-generation immigrants might face on the Finnish labour market were thought to be anti-immigrant attitudes, more limited social networks, the questioning of their identity as Finnish, and the lack of working role models. These concerns are supported both by theories and by previous studies. Jaakkola (2009) shows the persistence of anti-immigrant attitudes in Finland, and discrimination on the labour market has been shown to exist in other OECD countries as well (OECD 2008b, 142-149). Both Granovetter (1974) and Bourdieu (1986) highlight the importance of social networks and social capital, and several empirical studies (see for example Senik and Verdier 2008) have shown the importance of social networks in finding work. The problem of second-generation immigrants facing questioning of their level of being Finnish has been discussed for example by Rastas (2007) in relation to children. The lack of working role models might influence labour market performance through more limited social networks (Calvó-Armengol & Jackson 2004). Alternatively it might influence the expectations of second-generation immigrants. In sum it appears that the problems discussed are strongly linked with both theories and previous studies.

The factors thought to influence the labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants in Finland can also mostly be related to theories and previous studies. The importance of social networks was already discussed in the previous paragraph. In addition to this, the roles played by transnational networks in the lives of immigrants have been analysed for instance by Faist (2000). The role of education in the labour market is generally explained with the help of the concept of human capital. In Finland the importance of education, particularly Finnish, along with the importance of skills in Finnish and the role of structural obstacles have been discussed for example by Forsander (2002). The role of family as a supporting actor particularly in education has been analysed for example by Liebkind et al (2004). The impact of attitudes, in

particular prejudiced ones, on the labour market position of second-generation immigrants can be inferred from Jaakkola (2009).

In contrast to these factors, appearance and personality are not linked with theories or previous research in such a clear way. Both of them were thought to be important in the futures workshop, but I have not found studies which explicitly analyse their impact on labour market opportunities. On the basis of common sense it can be stated that personality impacts the ability to find work. Appearance probably is connected with attitudes of the employers and issues such as company image, but the impact of appearance has not really been analysed on literature on immigrants. Appearance is obviously linked with other concepts, for example ethnicity, but research on immigrants tends to focus on these more theoretical concepts. Nevertheless it is interesting that appearance and personality were thought to play such an important role even though they are not widely discussed in the literature.

One interesting conclusion on the basis of the data is that labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants appear to be mostly influenced by factors which impact on the labour market position of all people. Social networks, personality, level of education, language skills, and to some extent appearance and family background all influence the labour market possibilities of everyone. Attitudes, especially anti-immigrant ones, and structural obstacles have a stronger influence on the opportunities of people with immigrant background. This tendency seems to be linked with the general optimism of the findings. Labour market opportunities of second-generation immigrants at present were thought to be similar to those of native Finns, which makes sense if the opportunities of both groups are influenced by the same factors. The states of the factors obviously might differ, but the fact that they are similar ones gives hope for equality on the labour market in the future. In all the case countries second-generation immigrants lack equal status on the labour market, so this hope might be too optimistic, or the Finnish circumstances might be sufficiently different to warrant this view.

The futures and the scenarios also offer some interesting insights. One of the purposes of the workshop was to create alternative futures in order to explore some possibilities. Thus the conclusions that can be made on the basis of the images are somewhat limited, as it is impossible to claim that one of these images necessarily represents the views of the participants more fully. However, they highlight some interesting alternatives and the importance of actions on future outcomes. Some selections of the variables are particularly interesting. For example in alternative future 2, which is the best-case one, the participants thought it would be better if appearance did not matter in recruitment than if exotic appearance helped in finding work. This would seem to indicate the importance placed on equal treatment on the labour market.

In the creation of the images plausibility was one key concern, and thus it is interesting to analyse the comments on the believability of scenarios, as this helps reveal which images were thought to be the most likely ones. If only the comments of the workshop participants are included, scenario 1 is the most probable. However, if the comments from the interviews are included, scenario 2 receives the highest average. As scenario 2 is the best-case one, this outcome again reflects the optimistic outlook on the future of second-generation immigrants. This might be a distinctly Finnish tendency, since the situation in all of the case countries is significantly worse than in scenario 2, and similar optimistic expectations of labour market performance in Finland have been presented by Harju (2002). It is difficult to compare Finland directly with other countries, due to the small numbers of immigrants, and the history of minorities in the country, but it is important to note that optimistic visions of second-generation immigrants on the labour market seem to be popular. The overall high ratings for believability are probably largely explained by the short time span of the scenarios. If the time span had been longer, there would have been more dramatic changes, and these might have posed more of a challenge for the believability of scenarios.

Some factors which have been found to be significant in the case countries were not openly discussed during the data gathering process. These are parents' socioeconomic status and ethnic background. The role of the family was discussed, but more as a provider of support in education. Parents' socioeconomic position explained a lot of the variation in educational performance in the case countries, and as level of education influences future labour market prospects, socioeconomic background also links to these. In Finland first-generation immigrants have a weaker labour market position than native Finns, so their weaker socioeconomic position might be reflected on the achievements of their children. The variations in outcomes for second-generation immigrants from different origins were discussed only to a limited extent in the workshop and in the interviews.

Another variable which was discussed only a little in the interviews and in the replies to the questionnaire was the general economic situation. It is likely to impact on the labour market position of second-generation immigrants in Finland. The reason why it was left out was probably the fact that the general economic situation influences the opportunities of all people, not just second-generation immigrants, and I wanted the focus to be on the second generation.

In the end it is useful to turn to the connection between the theoretical framework set out in chapter 2 of this thesis and the outcomes of the research. In the theoretical framework I assumed that second-generation immigrants would have social networks of similar breadth as their Finnish peers, but that they would have some form of transnational consciousness in addition to this. Thus their labour market opportunities should be better than those of their parents, and closer to the national average. I also

stated that the labour market opportunities would probably vary among second-generation immigrants, for example due to ethnicity and family background, and that contacts between different groups should lead to tempering of anti-immigrant attitudes.

The theoretical framework does to correspond with the findings, but not perfectly. The opportunities of second-generation immigrants appear similar to those of natives, and better than first-generation immigrants. However, there were worries of more narrow social networks than those the natives have. Transnational links were discussed, but not evidenced by the second-generation immigrants in my sample. However, due to a small and non-representative sample, this is not in any way a conclusive finding. The probability of different outcomes for different groups was recognised in the discussions, although it is not explicitly present in the scenarios. The idea of contacts lessening the level of prejudices is present in scenario 2 and was widely accepted. Thus it would seem that the findings match the theoretical framework, although all findings, for example the general optimism, do not fit easily into the framework.

10.2 Future challenges and possibilities

Despite the overall optimism of the findings of this study it is important to be aware of the experiences of other countries. In all case countries second-generation immigrants have some problems in education and on the labour market. The same developments might occur in Finland, particularly if the numbers of second-generation immigrants increase significantly. The problems discussed in this research should not be ignored, but addressed before they become more serious.

It is even more important to recognise that the future is not predetermined. All the futures presented in this thesis can follow from the present, under specific conditions, but they are not the only alternatives. The real situation of second-generation immigrants on the Finnish labour market depends on the actions of many people, including the second-generation immigrants themselves. The future is made by us, and thus equality on the labour market should be an achievable goal.

On a final note I would like to state that further research into the labour market position of second-generation immigrants would be useful. Their numbers on the labour market are currently rather small, but once they increase, it would be interesting to see how the results compare with those of other countries. They might enjoy a more equal status, but there might be problems, and by addressing them we can make the best possible future for everyone come true.

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APPENDIX 1: Workshop participants and interviewees

Workshop participants:

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne – Head of multicultural affairs, Väestöliitto

Kanniainen, Minna-Rosa – Work trainer, De Die Ky

Khaliki, Ilnas – High school student

Korjonen, Miira – Occupational health nurse/ Development consultant, City of Helsinki

Laitio, Tommi – Researcher, Demos Helsinki

Polichtchouk, Vasilisa – Student, Project secretary at the Ministry of the Interior

Razai, Zarmina – Student, President of City of Helsinki advisory board on immigration and integration issues

Saarikko, Janne – Business creative/ founder, Ekana innovation

Salmenhaara, Perttu – L. soc. sc., doctoral student, University of Helsinki

Teräs, Marianne – Researcher, Department of Education, University of Helsinki

Interviewees:

Abib, Mukhtar – Social advisor, City of Helsinki

Heikkilä, Elli – Research director, Institute of Migration

Racine, Martin-Éric – International trade and immigration policy consultant

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire sent to second-generation immigrants

Hello,

You have signed up to participate in a futures workshop I am organising on 19 August from 5pm to 8pm. I would like you to answer the questions below and for you to send the replies to me to the email address (XXX) by 7 August at the latest.

Replies to questions 1-6 are only for my use. I might use them anonymously when I analyse the results of the workshop, but if you would prefer me not to use them, please let me know.

The replies to the other questions will serve as a starting point for discussion at the workshop. I will compile a summary of replies of all participants, and send it to participants before the workshop. The individual answers will not be specified.

If there is anything unclear about the questions, I would be happy to clarify them.

Yours,

Maria Riala

1. Name:

2. Age:

3. Country of birth (if something other than Finland, how old were you when you immigrated into Finland?):

4. What kind of education do you have?

5. What kind of work do your parents do in Finland? Did they have the same occupation in their home country?

6. What kind of work experience have you got from Finland or from abroad? What kind of tasks have you had, how long have you worked for, and have these positions been part- or full-time ones?

7. Has your work corresponded to your skills and to your level of education?

8. When you compare your work experience with that of your friends, are there any differences?

The next questions concern your personal opinions, but it would be good if you could give some arguments in support of your replies.

9. What kinds of opportunities do second-generation immigrants (born in Finland or have migrated here at primary school age or when younger, and both parents are foreign) have on the Finnish labour market at the moment?

10. In your opinion, what kinds of challenges do second-generation immigrants face on the Finnish labour market at the moment?

APPENDIX 3: Questionnaire sent to other workshop participants

Hello,

You have signed up to participate in a futures workshop I am organising on 19 August from 5pm to 8pm. I would like you to answer the questions below and for you to send the replies to me to the email address (XXX) by 7 August at the latest.

Replies to questions 1-3 are only for my use. I might use them anonymously when I analyse the results of the workshop, but if you would prefer me not to use them, please let me know.

The replies to the other questions will serve as a starting point for discussion at the workshop. I will compile a summary of replies of all participants, and send it to participants before the workshop. The individual answers will not be specified.

If there is anything unclear about the questions, I would be happy to clarify them.

Yours,

Maria Riala

1. Name:

2. Educational background:

3. Why are you interested in the position of immigrants and second-generation immigrants in Finland?

The next questions concern your personal opinions, but it would be good if you could give some arguments in support of your replies.

4. What kinds of opportunities do second-generation immigrants (born in Finland or have migrated here at primary school age or when younger, and both parents are foreign) have on the Finnish labour market at the moment?

5. In your opinion, what kinds of challenges do second-generation immigrants face on the Finnish labour market at the moment?

6. Do you believe that the experiences of second-generation immigrants in Finland will resemble the situation in some other country? If yes, which country do you think will have the most similar experiences to those of Finland?