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About the Journal

The Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration (FJEM) is a scholarly and professional journal, published by the Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration (ETMU). It aims to promote and advance the circulation of the multidisciplinary study of ethnic relations and international migration that is conducted in Finland and its neighbourhood, especially the other Nordic countries. The Journal is trilingual (English, Finnish, Swedish) and published twice a year.

All articles published in the FJEM are refereed in external peer-review. The opinions expressed in FJEM articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of ETMU.

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Editorial

Matti Similä,
Editor-in-Chief

The Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration – ETMU – hereby proudly presents the first issue of the Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration. The purpose of the Journal is to promote and advance the circulation of the multidisciplinary study of ethnic relations and international migration that is conducted in Finland and its neighbourhood, especially the other Nordic countries with which Finland has so much in common (despite many important differences related to the field) but also our neighbouring countries in the East and South. Of course, authors from other countries are also welcome to send in their articles.

Finland has its own features regarding ethnicity and migration. Like Norway and Sweden, it has the only European indigenous population, the Sami. It also has its Swedish speaking population and furthermore, the autonomous Åland Islands. In these three cases, different solutions regarding linguistic and other rights have been developed. Other ‘historic’ groups to be mentioned are the Roma, the Jews and the Tatars.

Regarding migration, Finland had long been a country of emigration, and Sweden received especially many immigrants from Finland in the 1970’s. Finns still form the largest immigrant group in Sweden. Finland has no history of labour immigration, but with the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the first asylum seekers began to arrive in Finland. This phenomenon has dominated the discourses on ethnic relations in Finland since then, where multiculturalism is seen as an entirely new phenomenon, related only to immigration and especially to asylum seekers. However, the largest immigrant groups have come from our neighbours, Russia and Estonia. One can foresee an increase in labour migration, due to the demographic development with a rapidly aging population as well as the enlargement of the European Union.

Those facts demonstrate the complexity of ethnic relations, which are connected to many different phenomena.

This makes the field of study interdisciplinary and complex. The journal aims to cover all these different aspects of ethnic relations. International migration, refugees, multiculturalism, racism, diversity and integration, minority rights, immigrants, national minorities, citizenship and other comparable areas of interest are examples of the many topics within the field. The journal also welcomes contributions from abroad, especially from the neighbouring areas. However, all manuscripts in the area of interest to the Society are welcome. Furthermore, we also accept book reviews and commentaries on current research and societal affairs.

Because it is a Finnish journal, it is trilingual. Articles may be written in English, Finnish or Swedish. Articles in Finnish or Swedish should have an attached summary in English. Some readers outside Finland may find our language policy a bit complicated, perhaps even irritating, but we find it important that Finland’s first journal of this kind also allows the use of domestic languages. Perhaps such a language policy is more important in a fairly young Nation State, where the majority’s struggle for linguistic rights is still part of the collective memory.

The Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration will be published twice a year in the future. ETMU edits the journal in collaboration with CEREN (Swedish school of Social Science, University of Helsinki), the Institute of Migration in Turku and the Family Federation in Helsinki. The publisher of the journal is ETMU. The journal is refereed in order to guarantee a high academic standard.

The Editor-in-Chief is *Matti Similä* (CEREN) and the Assistant Editor-in-Chief is *Krister Björklund* (Institute of Migration). Other members of the board are *Elli Heikkilä*, *Mikko Lagerspetz*, *Yngve Lithman* (Bergen), *Tuomas Martikainen*, *Sari Pietikäinen*, *Vesa Puuronen*, *Teppo Sintonen*, *Ismo Söderling*, *Marja Tiilikainen* and *Charles Westin* (Stockholm).

This first issue contains four articles, three in English and one in Finnish. In the first article, the focus is on the Nation State. The authors analyse the political organisation of cultural difference (POD) at different levels of the society and make a comparison of Finland and the Netherlands to illustrate their approach.

In the second article, the authors discuss how the increase in cultural diversity in society requires and challenges working organisations to change their practises and policies and in addition, the prevailing attitudes and behaviour.

In the third article, the authors discuss citizenship and its meaning in a world characterised by transnational migration and globally interconnected destinies. They elaborate on an emerging expression of citizenship, which they characterise as “civil-society citizenship” in contrast to “nominal citizenship”, and discuss which sorts of educational efforts should be made in order to accomplish such a goal. In the final arti-

cle, which is in Finnish, the author discusses the role of exercise and sport in relation to immigration, and how immigrants’ sport organisations represent their members’ ethnic identities either through a discourse on ‘cultural tradition’, ‘integration’ or ‘ethnic hybridisation’.

In a way, all four articles show that society itself is transformed by immigration. National policy, organisational structures and practices, as well as individual attitudes, all must adapt to new challenges presented by migration. New organisations and practises also emerge. In current discourses on immigration in Finland, the focus has been on the integration of immigrants into their host societies. It seems that the time has come to focus on society itself.

We wish you a good reading!

Matti Similä,
Editor-in-Chief

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Sjaak Koenis and Pasi Saukkonen

The Political Organization of Cultural Difference

Abstract

The increase in cultural diversity imposes relatively similar challenges on European societies and the European Union, but the national traditions of how to cope with cultural differences are highly divergent. We can assume that some traditions are better prepared to face the contemporary challenges, and that the integration of national models into a European policy is a huge task in itself. Therefore, insight into and evaluation of those national traditions are needed. In the theoretical part of our essay, we shall propose a “politics-as-action” perspective on the relationship between a political state and a multicultural society. We call our approach the political organization of cultural difference (POD). In POD, the analysis focuses both on the conventional fields of political action (legislation, policies, distribution of resources) and on symbolic politics, in this case especially represented by national identity. Furthermore, the political organization of difference takes all three levels of political action (systemic, civil society and individual) into account. In the empirical section, we shall compare Finland and the Netherlands to illustrate the POD approach and to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of these countries’ ways of coping with cultural diversity.

Introduction

In this essay, we analyze politics from the perspective of *the political organization of political, economic and cultural difference* (cf. Koenis 1997; 2002; Saukkonen 2003a). The political organization of difference (in short: POD) can be considered a special case of any social organization of difference (cf. Barth 1969) – a case in which the “political” is defined by the state institutions’ central role in the organization of difference within the context of a society. While recognizing the salience of state institutions, we do not consider politics to be a separate sphere or sector but rather, in the Aristotelian-Arendtian tradition, to be *a special form of activity* directly related to the human condition of plurality and diversity (Arendt 1998). The political organization of difference, in turn, is neither a state of affairs nor a special content in politics. Rather, POD can be conceived as an ongoing process that comes to an end when physical *violence* starts, when there is no need for politics (e.g., in internally undifferentiated *communities*), or when *anarchy* prevails.

This essay is devoted to the theoretical and conceptual exploration of the political organization of difference and its key concepts and dimensions, and it offers some suggestions

of how national cases can be analyzed and evaluated empirically, with special attention to cultural difference. The POD approach can best be considered an effort to combine the fruits of recent theoretical discussion on cultural plurality (political philosophy and identity studies, e.g. Benhabib 2002; Kymlicka 1995; Margalit 1998; Parekh 2000, Hall 1999) with the valuable insights generated by a variety of more empirical approaches, including ethnic conflict studies (McGarry & O’Leary 1993; Gurr 2000), consociationalism (Lijphart 1977; Steiner & Ertman 2002) and governance studies (Rex and Singh 2004) – the main objective being systematic, theoretically grounded analysis. Our aim is not to provide the reader a sophisticated theory on the political organization of difference, but rather to offer analytical tools for the empirical analysis of the “political traditions in governing plurality”. We endeavour to mark out the limits of the political organization of difference and to demonstrate its main components and fields of action. In the last sections, we will examine recent developments in the Netherlands and in Finland in order to support our theory with empirical evidence.

2 Political, economic and cultural differences

The political organization of political, economic and cultural differences has been a principal task in any society. A society is a large, territorially demarcated social unit that demands developed power structures in order to function as a whole. Hence in any society, including democratic, *political differences* are found between those with better access to power positions and those who lack full power resources. Furthermore, societies contain *economic differences* between those in control over the means of production and/or who are well off in a more general sense, and those who need additional or lack material resources and welfare. Finally, societies are *culturally heterogeneous*, in that they are bound to contain cultural rifts with respect to language, religion, ethnicity or (sub)culture.

The differences within a society can be assumed to become politically relevant when socially organized. The social organization of difference occurs when permanent, relatively stable social groups and categories are formed on the basis of differences that unite the group or category's members and distinguish them from other members. In other words, the political organization of difference becomes necessary when social and collective identities are based on differences in politics, economy or culture. These identities should be seen neither as "frozen" nor as having clear, undisputed boundaries; nor should the groups, categories or communities to which the identities correspond be conceived as natural (Benhabib 2002). A society's (social) structures and their symbolic counterparts are under constant reconstruction, from both above and below, and uncritical use of categorical terms should always be regarded with scepticism.

A *society* is thus an internally heterogeneous social unit, in contrast to *communities*, which can be considered (relatively) homogeneous. Here we are following John Rawls (1993, cf. Margalit 1998), according to whom a community is characterized by comprehensive views and conceptions of "the good life", whereas a society is by definition diverse. From this point of view, it is important to note that many local settings often called "communities" are in fact societies due to their (inherent) multicultural character, complex system of administration and advanced division of labour. London is definitely a society, whereas Iceland could be considered a community. Although this essay's focus is on states and the political systems within them, one should remember that the political organization of difference is not limited to large-scale social environments.

In the field of culture, no single definitive typology of ethno-cultural diversity is available, as Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, for example, have pointed out. They propose a distinction between national minorities (stateless nations and indigenous peoples), immigrant minorities (with or without rights to become citizens), religious groups (isolationist and non-isolationist) and *sui generis* groups (for example African Americans, Roma etc.) (Kymlicka & Norman 2000, 18-24). Examining diversity from another point of view, cultural differences can be seen to have various sources: language or dialect can cause fault lines among groups within society, and so

can religion. Furthermore, so-called "sub-cultural" or "perspectival" (Parekh 2000, 2-3) differences are found, which relate to specific professions, regional patterns, or to gender, sexual preference or lifestyle. In general, whereas nationalism strongly contributed to the cultural homogenization of societies, in recent decades, tendencies such as improved status of many national minorities, immigration from remote countries, sub-cultural living modes, and cultural globalization have increased cultural plurality and its perception.

Neither is there a single, "objective" yardstick with which to measure the possible effects of differences. In the cases of political, economic, and in particular, cultural differences, most important are the relative differences, their increase or decrease, and the ways in which people perceive them. If skillfully exploited, minor differences can lead to major conflicts, as recent history in former Yugoslavia has taught us (Ignatieff 1999). It should be kept in mind that all sources of difference can contribute to or increase *social inequality* – most obviously, political and economic difference. However, serious structural inequality does not develop if the differences are small enough, or if the positions can turn over in a reasonable time, for example. But cultural differences can also produce inequality. This is the case, first, if a culture's system of meanings contains conceptions that clearly favour members of one cultural community over another and cause, for example, humiliation or other social mistreatment on the grounds of ethnic or cultural difference (Margalit 1998). Second – and probably even more relevant to our purposes – cultural differences cause structural inequality when cultural categories coincide with political and/or economic differences and thus produce a stratified society. In extreme cases, a culturally unified elite can differ from the rest of population politically, economically and culturally, or certain cultural minorities can be politically marginalized and socio-economically deprived (Human Development Report 2004).

3 The levels and dimensions of the political organization of difference

Since the time of Plato, the political organization of difference has been one of the classical problems in political theory, and remains one of the main tasks in any modern society: how to manage and control the social problems, tensions and conflicts that may arise, from inequality in power and wealth, from people's failure to understand each other, from their belonging to different ethnic or national communities, or from a combination of the three. Therefore, any large, internally divided human group must decide, in one way or another, which structures of difference and manifestations thereof are to be tolerated, which are to be favoured or supported, and which are to be restricted or prohibited – along with how to negotiate or otherwise manage the problems, tensions and conflicts that emanate from structural differences (e.g. McGarry & O'Leary 1993, 4-38; The Human Development Report 2004; Walzer 1997).

The history of political thought contains many proposals, varying from radical to more moderate, about how to organize diversity and plurality, and political history in turn, contains many examples of these ideas' application (Alcock 2000; Cordell & Wolff 2004; Geddes 2003; Rex & Singh 2004). The possibilities in the political organization of difference range from utopian and revolutionary forms of political theory and practice, to more moderate means and objectives in, for example Western democracies, to incremental policies to increase or decrease popular participation in political decision-making, to promote social equality, to organise relations between cultural groupings, or to loosen immigration restrictions – just to mention a few.

Most theories concentrate on the role of the state, the form of the political system and the nature of state-led policies. Even though state institutions have been posited as the centre of the political organization of difference as well, an exclusively state-centred and institutional analysis would not produce a sufficiently clear picture of the situation within society as a whole. Many of the dynamics involved (identity expression, interest articulation, formation of political claims, interpretation of social and political changes, mobilization of masses, etc.) take place beneath the political top-level, in civil and grassroots society. Therefore, we broaden the scope, to accommodate the *collective and individual levels of political action*, in order to account for civil society and the relationships of the citizens to the state, society and cultural communities. In a representative democracy, political leadership is at least partly determined by citizens in elections. Political activity, in turn, for the most part is channelled into the so-called “political” forces: parties, trade organizations, market forces, the media and the many voluntary organizations that play a role – at times very important – in the political organization of difference.

Furthermore, we shall complement *the traditional focus* on political processes within political institutions by paying attention to the *symbolic dimension* of organization of difference within a society (cf. Soysal 1994, 6). The existence, role, status and room of manoeuvre of cultural communities within a society are determined or affected not only by the previously mentioned, traditional political forms of action. Life within a society is also influenced by – in lack of a better term – symbolic action: the production and transmission of ideas, representations, norms, values, ideals, prejudices, etc. about the relations between culture, society and politics. Ideas and opinions about society's nature, its history, its internal structure, and its international position and image – in short, its identity – are always contested, even in the most consensual society. Nor are these notions invariable; they undergo constant reconstruction. This reconstruction takes the form of a multitude of textual and visual representations, ranging from literature to documentary films to scientific reports.

In the symbolic representation of a society, reality is always being fabricated: one chooses what to present and how it shall be interpreted, commented upon, explained, evaluated and so on. This imperfect nature of representation gives a clear political function to the symbolic dimension in the organization

of difference, since choices are to be made between multiple plausible alternatives (Leerssen 1991). In addition, collective identity sets criteria for belonging to a group (inclusion/exclusion), produces notions of normal behaviour, and constitutes grounds and arguments for social hierarchy. All these, in turn, gain strength in the context of a society, because a connection to state institutions can formalize, legitimize, support – and of course, also marginalize or prohibit – certain symbolic representations (Anttonen 1996, 17).

As a result, the political organization of difference can be considered to take place in six fields in the sense that two dimensions, traditional and symbolic, are each divided into three levels (Table 1). At the *systemic or macro level* (Field 1), the state's political institutions affect the linguistic, religious and other cultural structures of difference by means of legislation, resource distribution and targeted administrative, economic or cultural policies. At the *collective or meso level* (Field 2), the political forces within the civil society (parties, interest organizations, NGO's, media) reflect the structures of difference and also, as social agents, aim to influence the structures of difference and the state policies. At the *individual or micro level* (Field 3), the political culture consists of orientations towards and predispositions to the structures of difference and to the political organization of difference. The fourth, fifth and sixth fields of the political organization of difference belong to the dimension of *symbolic activity*, which can be conceptually situated under the denominator of a *nation-state identity*. The nation-state identity is understood here as a system of meanings that makes a state a nation-state, reflecting both the structural basis of a society and the hopes and expectations about the social structure. At the *systemic or macro level*, the nation-state identity is represented by the state identity and its institutional production under the auspices of state authorities (Field 4). Furthermore, the different collective identities, whether national, cultural or ethnic, occur at the *collective or meso level* (Field 5). Finally, an individual's identification with his/her nation and state coincides with the *micro level of individual thought and action* (Field 6).

In practice, the political organization of difference consists of a chain of individual, collective and institutional agents reactions to the prevailing structural conditions, their changes, and others' activities in the same or in other fields or levels of the society. Furthermore, we can generally assume that the political organization within a society is determined partly by the relations to the most relevant external agents such as neighbouring states and supra- or trans-national organizations. In turn, changes in these relations, or in the whole international system, affect the society's political organization of difference. Using a functionalist terminology, the state institutions can thus be considered to organize plurality from a top-down perspective, with intentional objectives and a repertoire of political instruments to carry out political plans and programs (“outputs”). The individual-based political culture, in turn, produces “bottom-up” demands, claims and expectations (“inputs”), which find their direct expression in the electoral process when citizens have a chance to choose among various conceptions of

	Traditional dimension	Symbolic dimension
Systemic level	Field 1. State institutions create, maintain and change the social structures of difference and their reciprocal relations through legislation, targeted policies and the distribution of economic resources.	Field 4. Identity of the state reflects the structures of difference and their relevant values, attitudes and ideals. The state identity can be inferred from the representations of the state, nation and society that the state produces, subsidizes or authorizes.
Collective level	Field 2. Political forces of the civil society reflect the structures of difference and try to influence them, while reacting to the top-down political organization of difference and responding to the hopes, expectations and claims from the grass-roots level.	Field 5. Collective identities include conceptions and descriptions of the ethnic, cultural or national communities within a society and of their relation to the state.
Individual level	Field 3. Political culture includes orientations towards and predispositions to the structures of difference and the political organization of difference produced by state authorities and civic society agents	Field 6. Individual's national identification consists of cognitive, affective and evaluative relations between individual and communities, and between individual and state

Table 1. The dimensions, levels and fields of the political organization of difference

reality and proposals for future action. Political parties have a prominent role in this process as an intermediary between the state and the citizens; they function both upwards and downwards. Nevertheless, other organizations, associations, corporations, social networks, along with the media and public mass events, are also important in the political organization of difference. These collective agents and events receive and compile claims from below and articulate them at the state level. Conversely, they filter and sometimes even carry out political decisions at the basic level of social life.

4 The political organization of cultural difference in Finland and in the Netherlands

In order to illustrate our conceptual groundwork, we shall now turn to the political organization of cultural difference in two countries, in Finland and in the Netherlands. We shall first briefly describe the historical development of their traditional solutions to diversity in broad terms, and next, somewhat more precisely, their situations in the early 1980's. Then we shall return to conceptual analysis in order to develop evaluative criteria for assessing the more recent developments in Finland and in the Netherlands.

In terms of their structures of ethnic and cultural difference, these two countries are in striking contrast. Finland has a relatively homogeneous population, albeit with a historically important position of the Swedish-speakers. The other historical minorities, such as the Sámi, the Roma, the Tatars and the "Old Russians", are relatively small and geographically quite concentrated (e.g. Pentikäinen & Hiltunen 1995). The Netherlands, on the other hand, has been religiously divided for centuries into Catholics and several Calvinist denominations, even though the population is relatively homogeneous linguistically

(with the exception of Frisians in the north) (see Andeweg & Irwin 2002 for an overview). Furthermore, the Netherlands has received a significant immigrant population since the 1960's as a result of de-colonization, guest worker movements and the arrival of asylum seekers (Lucassen & Penninx 2002), whereas the number and proportion of foreigners in Finland was still very low at the end of the 1980's. Since then, immigration has increased relatively sharply by Finnish standards, though it remains slight compared to the rest of Europe.

The Finnish nation-building solution to ethnic and cultural diversity is a combination of ethnic nationalism and liberal principles, with more emphasis on liberalism in the "traditional dimension", whereas ethnic nationalism is prominent in the "symbolic dimension". On the one hand, some cultural communities have long had a relatively favourable position. After Finland became independent in 1917, both Finnish and Swedish were given official status, and a series of language acts provided the Swedish minority symmetrical rights and resources to meet their cultural and economic needs. In the 1920's, a linguistic strife occurred in which extremists on both sides tried to create their own conception of Finnish nationality (monolingual Finland vs. Swedish nation in Finland), but these internal disputes were gradually settled, not the least because of the perceived need to unite forces in a vulnerable international environment (Alapuro 1999). Full freedom of religion was also guaranteed and the state church system was dismantled in 1922. Together with the Evangelic-Lutheran Church, the Orthodox Church has later received the status of a national church. Awareness of other minorities and their needs developed together with the development of the welfare state and the general acceptance of cultural (and political) pluralism in the 1960's and 1970's. In the 1995 reform, the Sámi, as an indigenous people, as well as the Roma and other groups, have had the constitutional right to maintain and develop their own

language and culture. On the other hand, the Fennoman conception of a nation based on the Finnish language, Evangelic-Lutheranism and traditional agrarian values has played a dominant role in the nation-state identity, and this conception of the nation has been practically unrivalled during the last few decades. The state-financed comprehensive school system, among other nationally organized social institutions, has guaranteed the internalization of this identity during the socialization process. (Saukkonen 2003b; McRae 1999; Pulma 2005; Ristimäki 1995)

Whereas Finland can be called a nation-state, the Netherlands is an example of classical consociation (Walzer 1997), in that the toleration of differences has been not only an “official ideology” but also an important part of the nation state identity. Until the French occupation in 1795, the Calvinist religion had the status of an official church in the Netherlands, even though a state church system was never established. Members of other denominations lacked access to public offices, but practicing religion in private was tolerated. State and church were separated and the constitutional reform of 1848 guaranteed full freedom of religion. Already in the latter half of the 19th century, and especially after 1918 when religious schools were granted full state finance, voluntary association in many fields started to follow the lines of the major cultural and ideological communities. This division of the society has been called “pillarization” (*verzuiling*). At times there have been, for example, as many as five parties based on religious conviction represented in the Parliament. This form of “pillarized pluralism” is a specific institutionalization of cultural difference. It is responsible for the pacification of religious and ideological difference and has given certain sectional groups, e.g. the Catholics, an institutional niche for their emancipation. At the individual level the basic negative freedoms, such as freedom of speech and of political organization, were secured. But this individual freedom was embedded in a society of segregated, isolated religious blocs. Contact was possible only at the top, where elites created a corporatist style of policy. The ordinary people were tightly secured in their own bloc. Despite institutional pluralism, and also institutional recognition of the bearers of sectional identities, the tolerance created by this institutional arrangement was purely negative in the sense of being a breeding ground for stereotypes about members. Partly as a result of pillarization, the Dutch nation-state identity received a trait of “unity in diversity” (*eenheid in verscheidenheid*). In pillarization’s heyday, for example, many communities developed their own versions of the national history. (Lijphart 1975; Righart 1992.)

Finnish society in the 1980’s has been characterized as quite consensual; this also applies to the political organization of cultural diversity. The proponents of the main political ideologies all agreed upon principles of social development that emphasized strong national unity, social equality and cultural homogeneity together with legally guaranteed minority rights. Left-wing radicalism, new social movements and sub-cultural formations were effectively integrated to the consolidated national practice of political discussion and decision making.

Mutual understanding also prevailed in the case of the quite restrictive immigration policy, which also partly explains the small number of foreigners. In civil society, there were high degrees of substantial consensus on the main lines of public policy, institutional consensus on the institutional characteristics of the political system and on the rules of the political game, and procedural consensus on the way in which conflicts should be resolved (cf. Kavanagh 1987). Political radicalism was weak compared with most European countries of the time. Public policies concerning Finnish society’s future development enjoyed mass popular support, though electoral and other political activity had been falling and general dissatisfaction growing since the late 1960’s. The traditional conception of the Finnish identity remained prominent in public debate and in official presentations of the state and society. This nation-state identity emphasized, on the one hand, the strong congruence between Finnish state, society and cultural community, and on the other hand, cultural distinctiveness due to language and alleged ethnic origin. (For a more detailed description see Saukkonen 2003a; 2003b)

In Dutch society, the structure of pillars had been crumbling since the late 1960’s. The cultural or ideological profile of many organizations and associations faded and their membership decreased. The three largest Christian Parties merged into a Christian Democratic Appeal in 1980. After a more polarized period in the 1970’s, consensualism in Dutch politics increased again in the 1980’s. Though the oil crisis had challenged the foundations of the relatively generous Dutch welfare state, the Netherlands remained a society committed to welfare policies as an expression of solidarity. Since the 1960’s, the Netherlands was also becoming an immigration country, though the share of foreigners was lower than in the neighbouring countries. Already in 1990, 640,000 foreigners lived in the country, and in addition, an estimated 50,000-100,000 illegal immigrants. Until the late 1980’s, public policy on immigration followed the principle of integration into Dutch society and full emancipation along with the retention of one’s own culture and identity. The xenophobic right made its entry in the 1980’s, but remained relatively weak and distracted by internal conflicts. The traditional, pluralistic, European-oriented nation-state identity was still prominent, despite expressions of worry about the nation’s future. The differences in conceptions of the nation among the traditional pillars eroded. (Righart 1992; Koenis 1997; Vermeulen & Penninx 2000; WRR 2001.)

5 Evaluation of the POD

Turning to the more recent history of the Netherlands and Finland, the most striking change has been the return of the topics of culture and identity to political and public debate. Many factors explain this phenomenon, of which it suffices to mention the general fragmentation and individualization of post-industrial societies; the demands of traditional minorities for more recognition, autonomy and resources: the new immi-

grant communities resulting from guest workers' permanent residence; and the seemingly uncontrollable migration of refugees. Some authors have even proposed that culture, instead of politics or economy, will be the main source of social conflict in the future.

In our approach, culture will be seriously considered a factor that influences social and political life but does not inevitably bring problems and conflicts. The starting point of the analysis being that all modern societies are unavoidably culturally diverse, it would be futile, indeed very pessimistic, to see culture in a negative light only – as useless as the notion of cultural pluralism as exclusively positive. We stress the importance of analyzing more carefully the cultural structures of difference and the political organization of those structures in a variety of national settings, in order to draw conclusions about good practice as well as learn from bad experiences. More specifically, we should focus on the transition from difference to inequality, and particularly those cases in which cultural rifts are reinforced by political and economic ones.

The concepts presented above in Table 1 make possible a systematic, descriptive analysis of different national cases, as tentatively demonstrated above. The analysis of national cases enables comparative studies of states as well as examinations of pressures generated by new challenges to traditional forms of political organization of difference. All national models have developed historically and culturally, under specific conditions and over a long period of time. No two countries are alike in terms of social structures and political institutions, even within the relatively homogeneous category of Western democracies. Therefore, one may expect to observe that national experiences vary, and that nations are unevenly equipped to face new challenges. Furthermore, it must be accentuated that it is difficult to imagine a theoretical model that would consist of only positive features and consequences, or that could be applied to other societies with little adjustment. In sum, descriptive analyzes of the political organization of difference, especially in a comparative setting, can be imagined to provide valuable information for contemporary discourse on historical nation-building and on the emergence of the ethnically and culturally diverse society, for example. However, we intend that our analysis be evaluative, in pointing out the national models' most important advantages and disadvantages. Now we shall present some conceptual instruments for the evaluation of the political organization of difference.

On a very general level, we can agree with Colin H. Williams (1998, 207) who has defined the watchwords of an open society as “redistributive social justice, participatory democracy and mutual tolerance.” This definition is rather impractical for comparative, empirical purposes. It is too vague and would require much conceptual elaboration. Though it can also easily be considered a remote ideal, none of the historical or contemporary national cases fulfil its criteria in a strict sense. Furthermore, to the extent that these cases do fulfil the criteria, they do so differently: “real, existing” – that is, the institutionalization of – tolerance in France is in no way the same as in the Netherlands. Here, we shall take another approach, focus-

ing more on the *negative* than on the *positive* consequences of the political organization of difference – without renouncing the basic idea that all models have some favourable implications for some members of the society. Nevertheless, one can easily agree with Avishai Margalit's observation (1998, 4) that: “(. . .) there is a weighty asymmetry between eradicating evil and promoting good. It is much more urgent to remove painful evils than to create enjoyable benefits.”

What kinds of problems can occur in the political organization of cultural differences? Our understanding of POD implies that many of the most obvious, well-known drawbacks are excluded from our focus: forms of grave intolerance, such as cultural persecution, forced assimilation, ethnic violence, expressions of hatred, etc. all deserve condemnation because they exceed the limits of the political organization of difference.

Within the scope of POD, the Human Development Report (2004, 67), for example, distinguishes two aspects of cultural exclusion: those of *living mode* and of *participation*. In the words of the report, living mode exclusion occurs when the state or social custom denigrates or suppresses a group's culture, including its language, religion or traditional way of life. Participation exclusion, on the other hand, is discrimination or disadvantage based on cultural identity, and can result in social, economic and political exclusion along ethnic, linguistic or religious lines.

Here we shall focus on two specific forms of exclusion – or, as we would rather call, *inclusion deficits* – that are closely related to contemporary discussion of cultural liberty and social cohesion. As mentioned earlier, societies have dealt with culture in different ways – on the one hand, with more or less (relative) independence of separate cultural communities, as in consociations where these communities have roughly equal status (an example being the Dutch system of pillarization), or on the other hand, with a single dominant group dictating the common life, as in nation-states such as France. These various ways of organizing cultural differences do not, in themselves, imply any kind of deficit, but two extreme types of situation will certainly turn cultural differences into deficits. First, the relative autonomy of communities can lead to a fracture or “Balkanization” of society. This occurred in South Africa during Apartheid, and also, to a lesser extent, during the last phase of pillarization in the Netherlands. The typical danger, in this case, is that a given cultural community's members' solidarity among themselves, will preclude or seriously hamper their solidarity with society as a whole. The danger at the other extreme is that pressure towards cultural or national homogeneity will become so strong that loyalty or solidarity to the society or nation as a whole precludes or seriously hampers solidarity within one's own group. This occurred among Muslims in France: becoming a French citizen implies repressing or downplaying one's Muslim identity. Either extreme entails an inclusion deficit: a “Balkanized” society, no longer has a polis in which to include people, whereas a culturally homogeneous society no longer accommodates separate communities within the polis.

Inclusion deficit can thus be caused either by too much homogeneity in society, or by too much homogeneity in communities (Table 2). *Type 1 inclusion deficit* leaves insufficient or no room for cultural difference of (non-dominant) communities' members, whereas *type 2 inclusion deficit* ties individuals too strongly to their communities and hampers solidarity with society. For citizens, or groups of citizens, the *effects* of either type of inclusion deficit can be the same: to be (and/or to feel) excluded from important aspects and areas of society, such as jobs, education, the media, etc. – but the explanations are different. In the case of type 1 inclusion deficit, it is the nation state as a whole that is too exclusive and homogeneous, either because of an ethnicity-based “strong” or “thick” conception of the nation at the *systemic level*, or due to a civil society controlled by collective agents that exclude citizens at the *collective level*, or because of a political culture predisposed to exclude citizens at the *individual level* – or else due to a combination of the three. The second type of inclusion deficit may be expected in a society with a “weak” or “thin” conception of nationality, in a civil society “compartmentalised”, in that community ties interfere with contact among communities and parties. This type of inclusion deficit may also be expected in a political culture that strengthens groups' exclusivity. In both types of deficit, the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion can be either explicit (e.g. citizenship attainment procedures), or implicit (e.g. when some citizens are not acknowledged as full members of the national community). These two types of inclusion deficit should, of course, be considered ideal types in the Weberian sense. In reality, particular cases occur along a continuum, and significant differences can be found between the levels and spheres of social life and of political action.

6 Recent changes in Finland and in the Netherlands

What can be said about the political organization of cultural difference in Finland and in the Netherlands if the aforementioned criteria for evaluation are applied? If Finland in the

1980's is evaluated, some positive features may be noted. The political system at the time was remarkably stable, and most political forces – in fact, all relevant nation-wide political agents – accepted the existing structures and institutions. The POD of the time enjoyed popular support, or at least was considered satisfactory, despite of the decrease in voter turnout and in party membership. The status of larger traditional minorities, with the Swedish-speaking population in a special position, was legally guaranteed, and the position of other minorities was slowly improving. It has often been argued that the cultural homogeneity and national unanimity have been strong assets, especially in times of crisis (Jakobsson 1999). However, this situation also has its downsides, the most striking of which could probably be characterized as a *type 1 inclusion deficit*. Finland has a long tradition of high esteem for national homogeneity and suspicion, in turn, of immigration and internal differences. Cultural heterogeneity has almost automatically been considered a source of problems and conflicts. The immigration policy of Finland had traditionally been quite restrictive, and by the mid 1980's, the rules had not been greatly liberalized. Of the national minorities, the Sámi and Roma populations also still lacked full recognition and financial resources for cultural preservation and political participation. In particular, the situation of many Roma remained weak despite the improvements since the 1960's. (Lepola 2000; Pentikäinen & Hiltunen 1997).

The formal restrictions and arrangements at the *systemic level*, however, form only a part of the problem. The exclusion of cultural diversity occurred mainly in the symbolic dimension. The language-based conception of the Finnish nation, the alleged common ethnic origin of the Finnish-speakers, and the idea of shared values and customs among the Finns, formed together a symbolic, core national community. This community of “true Finns” was difficult, if not impossible, for outsiders to join. Political citizenship did not yet mean membership in the symbolic national community. At the *individual level*, large parts of the population did not even consider the Swedish-speakers to be fully equal members of the nation,

	Type 1 inclusion deficit	Type 2 inclusion deficit
Systemic level	Strong nation-state identity that emphasizes homogeneity; definition of the state and citizenship is ethnic and/or cultural	Weak nation-state identity; strong group identities preclude any shared notion of citizenship or of the state
Collective level	Collective agents in civil society (parties, unions, voluntary organizations) represent the ethnic and/or cultural majority and preclude representation of individuals/ groups who do not “belong” to the nation; public domain united but exclusive	Civil society is “compartmentalized”: identities of various groups are usually more important than the identity of the nation as a whole; the public domain is weakly developed and disunited.
Individual level	Political culture stimulates exclusivist notions of “us” and “them”, whereby the former refers to the nation, and the latter refers to outsiders.	Political culture stimulates exclusivist notions of “us” and “them”, whereby the former refers to an encompassing group, and the latter refers to outsiders.

Table 2. Types of inclusion deficit at the systemic, collective and individual levels.

even though this minority was well represented in civil society (at the *collective level*) (McRae 1999, 187-218).

Since the mid-1980's, Finnish society and its international position have changed profoundly due to the liberalization of the economy, the reform of public administration, a deep economic recession and membership in the European Union, among other developments (Pesonen & Riihinen 2002). The changes have also influenced the Finnish political organization of difference. Though the discourse about the welfare state (or rather, welfare society) is still strong, emphasis has shifted towards individual, collective and regional responsibility, and towards an acceptance of greater differences in income. After its highest peak (17% in 1993), unemployment has remained high (8,4 % in March 2006). The increase in the number of foreigners (from 26,255 in 1990 to 108,346 in 2004) along with the obvious need to remain a country receiving a foreign work force, also have slightly altered the political rhetoric concerning cultural homogeneity, though politicians are quite reluctant to speak openly. A special case are the Ingrians who, if willing to migrate, were considered returnees in 1996. Between 1990 and 2003, about 26,000 Ingrian Finns have moved to Finland (Lepola 2000).

Within the population, anti-party and anti-political sentiments have grown, but strong populist parties and political movements are still absent – despite the largely individual success of Tony Halme in Helsinki in the 2003 parliamentary elections. Also, the Finnish civil society is still generally remarkably stable. The immigrant communities, the largest of which are from Russia, Estonia, Sweden and Somalia are apparently still too small to organize effectively and to gain national publicity (cf. Sagne, Saksela & Wilhelmsson 2005). In fact, change has probably been the most dramatic in the symbolic dimension, where the traditional nation-state identity has been replaced, at least in official or semi-official contexts, by a more “European”, urban, and “future-oriented” identity. For the first time in Finland's history, two relatively strong, rival conceptions of the nation-state exist on the national level (Saukkonen 1999; 2003b).

Concerning the changes in the last two decades, some evaluative conclusions can already be drawn. Despite the changes towards more diversity in the main political ideological orientations and in the public debate (at the *systemic level*), in the nation-state identity and in the political culture (at the *individual level*) among the population, Finnish civil society (at the *collective level*) has remained mostly unaltered. For example, the so-called “frozen” party structure in the Nordic countries (cf. Sundberg 2003), has melted a great deal in other Scandinavian countries, but remains practically unaltered in Finland. The changes in Finnish politics have been produced not by new political agents, but by the traditional players of the domestic political game that have themselves undergone ideological changes. As a result partly of this, a significant part of the electorate sees the political class as a complacent elite insensitive to daily matters of ordinary citizens (cf. EVA 2003). In turn, for those critical of the political, social and economic changes and for the new social groupings in Finn-

ish society, effective political parties or interest organizations have not yet developed. In that sense, the problems in Finnish POD are located in the civil society (at the *collective level*), which does not fully represent the changes in Finland's social structures and ideological landscape. Members of the political elite probably delimit the new political right's room of manoeuvre by speaking of Finland as a national community of shared values, etc. However, at the same time, this discourse excludes newcomers from the symbolic community.

Dutch society has also changed profoundly since the 1980's, partly along lines similar to Finland. The welfare state, sometimes called the Rineland-model – a hybrid between the social democratic Nordic and the more corporatist German welfare state – has come under attack, both symbolically and to a lesser extent also in terms of provisions. However, the main structures are still intact. Since the late 1980's, a more neo-liberalist discourse gained strength among all the major parties, including the social democrats. The immigration from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and the Dutch Antilles was first modelled on the old practice of integration, which had proven itself in the era of pillarized pluralism. It consisted of two goals: to integrate the individual members of these groups into mainstream Dutch society, and at the same time to institutionally and financially support these groups' own cultural identities.

This double-edged policy of *both* integrating ethnic communities *and* preserving ethnic identity – in short, of “integration and preservation” – had worked quite well for some of the autochthone communities, but not as well for the ethnic communities. At the end of the 1980's, this Dutch variety of “the politics of recognition” resulted in massive unemployment among the adult members of ethnic communities and in serious educational deficiencies among their children, creating great problems in Dutch society. It proved impossible to combine the ethnic minorities' integration with the recognition and support of their ethnic identity, because the latter stood in the way of the former. Therefore, a stricter integration policy was embraced in the 1990's (combined with a more strict immigration-policy at the end of the decade), without special attention to the sectional identities of these ethnic groups. This is not to say that they were forced to integrate, as some Dutch multiculturalists claim. They kept the same rights and opportunities and, if necessary, financial support as other Dutch communities, e.g. the constitutionally protected right to found Islamic schools – but the balance clearly shifted from preservation of ethnic identity to integration into Dutch society.

This time-honoured policy of integration cum preservation of cultural identity was less successful than the old politics of recognition, in the case of ethnic communities, because during the era of pillarized pluralism, a balance of number and power held between the pillars. This facilitated a successful politics of accommodation between these communities. But in terms of number and power, the ethnic communities were simply no match in this politics of accommodation. Their fate was the same as that of other communities that remained outside the mainstream of Dutch plural society, such as homosexuals, Roma's, and groups dependent on welfare programs. So

instead of a relative balance of power among comparable sectional communities, a society with a majority and a minority developed. The dominant majority slowly but steadily shook off the old pillarized structures and habits through individualization. On the other hand, the minority, consisting of ethnic and other communities, was not only strongly divided, but also to a large extent dependent on the services supplied by the government and welfare organizations. Integration of ethnic communities' individual members into mainstream Dutch society was thus seriously hampered. This unsuccessful integration constituted a *type 1 inclusion deficit*, in that these new immigrants and their children of the second generation were not recognized as full members of Dutch society – a fact reflected in the use of the word “minorities” or “allochthones”. At the same time, a *type 2 inclusion deficit* occurred due to these immigrant groups' closed nature and “inner-directedness”.

For a long time, the problems of immigration and integration remained, for the most part, outside the public debate: it was seen as the combined problem of the specialized government departments, the immigrant organizations' representatives and the welfare organizations. A strong consensus held among the organizations of civil society and most (progressive) intellectuals that these problems should not be made the centre of public debate (or even consciousness) lest extreme rightist parties exploit these problems for their own purposes. In the 1990's, the gap grew too wide between the tolerance of which the Dutch were so proud, and the messier reality of socio-economic and educational inequality – and even more importantly, the strain that the problems of immigration and integration put on working class Dutchmen in deteriorating inner cities. At first, one heard the voice of a few intellectuals, such as the former liberal member of parliament Frits Bolkestein, but at the end of the decade it had become a symphony (some claim a cacophony) of voices – a truly massive populist movement, organized both locally and nationally, and quite preoccupied with the problems of immigration and integration. It was this populist movement, led by Pim Fortuyn, that shook the usually quite complacent Dutch political establishment, already before but even more so after the murder of Fortuyn in 2002. (Tijdelijke ...)

Looking back on this bizarre episode, one may note that this Fortuyn revolt exemplified problems at all three levels of Dutch society. First, at the systemic level, it showed a clear mismatch between the Dutch state's officially proclaimed pluralist and tolerant nature and the reality of strained relations between the majority of the Dutch and the immigrants and their children. As a result of this mismatch, the concept of tolerance was scrutinized and sometimes disposed of, because it had become synonymous with “indifference”. At the same time, “multiculturalism”, as an ideology of part of the left, came under attack because though it “celebrated difference”, it also undermined the nation's cohesion. At the *collective level*, this episode indicates a deeper mismatch between civil society, on the one hand – in particular, political parties, the media and “The Hague” – and two specific (autochtone) sections of Dutch society on the other. Gabriel

van den Brink (2002) has explained the Fortuyn revolt as the result of a clash between the “threatened people”, who feel intimidated by modernization and have to live with the downside of the multicultural society (“black” schools and neighbourhoods), and the “busy people”, who feel that the pace of modernization should be quickened. Whereas the first group wants both national and local government to interfere and act, the second group wants the government to step back and stop “meddling” (Brink 2002). These changes are also reflected in the political culture at the *individual* level: whereas political culture during pillarization was characterized by exclusivist group notions of “us” and “them”, and public debate burdened by stereotypes about Catholics (“*papen*”) and socialists (“*roden*”), political culture has, more recently, been characterized by exclusivism of a different kind: “us” now refers to the autochtone Dutch who are reinventing their nation as a Christian, culturally and sometimes even ethnically homogeneous monoculture, whereas “them” refers to the immigrants and asylum-seekers in general, and Muslims among them in particular. The murder of Theo van Gogh by a fundamentalist Muslim in November 2004 has reinforced this development. The “revolt” of Fortuyn *cs.* and the aftermath of the murder of Van Gogh will have had serious repercussions for the institutional position of immigrants and their children.

Conclusions

Today, all European societies and nation-states are affected by major political and cultural developments, such as economic globalization, the emergence of information societies, European integration, and local and regional reactions to all of these “megatrends”. Irrespective of the direction of these changes, trends and developments, the political organization of cultural diversity will be one of the main challenges for these societies, and the states will play a pivotal role. All of these states and societies will have to deal with the problems and possibilities of immigration – including from other European countries but more often from outside Europe – and the accompanying structural changes in the socio-economic and cultural organization of their societies.

This challenge is not new. All European societies already have their own ways of managing cultural plurality. How cultural communities participate in the civil society and in political decision-making depends on the differences in social structure, political tradition and international position, all of which vary among the states. Furthermore, all national models, solutions and traditions have their own advantages and disadvantages, and are unevenly equipped to meet the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism that stem from the increasing permanent residence of newcomers and from the more general cultural fragmentation and instability.

In this article, we have outlined a theoretical framework for the study of various European countries' political organization of difference. In this framework, politics is seen not as a separate sphere (though state-institutions remain important

in their own right), but, in the Aristotelian-Arendtian tradition, as a special form of activity related to the human condition of plurality. Plurality has manifested itself in many ways, in political, economic and cultural differences, all of which must be organized such that they do not entail social inequalities that would hamper individuals' and groups' participation in the society. In order to find out the extent to which societies have successfully dealt with these differences, we have distinguished between levels (systemic, collective and individual) and dimensions (traditional and symbolic) of the political organization of difference. We have focused on the organization of cultural difference because we believe that in the last few decades, culture has become an important issue that cannot be reduced to socio-economic matters. Furthermore, we have tested our framework by studying more closely the traditional structures of cultural difference, the historically evolved ways to manage cultural plurality, and the recent changes in two countries – in Finland and in the Netherlands.

In both countries, traditional ways of dealing with cultural difference have come under attack during the last decade or so. The traditional Dutch model of politics of recognition worked quite well for the traditional religious and secular (liberal and socialist) communities during the pillarization era, but it has not been very successful in the case of the new ethnic communities of (former) “guest workers”. As a result, the officially proclaimed pluralist, tolerant nature of the Dutch state and society has come under attack, whereas the “organized” civil society has been unable to deal with the problems of “the multicultural society”. Dutch society has had a long tradition of negatively stereotyping members of the “other” communities, but since the decline of the traditional communities, a new and possibly more harmful cultural and political fault line has become prominent – that is, whereby “us” refers to the autochthonous Dutch and “them” refers to the immigrants and asylum-seekers.

The traditional Finnish organization of difference also has lately been under pressure. The nation-state identity used to be relatively nationalistic, emphasizing the strong congruence between Finnish state, society and cultural community, but now seems to be heading towards a more open and tolerant model and to a more “European”, urban and “future-oriented” identity. These identity-changes are not, however, reflected in the “organized” civil society, partly due to the inability or unwillingness of the political elite to openly defend their policy of embracing or at least tolerating to a greater extent cultural difference (among other forms of difference, e.g. in economic and in regional development).

Comparing the Netherlands with Finland, it is interesting to see that the two countries have taken opposite paths: whereas the former is moving away from its tradition of tolerance and “pluralism” towards a more homogeneous nation-state identity, the latter is tentatively trying to shake off its former ethnic nationalism. In both cases, these changes are not sufficiently reflected in the civil society and in the political culture, which can be assumed to have created room of manoeuvre for adventurous political populism. In the Netherlands, the minor

“revolt” was centred on the person of Pim Fortuyn; in Finland, Tony Halme could relatively easily raise a support of almost 17 000 voters in the Helsinki district. The long-term political organization of difference is, in both countries, still under construction and the future orientation unclear.

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Towards Workplace and Service Equality in Finland

Abstract

As the composition of the labor force and clientele of different services become more heterogeneous due to demographic developments and globalization, working organizations have increasing confrontations with cultural diversity as individual level encounters, with internal and external clients. Therefore, the increasing cultural multiplicity sooner or later will demand a higher commitment to diversity, by any or all of the following: adjusting existing practices, policies, or structures; changing people's attitudes, perceptions, or behavior; or transforming power relations.

The aim of the study is to find out how emerging cultural diversity affects the preparedness of Finnish organizations and the competencies of their members to promote equality. With the help of qualitative studies, the kinds of changes required in a transformation towards equality in human resource management (HRM) and in customer service were explored. The study draws on findings from, among other things, the data collected in conjunction with two projects, Moro! and ETMO, which were funded by the EQUAL Initiative of the European Social Fund.

The study shows that the commitment to equality depends on both the organizations' and its members' perspectives on diversity, and their willingness and ability to change their own measures.

INTRODUCTION

The "new wave" of globalization, including international mobility, changes in demographics that include a predicted labor shortage, as well as new demands in national politics, all pressure organizations to promote working life quality and equality. For instance, Finland's society has recently been undergoing a noteworthy change. During the past 15 – 20 years, Finland has changed from an emigration to an immigration country (Forsander, 2002a), and the number of foreign citizens has increased from approximately 15 000 to nearly 114 000 (circa 2 % of the population of about 5 million) (Statistics Finland, 2006). At the same time, immigrants' backgrounds and their reasons for moving to Finland have diversified (e.g. Pitkänen, 2006). Although the number of foreigners is not at all high compared with some other countries, the relative number of immigrants has increased more rapidly in Finland than in any other Western European country during the 1990s (Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002). Immigration to Finland consists

of various types of newcomer, including asylum seekers, refugees, labor migrants, people who have migrated because of marriage or family unification, and remigrants (a.k.a. people with Finnish roots) (Wahlbeck, 2003). Excluding the labor migrants, immigrants' participation in the society and/or labor market has remained at quite a low level -- for example, immigrants' unemployment rate is about 26 per cent, in contrast to 7 per cent among natives (Ministry of Labor, 2006). In any case, cultural diversity is more prominent in the every sector of Finnish society, including working life and public services. In 2004 a new law, the Equality Act, was passed in order to impact the materialization of the equal rights.

On these grounds, individual employees also face these changes in more diversified working environments. Workplace equality therefore suggests utilizing the capabilities of the entire labor force, and also service equality to provide clients with appropriate services, both of which challenge the preparedness of organizations and their members to respond appropriately to the emerging cultural diversification. There-

fore, in particular, the confrontations with increasing culturally diverse internal and external clients address the need for high-level competencies and modified measures. However, the tendency within organizations is to maintain similarity both in customer service and in Human Resource Management (HRM) practices (see e.g. Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Lundgren and Mlekov, 2002; Kossek and Lobel, 1996).

The importance of devoting more attention to equality and diversity issues, especially in private and public sector service organizations, is widely acknowledged as driven by legislative forces, but a topic not studied in depth is how to conduct responsible and holistic change interventions, especially in countries such as Finland where cultural diversity is emerging. This study offers a multidisciplinary approach to working life equality, by combining perspectives of cultural and management research in order to better understand the complexity of equality and equity from the points of view of individuals and organizations. This article highlights issues that the practitioners can take into consideration when managing increasing cultural diversity and in enhancing workplace and service equality.

The aim of the study is to find out how emerging cultural diversity affects the preparedness of organizations and the competencies of its members to promote equality. The study proposes that until cultural diversity, from either the organizational or the individual point of view, is no longer seen as an uncertainty factor, commitment to it stays at a low level. With the help of an ethnographical action research and a longitudinal multiple case study, the kinds of changes in intercultural competence and diversity management were explored. The data were collected in conjunction with, among other things, two EU projects, funded by the EQUAL Initiative of the European Social Fund, that dealt with cultural diversity in working life: the Moro! Project (Multicultural Recruiting and Learning) and the ETMO project (Multiculturalism as a Resource in the Working Community).¹ These projects offered an opportunity to take under closer observation a certain group of people who were working with the issues that are the focus of the study.

The results of the two sub-studies revealed that cultural diversity caused changes mostly at the skill or cognitive levels of individuals, and in the recruiting and training practices of organizations. First, the background theories are discussed briefly, and the framework for the study is introduced. Next, by means of two sub-studies with their respective theoretical concepts, different strategies to manage equality and diversity issues are investigated. After analyzing the results of each sub-study separately, the paper combines them and concludes with a discussion about the implications of the present study.

BACKGROUND THEORIES FOR THE STUDY

Concept(s) of culture

This study deals with the concept of culture in more ways than one. The main ground of the study lies in working life, and within this context, the culture is elaborated upon as an indi-

vidual, communal and organizational phenomenon. The term ‘culture’ refers to more or less different matters in various situations. For example, workplace culture consists of the customs that a certain group of people share in their work community, and organizational culture forms the environment that creates the politics and strategies to be spread throughout the organization (cf. e.g. Trux, 2000; Forsander, 2002b). Individual level culture can be understood as, on the one hand, a person’s identification as a member of the certain group (including sub-cultures, such as workplace culture, age-group cultures, etc.), and on the other, the interpretation and treatment of people as representatives of particular groups (cf. Huttunen, Löytty and Rastas, 2005; Verma, 2005; Söderholm, 1994; Geertz, 1973). All in all, ‘culture’, in this article, is considered to have a rather broad meaning – it forms a frame of people’s actions and choices. Nevertheless, culture is not regarded as an unchangeable entity.

Managing equality and diversity

Equal opportunities (EO) and diversity management (DM) present the main streams and strategies of managing workplace equality and diversity issues with different theoretical bases; the rationale of the former being the need to offer social justice (a moral case), and of the latter, the needs of the organization (a business case) (Noon and Obgonna, 2001), e.g. to improve service quality. The EO approach focuses on legislative actions to treat everybody the same, and increases mainly the “numbers” of minority groups -- for instance, immigrants (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Thomas and Ely, 1996). It is therefore considered a reactive way of promoting equality and diversity (Kirton, 2003; Dass and Parker, 1999) and is called the ‘learning and effectiveness’ paradigm (Thomas and Ely, 1996). The DM approach, also known as the ‘access and legitimacy’ paradigm, involves searching actively for business benefits, favoring individual differences in order to get access to new customer base and markets (Thomas and Ely, 1996). The aim is to create a culture and atmosphere of respect in order to maximize everyone’s potential, to aid profitability, and to improve the company’s reputation (see e.g. DeNisi and Griffin, 2001; Wilson and Iles, 1999; Kandola and Fullerton, 1998). The challenges in managing diversity are found to be linked to differences in the ways of working, misunderstandings, distrust or hostility (DeNisi and Griffin, 2001; Wilson, 1996). A more advanced and proactive approach to managing diversity is a ‘learning and effectiveness’ paradigm (Thomas and Ely, 1996), which stresses learning opportunities from diversity and employee perspectives in connection to work. This approach considers organizational culture as a means to a high standard of performance, if it is non-bureaucratic and egalitarian (Thomas and Ely, 1996), and if the employees are viewed as strategic assets and an investment (cf. e.g. Cornelius et al., 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999).

These different strategies to deal with equality and diversity issues can further be divided into individual level manage-

ment strategies, such as understanding, empathy, communication, tolerance or organizational level strategies such as policies, practices, culture and training (Denisi and Griffin, 2001). It is argued that when an organization invests in equality and diversity, it addresses changes in an organization (Wilson and Iles, 1999), but implementing separate strategies or systems only (isolated sensitivity training, increasing cultural audits, minority hiring) does not reinforce adequate change (Kossek and Lobel, 1996). The characteristics that researchers (see e.g. Kirton and Greene, 2005; DeNisi and Griffin, 2001; Tayeb, 1996; Wilson, 1996) have found for successful management are that diversity, as a strategic approach, is implemented into the mission, vision and strategy of an organization.

A strategic approach to diversity management can contribute to the desired benefits (employee commitment, performance, customer satisfaction, equity, effectiveness, profitability) being better achieved (Kossek and Lobel, 1996). It is, however, argued, that effective proactive diversity management implies changes in attitudes, mindsets, structure and culture, as well as in regulations, procedures and power relations (Tayeb, 1996; Kossek and Lobel, 1996) by means of structural integration of equality and diversity (Cornelius et al., 2001; Gagnon and Cornelius, 2002). It is proposed in this study that improvements in equality and diversity strategies suggest proactive changes both at the individual and organizational level, the precondition being the ability and willingness to learn to reflect equality.

Reactive learning with single loop interventions means using existing policies or procedures to correct a certain state (Wooten and James, 2004), representing paradigm-consistent thinking with an outcome of incremental changes (Cornelius, 2002). If the culture and normative procedures are considered to be the cause of a problem, it is reflective learning (Wooten and James, 2004), which suggests revising existing procedures or replacing them with effective approaches (double loop interventions). This view represents paradigm-challenging thinking with step changes (Cornelius, 2002). Cropanzano et al. (2004) state that this paradigm is a proactive step; e.g. diversity training can become effective when combined with changes in organizational policies and practices in changing culture and foster fairness issues. The third possibility is to create, by triple loop interventions, a new paradigm: new mental models and processes with transformative or radical changes (Cornelius, 2002).

It is argued that changes in organizational practices and structures produce effectiveness and efficiency; in attitudes and behavior affect mutual understanding; and in culture produce equity and fairness as they focus on power relations (cf. Burnes, 2004; Flood and Romm, 1996), decision-making and participation (Cornelius and Bassett-Jones, 2002; Noon and Obgonna, 2001). Due to interaction with the environment, the extent and speed of the change(s) can vary: practices present small and rapid changes; structural changes are typically larger and rapid; attitudinal/behavioral changes are slower and small in scale; and change in culture is great and slow (Burnes, 2004). If a culture change, for example, is desired, it entails changing the organization's identity by influencing the

shared mindset of individuals (Thornhill et. al 2000; Brochbank, 1999) and by changing processes with the help of information and behavior change (Ulrich, 1997).

When the promotion of equality and diversity is desired, it suggests that an individual/ organization take a stance by positioning itself accordingly. The choices, drawing from above, would either be reactive, using existing policies and structures ('doing things the right way as we are used to') or proactive, creating new procedures ('doing things differently by challenging the current mindset'). The third possibility is to create a new mindset and change culture; 'doing things differently through radical change'. (See Wooten and James, 2004; Cornelius, 2002; Flood and Romm, 1996.)

All in all, the societal, legislative and internal factors i.e. the mission, history, culture or reputation of an organization (Maxwell et al., 2001) can influence the perceptions of, motives and importance of diversity, which manifest themselves both in individual and management response to equality issues being thereupon either reactive or proactive. The relationships between the cultural diversity objectives and responses in individual and organizational level equality and diversity management strategies within the discussed framework above form the basis for analysis in the following two sub-studies.

INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES: The first sub-study

The concept of intercultural competence

Intrinsically connected to intercultural encounters is the concept of intercultural competence, which includes those competencies needed in intercultural interaction situations. The term 'intercultural competence' is often mentioned in sources dealing with the need to develop an understanding and appreciation for cultures other than one's own (e.g. Beamer and Varner, 2001; Kim 1996; Seelye, 1996; Taylor, 1994). The term has been defined in various ways; some writers for example emphasize cultural sensitivity (e.g. Bennett, 1993) or intercultural understanding (Taylor, 1994). It is also described as consisting of different competencies depending on the definition or emphasis. Most scholars agree though that intercultural competence is needed to achieve mutual understanding, as well as functional interaction and co-operation, in intercultural situations.

Narrowly thinking, intercultural competence can be seen to include only those skills and technical tools that can help one to perform one's assignments satisfactorily. From a broader perspective, this competence can be seen, for example, to comprise four dimensions: skills, cognition, attitudes and action (e.g. Nieto, 1996; Noel, 1995; Banks, 1994). The broader view also stresses that intercultural competence is not something one can memorize; rather, it must be internalized as a part of one's attitudes, behavior and action (cf. Clough and Holden, 1996).

An interculturally competent person (e.g. Taylor, 1994; Bennett, 1993; Gudykunst and Kim, 1984) is able to act flexi-

bly and skillfully in changeable situations with different kinds of people. They are also capable of making decisions that are not bound to preconceptions or prejudices. Therefore the cognitive or attitudinal qualities or behavior of an interculturally competent person are not biased to one culture's norms but are, on the contrary, open to understanding and respecting cultural diversity (e.g. Pitkänen, 2006; Jokikokko, 2002).

Intercultural competence and customer service

A customer service situation can be seen as interaction in which the service provider and the customer meet. Interaction situation consists of several challenges, as both parties have different interests and power positions. However, it is expected that both the customer(s) and, especially, the persons serving them know their own roles and behave accordingly. The matter at hand, rather than position, should be the focal point. This is theoretically possible, if the surrounding culture and society structures are familiar. It is only then that we have a chance to move from role to role smoothly, and both parties can similarly interpret the factors affecting the interaction. Behavior in an "intra-cultural" interaction situation affects proceedings based on the rules that have formed in that particular cultural environment and are, often unconsciously, accepted in that society. (e.g. Hammar-Suutari, 2006, 2005; Salo-Lee, 1996.)

The situation changes, however, if the understanding of the other party is not self-evident, as in a situation where the parties are from different cultural backgrounds. There are several factors that can influence encounters with customers of a foreign background, such as prejudices, previous experiences, nature of the encounter, uncertainty, available resources, etc. (cf. e.g. Hammar-Suutari, 2005; Salo-Lee, 1996). Different conventions and official/professional/business cultures also affect the way in which the service provider is perceived, how well they are trusted and how customers behave towards them (cf. Peltola, 2005; Liebkind, 1998).

Basically, we can assume that strong professional competencies help the customer representatives deal with their own attitudes and feelings in work-related situations. These competencies are needed so that the minimization of the effects of prejudices is possible and that the uncertainty caused by the new situation does not become an insuperable obstacle in a customer service situation and thus affect the quality of service. Professional skill consists of several elements, which are collected with the help of both work- and life experience. Professional skill is not, therefore, an acquired attribute, but rather an ongoing development process that continues throughout one's working life. Metaphorically speaking, intercultural competence forms (or should form) one fiber of the rope woven of the several skills needed in customer service work, such as interaction skills, professional competencies, development-/adopting skills, flexibility/tolerance for change, and the ability to respond to challenges presented by different customers (Hammar-Suutari, 2005).

The importance of professional skill in public service is amplified, in that the employee has a greater responsibility towards the success of the encounter. The job of the employee is to try to interpret the needs of the customer as accurately as possible and to signal with their own behavior a willingness to fulfill a customer's needs. In intercultural encounters, the challenges are often greater than usual and the confidence brought by professional skills becomes even more important. In order to cope with ongoing changes within the employees' work, there is also a specific need for increasing intercultural competence and achieving stronger equality within the public sector.

As mentioned earlier, the increase in global mobility is also visible in Finnish society and a more diverse clientele causes pressure for reform in the public sector. With public sector work being strictly governed by laws and regulations, accomplishing changes in service procedures becomes even more challenging (Pitkänen, 2006; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997). When thinking about the challenges brought by a more diverse and complex work description, the question is: how will the public sector be able to respond to these new challenges?

Methods

The present level and development needs of intercultural competence in public sector work were studied with the help of qualitative research methods. The purpose of the study was to gain more information about the intercultural work abilities of the employees and the efforts and needs to improve them. The primary targets of the study were civil servants in the social services area: employment-, social- and benefit officers. The chosen approach was a research method that could be characterized as Ethnography of Transformative Action (e.g. Tacchi, Slater and Hearn, 2003). Through this approach, it is possible to create an ethnographic depiction on the change that cultural diversification causes in the public sector. Action research methods were also applied, making this study a combination of ethnography and action research.

It is difficult for a researcher to penetrate the structured world of the civil servant; therefore, the development activity (jointly designed by the work community) served as a gateway to the further understanding of the research field. Action research has also been found practical when the purpose of the study is to help the participants learn more about cultural questions and to give them guidance on intercultural encounters (e.g. Räsänen, 2002, Winter, 1989).

The study included both employees and the clients of Finnish public service organizations. One group consisted of employees (24) who participated in the Moro! project, whose purpose was to collect good practices and operations models and to increase cultural work competencies. Furthermore, the study included an expert group of people with foreign backgrounds who have a long history of working experience in Finland (10), and a group of newly arrived immigrants (30). In addition, other key employees (10) were interviewed. The data

were collected mainly by semi-structured interviews around certain themes, and one interview lasted approximately one hour. The data also contains material from the action research processes, which was being experimented with in three public sector work communities (see Hammar-Suutari, 2006).

The development trial for increasing intercultural competencies lasted approximately 6 months and applied the methods of communicative action research. Communicative action research is based on the idea of interaction and its development as a prerequisite for change in work organizations and innovations in working life (e.g. Kuula, 1999; Gustavsen, 1996). The process consisted mainly of interviews, event transcripts, interactive discussions, meetings, feedback sessions, evaluation and self-evaluation, information sessions, etc. Members of the work community participated in the improvement process throughout its duration, i.e. they were included in planning the guidelines and evaluating the results of the work (Tacchi, Slater and Hearn, 2003). The process was an attempt to create circumstances conducive to democratic discussion; the role of the researcher was to act as a facilitator and supporter, but also, when needed and asked, as an expert (cf. e.g. Beinum et al., 1996).

Results

The study reinforced the assumption that there have, in recent years, been many changes either in the employees' work or in working life in general. Additionally, the effects of the diversification of society in general, and the increase in cultural diversity in particular, are clearly visible in the public sector. The employees are more frequently encountering customers whose background or situation in life is unfamiliar and whose needs might be difficult to fulfill. A customer from a different cultural sphere brings new challenges to the employees' tasks and affects work descriptions within the public sector.

The interviews of employees showed that according to respondents, diversity brings with it lots of good things such as more meaningfulness to work, richness of cultures, positive attitudes, tolerance and new possibilities. As a challenge, they saw communication problems between the representatives of different cultures. These problems include, besides a lack of knowledge of the language, insufficient interaction skills on both sides as well. Some of the respondents pointed out that it would be important to be able to be prepared for new situations beforehand. Effective information would be one tool in softening interaction "collisions".

The increase in cultural diversity has brought forward a need for changes in customer services. Meeting the demands of different clients will require changes in service assortment as well as in the way in which the service is provided. This would include showing more respect and trust towards all kinds of clients in order to make living together successful. Gaining more experiences and improving one's interaction skills and creative operation models could help in dealing with "different" clients and get past the various stereotypes.

Many respondents emphasized that the communication barriers could be removed by increasing knowledge and updating professional skills. Because the field of customer services is getting perpetually more complicated, support and training is seen as sorely needed.

All the respondents emphasized that authorities need some new knowledge and skills, in order to adequately do their job in the public sector of a more culturally diverse society. This intercultural competence is needed by everyone in the work communities, not by only those officials who actually meet immigrant clients in their daily work, but also by their supervisors. In order to gain and develop this competence, conscious effort is needed but in terms of intercultural situation, both parties need sufficient information: authorities about immigration and diversity issues and special needs of culturally different clients, and the clients about laws, regulations and the function of society, including service assortment and service availability.

In summary, intercultural competence is needed, but it was quite difficult for the respondents to give any concrete proposals on what it might contain. Interaction skills and language skills were mentioned to be important tools. As to their own strengths in intercultural interaction situations, the respondents listed such things as: being oneself, asking enough questions, courage and encouragement, precision, creativity in communication and a basic knowledge of different cultures.

Discussion

Due to the ongoing cultural diversification and change in their clientele, public service providers recognize the importance of improving their intercultural competence in order to perform their tasks properly (see e.g. Beamer and Varner, 2001; Kim 1996; Seelye, 1996; Taylor, 1994). The strong emphasis on equity and democracy in the public service sector creates a pressure to treat every client similarly. This situation, combined with the fact that public sector work is strictly governed from the top (laws, regulations), makes it challenging to accomplish changes in service procedures as suggested earlier by Pitkänen (2006), Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) and Mattheikki-Kokko (1997).

In order to respond to the new requirements in public sector work, there have been some efforts to make intercultural service encounters more satisfactory. The findings of the study show, however, that the broader view of understanding intercultural competence as proposed by Banks (1994) is not internalized by the service providers: rather, they seek to improve their competencies needed in intercultural work mostly by seeking some new technical tools such as better language skills (cf. reactive learning with single loop interventions Wooten and James, 2004; Cornelius, 2002) to assist them in their work with a more culturally diverse clientele. In other words, the skills and cognitive dimensions of intercultural competence are more easily recognized, but the other two (attitudes and action), have not been taken into consider-

ation to the same extent. The definition of an intercultural competent person as described by e.g. Taylor (1994), Bennett (1993) and Gudykunst and Kim (1984) was only partly supported.

The findings confirm that when there is insufficient knowledge about the differences between intra-cultural and intercultural service encounters, e.g. when the parties involved cannot automatically interpret the messages of the interaction similarly, the factors influencing these situations (e.g. Peltola, 2005; Hammar-Suutari, 2005; Liebkind, 1998; Salo-Lee, 1996;) are not recognized, and efforts towards more equal treatment in customer service are unsuccessful. However, the development trial gave some evidence that improving intercultural competence is possible when there is time and opportunity for open discussion and exchange of experiences with colleagues (intentions towards reflective learning with double loop interventions Wooten and James, 2004; Cornelius, 2002). But access to sufficient information is also needed in order to increase cultural sensitivity (see Bennett, 1993), and to promote equality in customer service encounters.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGIES: The second sub-study

HRM in diversity management

It is widely acknowledged that in accomplishing organizational level diversity management strategies, HRM can have a central role (see e.g. Kirton and Greene, 2005; Agócs and Burr, 1996; Kossek and Lobel, 1996) and it is often considered an effective internal driver for changes (Cornelius et al., 2001). However, the ability and willingness of “traditional” HRM to value diversity is argued, it is said to maintain homogeneity and similarity (Lundgren and Mlekov, 2002; Kossek and Lobel, 1996; Cassell, 2001) with standardized and rationalized systems supporting efficiency (Sandoff, 2002; Humphries & Grice, 1995) being, on the other hand, the primary goal of HRM along with effectiveness (Kaufman, 2001). Therefore, it is suggested that by being able to promote equity and the quality of working life with the help of an improved HRM, greater satisfaction of human needs and aspirations can also be supported (cf. Kaufmann, 2001; ACIB, 2001). Future uncertainty, in addition, can address a necessity for finding new ways of attracting, retaining and motivating (Watson, 2004; Thornhill et al., 2000) or in learning to utilize the potential of all (Thomas and Ely, 1996). These kinds of views suggest that HRM becomes proactive or bias free and challenges the existing procedures, structures and culture.

Indeed, Brockbank (1999) argues that HRM can be either reactive or proactive, both on a strategic and operational level. Reactive strategic HRM supports the business strategy with the help of operational activities. Especially, in change management programs, HRM is strategically reactive when assisting and facilitating a change. A strategically proactive HRM

can contribute by learning about other functional areas and by offering business alternatives. When HRM is operationally reactive, it implements its administrative tasks and maintains the “day-to-day routine”. When HRM is operationally proactive, it involves improving the basic tasks in design and delivery (e.g. reengineering) in order to enhance quality and efficiency, e.g. measuring diversity in the promotion of productivity. How HRM is involved in alternative diversity management approaches in terms of its reactivity or proactivity is discussed next.

Implications of diversity management for HRM

The implications of managing diversity for HRM have been found to differ according to the earlier described alternative diversity management approaches. Starting from the EO and ‘learning and effectiveness’ paradigm approach, HRM procedures have found to vary from public equality statements to formal and more comprehensive policies considered as such strategically a reactive means to promote equality and diversity issues (Kirton and Greene, 2005; Kirton, 2003; Dass and Parker, 1999). On the operational level, HRM is assimilating by enhancing sameness and mainly increasing the number of minorities (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Noon and Obgonna, 2001; Thomas and Ely, 1996). The DM and access-and-legitimacy paradigm approach organizations often proactively support equality and diversity issues by means of formal policies (Kirton and Greene, 2005). Even though opportunities for minorities increase (via inclusiveness, tolerance etc.), it has, however, been noticed that organizations are still assimilating and institutional bias with inconsistencies in HRM are prevalent (Cox, 1993). Thus operational HRM has a narrow, reactive approach to equality and diversity (Kirton, 2003) and supports the majority views (Cornelius et al., 2001).

That is why a change towards more proactive HRM (Kossek and Lobel, 1996) is addressed to include e.g. to break down barriers, mainstream and broaden agendas (Kirton, 2003). The HRM approach is suggested, therefore, to support multiculturalism by means of structural and informal integration of diversity with the help of a bias-free HRM (Cox, 1993) in order to learn from diversity in an enabling environment (Gagnon and Cornelius, 2002). On these grounds more adjusted and fair HRM practices are suggested e.g. modified recruitment and selection methods, careful induction and mentoring, equality in training and development opportunities etc. (Gooch and Blackburn, 2002). These views are in line with the ‘learning and effectiveness’ paradigm approach of Thomas and Ely (1996) and the proactive strategic and operational HRM by means of recognizing new learning and business opportunities through diversity and improving the basic tasks of HRM (Brockbank, 1999). In order to find out how emerging cultural diversity affects the preparedness of organizations and particularly HRM in promoting equality and diversity issues is studied in the empirical part of the the second sub-study.

Methods

The impact of cultural diversity on HRM was studied with the help of qualitative research methods while seeking to provide a picture and to increase the level of knowledge about the implications of emerging cultural diversity on HRM. A multiple case study design (Yin, 1994) was applied, as the purpose was to examine a phenomenon within its real-life context in order to gain deeper understanding of a process, which outlines the situation in a new context. A longitudinal study was conducted in the capital area of Finland in conjunction with the EU/EQUAL project ETMO², aiming to promote the employability of immigrants. Case A is a service organization employing 14 000 people, of whom 700 have foreign backgrounds, and has employed them for the past 10 years. Case B is also a service organization, and one of the oldest recruiters of immigrants in Finland with a history over 20 years. The number of foreign-based employees has varied from a maximum of 150 to 50 persons at present out of a total of 1 600 employees.

Research data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews around certain themes. The interviews were conducted once during the spring of 2002 or 2003 and once in the spring of 2005. The interviewed persons represented HRM and HRD (Human Resource Development) managers, supervisors and shop stewards totaling 15 interviews with 11 persons. The interviews lasted approximately one hour. The interviews were taped, transcribed and sent back to those interviewed for a review to ensure reliability. The key themes of the interviews were the following: 1) Reasons, benefits and challenges of employing a foreign workforce and 2) Impacts of cultural diversity on HRM.

Results

The reasons for hiring immigrants were a shortage of labor and a search for new recruitment potential. The benefits of diversity in both cases were an increased labor potential, which were considered good and capable of bringing new values and views. Also the reputation and image as a good employer were to improve in organizations. Both organizations had experienced the same kinds of challenges: different conceptions of work, or working habits/customs; acceptance of female supervisors; attitudes about and preconceptions of managers, co-workers or customers; and misunderstandings due to language skills. (Cf. DeNisi and Griffin, 2001; Wilson and Iles, 1999; Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Wilson, 1996.)

The implications of cultural diversity for strategy and HRM appeared differently in the case organizations when they approached the management of equality and diversity. In Case A, diversity was perceived to increase the business opportunities, legislative causes and fairness issues were also emphasized, and there were plans for a more systemic and programmed approach to manage diversity by empowering employees to integrate diversity issues into its equality plan, policy and HRM practices. In Case B, 'equal treat-

ment for all' was stressed as the strategy without any written or formal equality/diversity statements or policy. On this basis along with unwritten rules, the organization was perceived to have been successful in managing cultural diversity by means of adapting the immigrant employees into the organization through a culture change.

In Case A, the adjustments or their needs of operational HRM due to cultural diversity were found in recruiting, development, appraisal and non-financial rewarding. Recruiting, for instance, was based on finding labor resources through various new channels (trades fairs, the grapevine, the internet, projects). This also included willingness to employ immigrants. Careful attention was paid to occupational guidance with improved induction methods. Also so-called 'diversity training' was offered to the entire personnel, in order to increase mutual understanding of diversity issues. In performance appraisal and non-financial rewarding the recognition of individual differences were stressed. The culture change in Case B was said to have happened to a large extent with the help of informal discussions and information, without any great adjustment of HR systems and practices or offering diversity training. That is why HRM at the operational level was accomplished similarly as a process for each employee on the basis of the equal treatment. Even though the organization was consciously increasing the number of immigrants, no modifications or improvement needs in the practices or processes of recruitment, development, performance appraisal or rewarding arose.

Discussion

The case organizations perceived diversity or recognized its importance on an equality (Case B) and/or economic basis (Case A) offering evidence of the presence of the moral and business cases in managing diversity (Noon and Obgonna, 2001). Organization B can be said to present the views of the 'learning and effectiveness' paradigm, because its formal, unwritten equality policy stressed that everyone is treated the same through assimilation despite valuing differences (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Cox 1993). Organization A can be said to be in a transition from the 'access-and-legitimacy' paradigm towards the 'learning and effectiveness' paradigm (Dass and Parker, 1999; Thomas and Ely, 1996), because it was proactively working with diversity and equality issues in strategy, policy and practice levels of HRM.

In terms of HRM, Organization B applied reactively its strategic HRM by using only the reactive diversity management strategy (Brockbank, 1999) and implementing it with standardized policies and practices which, as argued earlier, maintain homogeneity, similarity and efficiency (Lundgren and Mlekov, 2002; Sandoff, 2002; Cassell, 2001; Kossek and Lobel, 1996). However, this organization appeared somewhat proactive in recruiting immigrants (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Thomas and Ely, 1996). Organization B instead involved proactively its strategic HRM to manage diversity through recognizing

diversity to offer business opportunities (Brockbank, 1999). In implementing the proactive diversity management strategy, it was or aimed to be proactive also in operational HRM activities in terms of improved processes and new methods (Brockbank, 1999) in recruiting, induction, diversity training, non-financial rewarding and appraisal. On these grounds the diversity management approach in Case A can be said to gain organizational efficiency and effectiveness with the help of common understanding of diversity and a bias-free culture, because it was in a process of accomplishing changes within practices and processes, aimed to affect attitudes and behavior through training as well as to create a supportive working environment (cf. Wooten and James, 2004; Cornelius, 2002; Gagnon and Cornelius, 2002; Flood and Romm, 1996; Cox, 1993). Case B can be said mainly to have supported organizational effectiveness objectives by managing diversity as it was not in a process of adjusting any procedures or offering training to promote equality and diversity issues perceiving instead to have gained a culture, which promoted them (cf. Wooten and James, 2004; Cornelius, 2002; Flood and Romm, 1996).

All in all, the second sub-study offers insights into diversification processes within two organizations. It gives evidence that due to the future labor shortage, organizations can have needs for adjustments in their diversity strategy and HRM. The outcomes suggest that the proactive role of the strategic and operational HRM in managing diversity need further corroboration.

CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to find out how emerging cultural diversity affects the preparedness of organizations and the competencies of its members to promote equality. The first sub-study revealed, that in public sector work, the balancing act between “official” (political) truth, the attitudinal- and operational climate of the work community and the intercultural competence of an individual employee, forms the framework in which the customer encounters the person who is going to handle their matters. Thus, the prerequisites for responding to new challenges can be met only if the actors, on all levels, are conscious of the prevailing situation and the necessary procedures. Therefore, in addition to making political guidelines and legislative requirements the framework for public sector work, the guidelines for that work should be made flexible enough to deal with constantly changing circumstances. This also requires improved communication from the bottom to the top, from the field to the decision-makers. Naturally the employees also need sufficient resources to do their work expediently and efficiently. The findings are in congruence with reactive learning (Wooten and James, 2004) and with paradigm-consistent thinking (Cornelius, 2002) in individual level equality and diversity management strategies; because, despite the changes (or their needs) being recognized, the present measures were applied. Reflective learning (Wooten and James, 2004) was recognized in terms of will-

ingness to improve intercultural competence, which represents paradigm-challenging thinking (Cornelius, 2002).

In the second sub-study, the organizational strategies in Case B reflected reactive learning to equality (Wooten and James, 2004) and paradigm-consistent thinking (Cornelius, 2002), as the strategic and operational HRM were mainly reactive (Brockbank, 1999) in managing equality and diversity. Reflective learning (Wooten and James, 2004) and paradigm-challenging thinking (Cornelius, 2002) were present in Case A, in terms of the proactive strategic HRM towards equality and diversity issues and improvements or their aims in HRM practices and processes (Brockbank, 1999). Proactive diversity strategy was especially found in the efforts of gaining equitable organizational culture through empowerment and structural integration of equality and diversity (Cornelius et al., 2001; Gagnon and Cornelius, 2002; Thomas and Ely, 1996). Case B showed reflective learning (Wooten and James, 2004) in terms of increasing the number of immigrants. In neither sub-study was any evidence found of creating a new paradigm by triple loop interventions: new mental models and processes with transformative or radical changes (Cornelius, 2002).

The sub-studies’ results reveal that to a large extent, the changes accomplished or recognized as needed both in individual and organizational level equality and diversity management strategies, were mainly single loop interventions in the areas of rapid and small changes, within the dimensions of skills and HRM practices (Wooten and James, 2004; Burnes, 2004). To some extent, double loop interventions, or efforts towards them, were found in the areas of larger and slower changes, within the dimensions of cognition of intercultural competence and HRM processes (Wooten and James, 2004; Burnes, 2004). The outcome therefore offers evidence that effectiveness and efficiency objectives were most often promoted through changes in individual and organizational levels, which confirms the previous research (cf. Flood and Romm, 1996). However, proactivity towards mutual understanding (through attitude and behavior changes) and organizational culture changes suggest the recognition of the importance of equity and fairness issues (cf. Burnes, 2004; Flood and Romm, 1996) in internal and external client service as well as in HRM, which supports the proposed view that cultural diversity can cause an uncertainty that affects all sub-systems of an organization.

To sum up, the study confirms that the commitment to equality depends on both the organizations’ and its members’ willingness and preparedness to change their own measures. However, the research was conducted in a context whose limiting factors were an emerging cultural diversity and the number of cases, which can reduce the study’s power of generalization. Nevertheless, it offers a holistic approach to workplace equity and diversity issues and can help practitioners to recognize and identify alternative choices when planning change interventions. As the changes due to cultural diversity suggest reform, especially of client service and HRM, further research is needed in order to reinvent and find new proactive ways of achieving equality in working life and customer service.

Notes

- 1 See more information on the projects: http://esrlomake.mol.fi/esrtiepa/loppuraportti_S01038.html (Moro!) and <http://www.kio.fi/Resource.phx/project/project-etmo/index.htm> or (ETMO).
- 2 See also Sippola, Leponiemi and Suutari (2006): Kulttuurisesti monimuotoistuvien työyhteisöjen kehittäminen. Pitkittäistutkimus 15 työkuultuurin välittäjäryhmän toiminnasta ja vaikuttavuudesta. Ministry of Labor.

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Citizenship Education for an Age of Population Mobility and Glocally Interconnected Destinies

Abstract

Citizenship and citizenship education merit renewed scrutiny in our age of unprecedented transnational migration, fluid, intangible borders, and glocally interconnected destinies. The authors elaborate an emerging expression of citizenship, which they characterize as “civil-society” citizenship and contrast with “nominal” or legal citizenship. Civil-society citizenship is inclusive of newcomers as well as natives, inherently rich and active, and aterritorial. Its defining feature is participation in shared projects that increasingly involve transborder collaboration. To prepare for active civil-society citizenship in an era of population mobility, the authors suggest that the transnational-competence (TC) framework offers particularly promising educational guidelines. They propose new directions for citizenship education, including attention to developing life-long-learning opportunities in diverse experiential contexts and reconstituted formal curriculums that are centered around placed-based multicultural education enriched by comparative perspectives. As a result of their glocal experiences and the practical lessons they learn through the sustained process of spatial transition, migrants bring valuable skills and commitments to the contemporary civil-society-citizenship table. Improving the TC of authorities, educators, nominal citizens, migrants, and transmigrants empowers civil society and improves prospects that an expanded circle of participants will envision, initiate, design, and implement shared projects that address our interconnected destinies.

Citizenship Education for an Age of Population Mobility and Glocally Interconnected Destinies

Citizenship and citizenship education are notions that merit renewed scrutiny in our age of unprecedented transnational migration and fluid, intangible borders (Namm, 2006:A6). About one billion persons traverse nation-state borders annually and some 200 million people currently live outside their country of birth (Rosenau, 2003:64; Stalker, 2001:11). By 1995, Finland had accepted migrants from more than 150 nations “and a still greater diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, language and culture” (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997:14). A sizeable proportion of today’s ethnically and socially diverse transnational migrants – including the undocumented, mobile professionals and other guest workers, temporary visitors, circular movers, and first-generation immigrants – never receive nor seek naturalization

in their new living place.¹ Millions of others are dual (or multiple) nationals/citizens (Feldblum, 2000:478) and “dual nationality will continue to proliferate in a world of increasing mobility and interconnectedness” (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, 2002:27). Does citizenship education retain any value for Twenty-first Century migrants and their receiving societies?

In this article, we argue that citizenship education can still be meaningful and valuable for both migrant and receiving populations. Prevailing political and perceptual limitations surrounding nominal, or “passport,” citizenship require shifts in attention to civil-society expressions of active citizenship. Rather than common identity and territorially based rights, the defining and unifying feature of contemporary citizenship is participation in shared projects. Preparation for effective participation in collective efforts can be advanced by transnational-competence education.

Limitations of Nominal Citizenship

Nominal, or *de jure*, citizenship is acquired by birth or naturalization (Orentlicher, 1998:312–313). Today, nominal citizenship is distinguished by its formal (legal) status; that is, the state recognition it provides domestically and in international travel (see Gerber, 2006:248–249). Nominal citizenship assumes varying degrees of mainly political rights, responsibilities, and identity that many observers suggest have weakened in value and meaning among natives as well as newcomers, and are not united in a coherent framework (Delanty, 2000:126, 132).² The “thinning” of nominal citizenship can be attributed to two parallel phenomena: declines in perceptions of personal efficacy attributed to political participation and the small costs in terms of personal obligations associated with adding and retaining formal citizenships (Spiro, 2004:103).

Although the benefits of nominal citizenship over legal residence and employability are thin and diminishing in many states, state-supported obstacles to acquiring citizenship rights remain entrenched (Brysk and Shafir, 2004:6–7). Consequently, nominal citizenship is characterized by exclusiveness and divisiveness. One result of withholding political rights and responsibilities from migrants is the creation of millions of long-term resident/illegal “aliens” and the “resident alienated” (see Groenendijk, 1998:225–226).³ Too often, those not favored by grants of nominal citizenship are excluded from participation in national projects at the same time that officially recognized citizens increasingly are disinclined to engage in voluntary civic activity (Sassen, 2004:197; Putnam, 2001).⁴

For many natives, migrants, children of cross-national marriages, and dual or multiple citizens,⁵ moreover, thin formal citizenship that is confined to a single state or nation no longer reflects one’s paramount identity, interactions, and commitments (see Yin and Koehn, 2006; Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, 2002:23; Delanty, 2000:59; Spiro, 2004:101–103). Nominal citizenship can even lie dormant for long periods (Baubock, 2000:307). The boundaries of nation-states still matter when one seeks to traverse them, however. At minimum, therefore, nominal citizenship can be equated with passport acquisition.

Civil-society Citizenship: Practice and Potential

As Gerard Delanty (2000:126, 128) points out, “it no longer makes sense to speak of citizenship as if it were just one single model.” State-defined “passport citizenship” constitutes only one of the multiple and emerging citizenships exercised by individuals in an age marked by mobility. We characterize the principal responsible alternative to nominal citizenship as “civil-society” citizenship.⁶ Civil-society citizenship addresses the need for a new and inclusive conceptualization in an increasingly borderless and networked world where a growing number of residents of a nation-state lack passport citizenship and/or identity with a single nation (Castles and Davidson, 2000:viii, 24). Civil-society citizenship requires

neither birth nor residence in a space anchored in a particular territory. It is inherently active and is demonstrated informally by practice rather than acquired through any formal designation.⁷ Thus, civil-society citizenship is an empirical phenomenon and not a legal construct that is linked to a particular state or nation.⁸ Its defining feature is participation in collective projects.

Through civil-society citizenship, persons of diverse ethnicity, class backgrounds, and immigration status are united not by common identity or formal membership, but by cooperation (sometimes communicatively at great distance) in and commitment to shared projects. Generally speaking, shared projects involve “a bringing together of a diversity of perspectives and ideas in the formation of common solutions to common problems” (Waldron, 1991–1992:776–777). Interaction in common livelihood, health-care, educational, marketing, entertainment, development, community-improvement, scientific and research, and religious projects enables natives and migrants alike to engage in governance, exercise rights, and develop new and plural interdependencies and identities (Levitt, 2001; Levitt, DeWind, and Vertovec, 2003:569; Holford and van der Veen, 2003:2–6; Olwig and Sorensen, 2002: 10). Civil society cuts across the domains of state and nonstate actors (Delanty, 2000:143). Thus, shared projects can involve public agencies, NGOs, or both.⁹ The common ground that connects active citizens is similar to the feature that distinguishes member states of the European Union: “what they accomplish together, not what they are together” (Nicolaidis, 2006:199). In today’s multicultural states, extant civil-society citizenship based on shared goals, principles, challenges, and commitments is more authentic than is professing adherence to a common national identity (Waldron, 1991–1992:788; Holford and van der Veen, 2003:5, 87, 89).

In the contemporary world, we are especially challenged by projects that involve “glocal” governance (Delanty, 2000: 52, 59); that is, collective endeavors that connect and shape local and global initiatives and destinies. In Arjun Appadurai’s words (1996:4), “few persons in the world today do not have a friend, relative, or coworker who is not on the road to somewhere else or already coming back home, bearing stories and possibilities.” It is not an exaggeration to suggest that “a new [multilayered] citizenship of participation cannot succeed without engaging with transnational communication” (Delanty, 2000:129, 135).

Because of their transnational experiences and social fields, migrants are well-positioned to participate in territorial projects (for instance, Koehn, 2004; Koehn, 2001; Delanty, 2000:63; Sassen, 2004:199; Olwig and Sorensen, 2002: 9; Gerber, 2006:226–228).¹⁰ Civil-society citizenship, therefore, is inclusive of migrant as well as receiving populations. Since few contemporary projects are bereft of transnational implications, civil-society citizenship is simultaneously local, national, and deterritorialized. All residents possess opportunities to engage in civil-society expressions (see Sassen, 2004: 192, 198; Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, 2002:3) – informally, even the stateless are able to participate in certain civic activi-

ties and are expected to contribute. However, barriers to participation (discrimination, educational and credential impediments, lack of resources and/or information, power differentials, isolation from critical networks, lack of nominal citizenship) frequently must be overcome (see, for instance, Lipschutz, 2004:43–44). Even nominal citizens can be denied full civil-society citizenship – when they are excluded from participation in a chosen project. There is increasing recognition within the European Union, however, that residence carries a right to “participation in civic community” (Delanty, 2000: 130; Lipschutz, 2004:38) and that states “may not discriminate among noncitizens on the basis of race or nationality” (Orentlicher, 1998:321, 299, 312, 323–325). In a 2006 TNS Gallop poll commissioned by the Finnish Red Cross, a majority of Finnish respondents supported the opinion that everyone, specifically including foreigners living in Finland, should possess access to equal services and opportunities (*Helsingin Sanomat*, international edition, 22 March 2006; also see Pitkanen and Kouki, 2002).

Active civil-society citizenship is attractive “because it delivers rewards in process terms (meeting others, friendship, solidarity, something to do, meaning in life, sense of purpose, etc.) – not only because it delivers an end (e.g., a safer neighborhood)” (Holford, 2002:4). Because it taps into existing motivations and requires active participation as well as a high level of personal commitment, civil-society citizenship runs rich and substantial, although each citizen opts to participate in selective projects rather than in every sphere of activity, and can elect not to participate at all. Overlapping and dynamic plural identities and cultural mixing are integral and enriching in citizenship expressions rather than diminishing or marginalizing (also see Delanty, 2000:63–64, 131; Lipschutz, 2004:45; Holford and van der Veen, 2003:88). As Nicolaidis (2006:199; also see Lipschutz, 2004:41) explains, “forging common projects is no less demanding than forging a common identity, but it is voluntary and differentiated rather than essentialist and holistic.” Although a migrant or native need only participate in one shared domestic or transborder project through work, school, secular or religious voluntary association, political organization, etc., to be considered a civil-society citizen, low levels of participation “create practical obstacles to the success of their own projects, while encouraging others to view them as strangers rather than as collaborators ...” (Schuck, 1989:61). The expectation, therefore, is that the inclusiveness and motivation associated with active civil-society citizenship will regenerate community spirit (Holford, 2002:2), increase participation in collective projects, and open up viable avenues for social mobility (Schuck, 1989:63).

Learning Civil-society Citizenship

Institutions throughout the world are challenged to adopt relevant approaches to Twenty-first-century citizenship education. Glocal project participation requires a learning approach that is neither nationalist nor patriotic in focus. The goal of civil-

society-citizenship education is not student mastery of historical facts and institutional descriptions, passing a naturalization exam, or forging identification with a typically oversimplified, elite-inspired, artificially created, and static conceptualization of a nation-state or nation. The goal of civil-society-citizenship education is to prepare learners for active participation in shared projects and collective efforts aimed at promoting peaceful and harmonious living conditions that incorporate persons with diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. There are no restrictions placed on civil-society-citizenship education; any interested native or migrant learner is welcome. There are no formal examinations. The emphasis is on practice. One’s performance in collective activity is the only measure of learning.

Because common projects and collective efforts are not confined to nation-state borders, preparation for civil-society citizenship is inescapably transnational. Indeed, global warming, terrorism, threats to global health and human rights, unsustainable consumption, and rising economic inequities suggest that a compelling priority of civil-society-citizenship education must be preparing learners to participate in glocal projects that address transnational challenges where our interdependent destinies are at stake. In an age of dislocation, multiple-location, and globalizations, shared-project initiatives and interactions need to be informed and supported by enhanced educational capacity.

Individuals develop active citizenship in unique ways, depending on their educational backgrounds, life experiences, and interpersonal relationships (see Holford and van der Veen, 2003:5, 88). The transnational-competence (TC) framework (Koehn and Rosenau, 2002) offers particularly promising educational guidelines when preparing learners for civil-society citizenship, especially given the latter’s active emphasis and farsighted concern with shared glocal projects. The comprehensive set of practical skills that comprise the core of a TC education are intended to facilitate participation in the micro-level interpersonal civil-society interactions that occur in a social/power context and are directly and indirectly shaped by macrolevel (global, regional, national, and local) structural factors. There is evidence from projects involving migrant health care that TC is related to positive outcome assessments (Koehn, 2006a, 2006b). The benefits of TC are most fully realized when all project participants are transnationally competent.

The TC framework explicitly encompasses five discrete, but mutually reinforcing, skill domains. Transnational competence involves mastery of analytic, emotional, creative/imaginative, communicative, and functional skills. Each skill domain encompasses multiple dimensions. The multiple and complex dimensions of TC are demanding and civil-society-citizenship education is always formative; that is, one’s level of TC can always be enhanced.

Transnational Analytic Skills

The analytic domain of TC preparation focuses on developing the ability to gather, analyze, and transfer evidence rather than

on storing knowledge (also see Holford and van der Veen, 2003:32). In particular, TC education recognizes the necessity to probe beyond ethnicity/culture into historical, political, and institutional determinants of opportunity and action. As Moustafa Bayoumi (2004:A4) observes, “by obsessively focusing on culture, we avoid talking about history, economics and politics.” Moreover, persons possessing transnational analytic skill are able to comprehend and critically appraise the domestic and transboundary forces that affect the outcomes of common projects. Analytically skillful project participants are able to identify relevant capabilities and vulnerabilities. Another critical transnational analytic skill is the ability to ascertain the role of ethnocultural beliefs, values, practices, and paradoxes. TC education enables learners to discern the specific influence of ethnic and class considerations in the different/similar explanatory models and decision-making processes of diverse project counterparts.

Transnational Emotional Skills

Transnational emotional competence includes the ability to express interest in unfamiliar cultural patterns – language, family life, culinary practices, customs, etc. – and the ability to gain and maintain genuine respect for a multiplicity of values, beliefs, traditions, experiences, challenges, preferred communication styles, and feelings of satisfaction and emotional distress stemming from social circumstances. Among learners preparing for civil-society encounters with persons of multiple nationalities and diverse identities, the emotional skill domain is developed through interest in interacting with ethnically, culturally, and economically diverse individuals. Among civil-society citizens engaged in shared projects, the application of transnational emotional skills requires a “willingness to try” to decipher the thoughts and perspectives of one’s collaborators and to respond empathically with an appropriate emotion of one’s own. Emotionally competent citizens also are resilient and able to manage plural identities and influences.

Transnational Creative/Imaginative Skills

The freeing up of imaginative capacities is a powerful force for positive project outcomes. A key creative skill for global projects is the ability to initiate fruitful new connections among distant and proximate dimensions of the civil-society project environment. Skillful civil-society citizens are “creative synthesizers” (Bochner, 1981:17) who foresee, articulate, and leverage the synergistic potential of diverse perspectives. In addition, they value collaboration with, and are able to inspire, project participants of diverse and plural identities in the co-design and nurturing of innovative and contextually appropriate plans. In the interest of preparing creative citizens, TC education emphasizes flexibility and adaptability when confronted with unique and unfamiliar situations. Imagination also “makes empathy possible” by lending “credence to alternative realities” (Greene, 1995:3).

Transnational Communicative Facility

Effective communication is a core competency in civil-society interactions. Transnational communicative facility is advanced by multiple-language skills, effective interpretation and use of interpreters, proficiency in nonverbal-communicative behavior, and speech-simplification strategies and the use of “continuers” to ensure that participants are not rushed, prematurely interrupted, ignored, or incompletely understood (Wooldridge, 2001). In addition, communication-recovery skills, such as humor, apology, and admission that one does not know everything, “reinforce confidence as well as competence because, when it is known that there is something to fall back on, one is less likely to avoid interactions that may prove difficult” (Kavanagh, 1999:245). The capacity to engage in meaningful dialogue and to facilitate mutual self-disclosure via questioning is particularly important in civil-society situations characterized by vast social distance. Similarly, a prerequisite for negotiating appropriate plans and commitment to shared-project agreements is that all participants are comfortable expressing serious doubts, concerns, and constructive challenges.

Transnational Functional Competence

The final TC domain is focused on exercising agency in unfamiliar action contexts. Functional competence involves the interpersonal as well as technical ability to accomplish tasks and achieve objectives. Skills in establishing positive interpersonal relations and building mutual trust and in establishing helpful interpersonal as well as interinstitutional connections (Holford and van der Veen, 2003:3) are particularly valuable for the functional domain of TC. Keys to success in building fruitful transnational relationships include demonstrating genuine and sustained personal as well as professional interest in project counterparts. The functional dimension of transnational competence is promoted by establishing durable partnerships and skillfully navigating glocal networks (see Lipschutz, 2004:48) and conflicts. In the interest of addressing transgenerational challenges that affect glocally interconnected destinies, functional adroitness necessitates advocacy competence; that is, recommendations/actions that will generate upstream and downstream changes in domestic and international economic, social, institutional, and policy conditions that produce systemic disparities. It is likely to be particularly rewarding for functional skill development to focus students’ advocacy attention on local “hot spots.”

Proposed Directions for Citizenship Education

Active civil-society citizenship is primarily promoted by experiential learning in multiple and diverse (local, national, and transnational) contexts. People learn citizenship mainly by practicing it (Holford, 2002:3); that is, “through trying to solve a problem or to fulfil [sic] a mission” (Holford and van der Veen, 2003:8). This means that citizenship educa-

tion involves life-long learning (also see Holford and van der Veen, 2003:6).

Life-long Learning Opportunities

Nonstate, as well as state-based, forms of governance offer valuable sites for enhancing civil-society citizenship.¹¹ In addition, active citizenship education is neither universal nor predictable (Holford, 2002:3). Since people practice civil-society citizenship in selective, specific, and often temporary or periodic contexts (Levitt, DeWind, and Vertovec, 2003: 570; Holford and van der Veen, 2003:8) that are shaped, in part, by experiences of inclusion and exclusion, they will learn different (and variable) skills. For receiving-society populations as well as migrants, developing transnational competence is a huge asset for active participation in common projects because life's challenges increasingly revolve around transnational encounters in local, regional, national, and international contexts.

In pursuit of the principal objectives of enhanced critical thinking, stereotype busting, interpersonal cooperation, problem solving, and successful project collaboration, TC education aims to move learners beyond sensitivity into responsiveness. Experiential approaches, such as role plays, overseas immersion, involvement in community service-learning projects, and carefully designed internships and advocacy initiatives, are well-suited (when combined with feedback and guided reflection) to developing transnational competence in all areas of educational preparation. Advocacy-learning initiatives include formulating specific place-based legal, policy, institutional-reform, and social-justice proposals as well as public-education efforts that address short- and long-term constraints on active citizenship. Measures that remove or erode structural barriers to civil-society-citizenship learning are especially important; active-citizenship-enabling conditions include support for language training; provision of child care (Holford, 2002:4; Dayib, 2005:47), household services (Maher, 2004:132), and transportation assistance; removal of all forms of discrimination; and open access to meaningful interaction opportunities in both mainstream and ethnic communities (Alitolappa-Niitamo, 2004:125).

To realize the full potential of civil-society citizenship, service providers should be trained to reinforce and expand the capacity of migrants and other underserved populations to tap into existing family, ethnic-community, and transnational resources. These resources include positive place-of-origin practices that often need to be protected from cultural erosion in the receiving society. Enhanced resilience enables civil-society citizens to participate more deeply and effectively in shared projects and to interact confidently with government decision makers.¹²

Reconstituting Primary and Secondary Citizenship Education

Preparation for active-citizenship skills can be greatly enhanced by effective formal education programs at the pri-

mary and secondary levels. The most effective method of nurturing civil-society citizenship would begin in primary schools and continue through secondary and post-secondary education. Citizenship education has been part of school curriculums around the world for decades. However, its goals and forms have varied across national borders and over time (Heater, 2004).¹³ We propose that citizenship education be framed as a form place-based multicultural education that is enriched by comparative perspectives.

Place-based citizenship education should be integrated into mainstream content subjects such as Reading, Writing, Social Studies, Science, Language Arts, and History. The combination of place-based education, inclusive multicultural education, and a comparative approach offers a promising new direction for formal citizenship education.

Citizenship Education as a Form of Place-based Education. How can the local teach us about the global? What is the link between education about the place and education about the world? What is the relationship between local community interests and cosmopolitan citizens? A place-based approach to citizenship education provides the key connections.

Learning occurs through experience (Dewey, 1938), and experiences are contextualized in a local place. Face-to-face local interactions that activate all senses are powerful place-based learning vehicles for facilitating skill development (Hannerz, 1996). The local is the place where the multicultural competencies required for global living are nurtured, tested, and applied. Involvement in a local environment that allows for daily interactions with persons of diverse backgrounds is a form of multicultural education that enhances transcultural and transsocial competencies. Thus, formal, place-based, civil-society citizenship education should be designed to help learners develop transferable competencies by experiencing a local culture. For instance, learning about the indigenous history of the place or about the history of a local immigrant group (successful and unsuccessful experiences) helps students identify effective transnational transaction strategies and develop the ability to articulate collaborative syntheses. Analyzing contemporary issues from the perspective of local ethnic groups constitutes a learning process that contributes to the development of flexible ability to employ an extensive and complex range of multicultural accommodative strategies and interaction paths and the ability to overcome conflicts and accomplish project objectives when dealing with global challenges. Participating in community cultural events and traditional practices allows learners to develop self-confidence in unfamiliar circumstances, the ability to manage multiple identities, and the ability to relate to and maintain positive interpersonal relationships with people of diverse backgrounds.

Inclusive Multicultural Education Based on a Comparative Approach. Learning to be local in order to be global is beneficial for all. In order for place-based citizenship education to be relevant in an era of global migration, the overarching goal of curriculum reconstitution should be to help all learners develop transnational competence that is useful in the mixed community, the larger diverse society, and a world of multiple

globalizations (Rosenau, 2004). Citizenship education, as a form of multicultural education, can serve many purposes. For instance, minority-language education promotes interest in cultures other than the mainstream. Learning a language other than one's first language or English introduces students to new perspectives. Teaching a minority language allows learners to develop cross-cultural sensitivity and become aware of the diversity that exists in the world (Ngai, 2004). Being exposed to a local non-mainstream language helps students appreciate that "my" way is not the only way. Such understandings prepare learners to accept differences among cultural groups and to live peacefully and work collaboratively with people of diverse backgrounds locally and beyond.

By learning to compare one's own perspectives and unique style with those of the mainstream, new arrivers not only are able to distinguish their identity; they also develop understandings that allow them to move comfortably between mainstream society and their ethnic community without needing to choose to belong to one or the other. Today's students need to learn to handle fluid identities and associations (de Courtivron, 2000). For instance, if mainstream learners are guided to compare the local indigenous (e.g., Sami) heritage with that of their own, they gain an understanding not only of the place, but of their own selves as shaped by the mainstream culture. Thus, inclusive multicultural education for civil-society citizenship overrides divisions between majority and minority, "we" and "they." To prepare for active participation in projects that address today's glocally interconnected destinies, reconstituted forms of formal citizenship education will engage students with events, issues, and concepts from the perspectives of various groups and a variety of nations (Banks 1991, 1997).

Conclusion

Expanding active citizenship is a critical component of democratic governance. Our era of global migration has facilitated development of a new form of citizenship – civil-society citizenship – alongside formal (nominal) citizenship status. Maximizing active civil-society citizenship primarily depends upon transnational competence rather than on nominal or passport citizenship, class, ethnicity, or competence in a single "other" culture (see Faist, 2000:197). As a result of their glocal experiences and the practical lessons they learn through the sustained process of spatial transition, migrants bring valuable skills and commitments to the contemporary civil-society-citizenship table. They possess a "presence" that signals the possibilities of an active project-centered citizenship that operates both locally and transnationally (Sassen, 2004:207).

Meaningful civil-society citizenship is a daily challenge for all population groups – regardless of one's legal citizenship status. Because "we are all migrants" (Faist, 2000:217) in a world of virtual mobility and transcultural diffusion and mixing, everyone needs TC for today's face-to-face and remote interpersonal interactions. Active civil-society citizenship is thickened when participants in common glocal projects pos-

sess transnational competence. Improving the TC of authorities, educators, nominal citizens, migrants, and transmigrants empowers civil society and improves prospects that an expanded circle of participants will envision, initiate, design, and implement shared projects that address our interconnected destinies. In Finland as well as in more ethnically diverse societies in both North and South, active civil-society citizenship promises to promote mutual adaptation, reduce conflict, increase participation in new forms of governance, and prepare long-term residents, recent arrivers, and new generations for tomorrow's glocal challenges.

Notes

- 1 Based on 1980 U.S. census results, only 56 per cent of all eligible immigrants who had resided in the USA for more than 20 years had adopted U.S. citizenship (cited in Schuck, 1989:57; also see Groenendijk, 1998:235; Jacobson, 1996:9, 64).
- 2 From the perspective of many migrants residing in the United States, naturalization offers few tangible personal benefits (particularly in terms of employment and income-earning opportunities and welfare entitlements) over denizen status (Heller, 2001:214–215; Schuck, 1989:58, 65; Soysal, 1994:132, 137). This development emerged, in part, as a result of expanded recognition and respect of individual human rights (Soysal, 1994:145–148, 164).
- 3 In contrast to prevailing policy with regard to formal citizenship status, Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer (2002:8) recommend that "third-generation foreign nationals be entitled to [rapid, secure, and nondiscretionary] citizenship at birth and that second-generation foreign nationals have access to virtually automatic citizenship"
- 4 Some naturalized citizens are excluded from participation in social projects by informal barriers such as racism (see Dayib, 2005:44).
- 5 About 75 per cent of the immigrants admitted to the United States between 1961 and 1997 came from countries that recognize dual or multiple citizenship (Sassen, 2002:B11). The 1997 European Convention on Nationality explicitly allows dual citizenship.
- 6 Craig Janes (2004:463; also 466–467) points out that the most common usage of the term civil society "refers to that social space between state and household and includes all organizations not formally considered part of government or individual households."
- 7 The social-action core of civil-society citizenship distinguishes it from Marshall's passive conceptualization of "social citizenship" (see Delanty, 2000:16–17, 19).
- 8 "Cosmopolitan" citizenship also is decoupled and detached from both state and nation (see Delanty, 2000:52, 95).
- 9 On the changes needed in Europe's NGO community, see Baubock (2000:309). On the ability of transnational citizens to resist state attempts to divert energies from genuine local development initiatives that cross borders, see Smith (2003).
- 10 See the transnational project examples cited in Itzigsohn, et al. (1999:331–332).
- 11 John Holford and Ruud van der Veen (2003:90) maintain that "the importance of social movements as learning sites has been underestimated ... in the field of adult education."
- 12 For instance, enhanced resilience promotes the ability of new arrivals to participate in the growing practice of "interactive policy making" at the subnational level in Finland (Holford and van der Veen, 2003:63, 86).
- 13 For an excellent discussion of the more traditional form of citizenship education being practiced in Russia, see Piattoeva (2005).

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Miikka Pyykkönen

Etnisyys liikkeessä – Maahanmuuttajien yhdistysten liikuntatoiminnan etniskulttuuriset diskurssit

Abstrakti

Lähes kaikäntyyppiset maahanmuuttajayhdistykset järjestävät liikuntatoimintaa Suomessa. Liikuntatoiminnan ja etnisyyden suhde jakautuu sen mukaan ovatko yhdistykset orientoituneet toiminnassaan edustamansa etnisen ryhmän identiteettiin ja kulttuuriin, "valtaväestöön" ja uuteen elinympäristöön vai monikulttuurisuuteen. Erilaiset orientaatiot nojaavat kukin eri tietomuodostelmiin ja puhetapoihin, joita yhdistykset tuottavat ja uusintavat myös liikuntatoiminnassaan. Yhdistysten suuntautumista analysoidaan artikkelissa kolmen erilaisen diskursiivisen muodostuman kautta: (i) etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssin, (ii) kotoutumisen diskurssin ja (iii) etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssin. Etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssissa liikunta yhdistetään lähtömaasta periytyvien identiteettien, merkitysten ja sosiaalisten järjestysten osittaiseen säilyttämiseen uudessa elinympäristössä. Kotoutumisen diskurssissa yhdistysten liikuntatoiminnan tarkoitus on sopeuttaa maahanmuuttajia suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan. Etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssissa liikunta ymmärretään tilaksi, jossa kulttuurit ja identiteetit sekoittuvat tai niiden merkitys ihmisten välisiä suhteita organisoivina tekijöinä häviää. Erilaisia etnisyysorientaatioita ja niistä kertovia diskursseja lähestytään artikkelin lopuksi diasporan käsitteen avulla. Kulttuurisen tradition diskurssin ja osalle kotoutumisen diskurssin yhdistyksiä liikuntatoiminnassa on kyse symbolisesta kotiinpaluusta. Hybridisyyden diskurssin yhdistyksille liikunta on taas kyse enemmän tai vähemmän tietoista pyrkimystä elää diasporassa syntyneen paikan ja identiteetin katkoksen kanssa.

– *Pelimme on siirtojen ja tulkintojen muodostama verkosto. Se on teksti: ulkoisten siirtojen sarja. Jokainen siirtomme ja tulkintamme siirrosta on vastaus jonkun toisen siirtoon ja tulkintaan. Jokaisessa yksittäisessä siirrosta, olkoon se muodoltaan mitä tahansa, kuvastuu pelin koko sosiaalisten suhteiden verkosto. Jokaisessa siirrosta on sitä seuraavan siirron odotushorisontti. Mutta kirjoitamme joukkuepelin rivien väliin muutakin, sellaista, joka ei kuulu "itse peliin": sosiaalisia kasvoja, rituaalista kasvotyötä, "itseämme". Minä neuvottelen yhdessä toisten kanssa monisäikeisten kohteliaisuusrituaalien kautta itselleni sosiaaliset kasvoni: sekä "negatiiviset" että "positiiviset" kasvoni, yhtäältä riippumattomuuteni ja toisaalta muilta saamani hyväksynnän. Teen samalla vastapalveluksen toisille. Tuemme toistemme kasvotyötä – emme pelkäämme pelata palloa. Tai emme tue, emmekä pelaa palloa. (Veijola 1992, 223–224.)*

Johdanto

Liikunnalle ja urheilulle on tunnetusti annettu keskeinen merkitys maahanmuuttaja-asioissa (Myrén 2003). Liikuntaharrastuksiin liitetään ihmisten uudessa elinympäristössä ennen kaikkea fyysisen ja psyykkisen kunnon ylläpitämistä sekä sosiaalisten kontaktien muodostaminen koskevia tavoitteita. Mutta onko siinä kaikki? Vuosien 2002–2004 aikana tamperelaisilta ja jyvaskyläläisiltä maahanmuuttajayhdistyksiltä ja maahanmuuttajille suunnatuilta projekteilta keräämäni aineiston perusteella ei ole.

Uusien ruokakulttuurien ja niin kutsuttujen etnisten taiteiden ohella liikunta on monikulttuurisuuden näkyvin ja tunnistetuin muoto Suomessa. Maahanmuuttajien omat perinteiset lajit ja heidän osallistumisensa valtaväestön kanssa samoihin lajeihin nähdään yhtenä merkinä yhteiskunnan ja paikallis-

yhteisöjen monikulttuurisoitumisesta. Kuten ruoissa ja taiteissa, liikunnassakin on kyse samanaikaisesti etnisestä rajattamisesta ja dialogista rajojen yli. Yhtäältä se vahvistaa etnistä yhteisöllisyyttä monin eri tavoin, mutta toisaalta tutustuttaa etnisten ryhmien jäseniä toisiinsa. Maahanmuuttajat ja suomalaiset aktiivisesti osallistuvat liikuntatoimintaan samanaikaisesti kuitenkin useammin kuin taiteissa tai ruokien parissa. Liikunta edistääkin eri etnisiin ryhmiin kuuluvien välistä vuorovaikutusta hyvin ruumiillisesti ja osallistavasti.

Olen artikkelissa kiinnostunut siitä, miten maahanmuuttajayhdistykset liikuntatoiminnassaan merkityksellistävät ja representoivat osallistujiansa etniskulttuurisia identiteettejä. Lähestyn aihetta liikuntatoiminnan diskurssien kautta. Olen siis kiinnostunut liikuntatoiminnan muodoista, joissa maahanmuuttajat toistavat tai 'toisin toistavat' (Butler 1993) lähtömaasta tuttuja etnisiä identiteettejään eleissä, liikkeissä ja lausumissa.

Fyysisen kunnonkohotuksen kaltaisten ilmeisten funktioiden lisäksi yhdistysten ja projektien liikuntatoiminnalla on suuri merkitys maahanmuuttajien käsitykselle omasta itsestään ja suhteestaan muihin. Yhtäältä liikunnan ympärillä muodostuvat merkityksenannot ovat tärkeä osa diasporisen etnisyyden rakentumista: se edistää kulttuurien ja kielten säilyttämistä sekä yhteenkuuluvuuden tunteen muodostumista tietyn ryhmän jäsenten välille. Liikunta toimii monesti tämän kaltaisena etnisyyden performatiivisena representaationa myös suhteessa etnisen ryhmän ”ulkopuolisiin”, yleensä valtaväestöön. Valtaväestön suusta kuullut ilmaukset kuten ”iranilaiset painivat” tai ”kurdinaiset tanssivat perinteisiä tanssejaan” heijastavat sitä, että tietyistä liikuntamuodoista tulee usein tiettyjen etnisyyksien rakennusainetta. Toisaalta yhä useammat toimijat näkevät nykyisin yhdistysten ja projektien liikuntatoiminnan edistävän maahanmuuttajien kotoutumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan ja yhteenkuuluvuutta valtaväestöön.

Osalle puolestaan liikuntatoiminta merkitsee etnisesti ja kulttuurisesti hybridisten identiteettimuodostumien prosessoimista. On niitäkin toimijoita, jotka näkevät liikuntatoiminnan etnisyyden ”pakopisteenä”; yhdessä liikkuminen nousee etnisten tai kansallisten identifikaatioiden ja disidentifikaatioiden yläpuolelle.

Aineistona artikkelissa on käytetty 23 jyvaskyläläisen ja tamperelaisen maahanmuuttajayhdistyksen haastattelua ja seitsemälle projektille samoissa kaupungeissa tehtyjä haastatteluja, sekä Monitori lehden vuosikertoja 2000–2004.

Maahanmuuttajayhdistykset, -projektit ja liikuntatoiminta

Olen jaotellut jyvaskyläläiset ja tamperelaiset maahanmuuttajien yhdistykset yhdeksään erilaiseen kategoriaan niiden itselleen antamiensa toimintatarkoitusten ja päämäärien sekä niiden jäsen- ja kohderyhmien mukaisesti (Pyykkönen 2007). Suurin osa maahanmuuttajayhdistyksiä on niin sanottuja *etniskulttuurisia yhdistyksiä*. Niiden jäsenet ja toiminnan kohteet kuuluvat tiettyyn etniseen tai kansalliseen ryhmään (esim.

Kurdit, Afgaanit tai Venäläiset) ja pääasiallisena tarkoituksena on edistää tämän etnisen tai kansallisen ryhmän kulttuurista vuorovaikutusta ja kiinteyttä tietyllä alueella (vrt. Wahlbeck 1999, 152–179).

Monikulttuurisuusyhdistysten pääasiallinen tarkoitus Jyväskylässä ja Tampereella on kulttuuriset rajat ylittävän vuorovaikutuksen lisääminen paikallisten asukkaiden keskuudessa ja rasismien ja syrjinnän vähentäminen. Niiden monietninen jäsenistö koostuu yleensä yhteiskunnallisesti aktiivisista maahanmuuttajista ja valtaväestön edustajista.

Tutkimuskaupunkien *uskonnolliset yhdistykset* jaan yksijiä monietnisiin. Yksietniset uskonnolliset yhdistykset edistävät tietyn uskonnon harjoittamista jonkin maahanmuuttajaryhmän keskuudessa. Monietniset uskonnolliset yhdistykset puolestaan edistävät tietyn uskonnon harjoittamista maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa yli etnisten rajojen. (Vrt. Martikainen 2004, 206–223.)

Kaupunkien *naisten yhdistykset* jakautuvat myös yksi- ja monietnisiin sen perusteella, onko niiden toiminta tarkoitettu vain yhden etnisen ryhmän jäsenille vai ylittykö jäsen- ja kohderyhmässä etniset ja kansalliset rajat. Yksietnisten naisten yhdistysten tarkoitus on edistää tietyn etnisyyden jakavien naisten sosiaalista vuorovaikutusta ja kulttuuritoimintaa. Monietnisisissä yhdistyksissä tarkoitus on puolestaan edistää naisten monikulttuurista vuorovaikutusta ja ajaa naisten asemaa ”laajemmalla rintamalla”.

Jaottelu yksi- ja monietnisiin pätee Tampereen ja Jyväskylän *nuorten yhdistyksiinkin*. Yksietniset vahvistavat jonkin tietyn etnisen ryhmän nuorten keskinäistä vuorovaikutusta ja pyrkivät vaikuttamaan heidän asemaansa järjestämällä heille esimerkiksi harrastus- ja työllistymistoimintaa. Monietnisisillä yhdistyksillä samat pyrkimykset kohdistuvat etnisesti heterogeenisempaan nuorten ryhmään. (ks. myös Pyykkönen 2003.)

Viime vuosien uusia tulokkaita yhdistyskentällä ovat *liikuntayhdistykset*. Myös ne jakautuvat yksi- ja monietnisiin perustarkoituksenaan edistää toimintaan osallistuvien fyysistä ja psyykkistä terveyttä. Yksietniset liikuntayhdistykset lisäävät ”sivutuotteena” etnisen ryhmän jäsenten välistä sosiaalista vuorovaikutusta ja solidaarisuutta. Monietniset liikuntayhdistykset sen sijaan tukevat kontaktien muodostumista eri maahanmuuttajaryhmiin kuuluvien sekä maahanmuuttajien ja valtaväestön välille.

Uusiin tulokkaisiin Tampereella ja Jyväskylässä kuuluvat myös yksi- ja monietniset *taideyhdistykset*. Yksietniset edistävät ryhmän keskuudessa lähtömaasta periytyvien taiteenlajien tai lähtömaata koskevan taiteen harrastamista (esim. elokuva- ja tanssiyhdistykset). Monietniset puolestaan pyrkivät taiteen keinoin edesauttamaan monikulttuurista vuorovaikutusta ja puuttuvat toiminnassaan rasismia ja etnistä syrjintää koskeviin kysymyksiin (esim. teatteriryhmät).

Jyväskylän ja Tampereen *kotouttamisyhdistykset* pyrkivät nimensä mukaisesti edistämään maahanmuuttajien kotoutumista lain ja alueellisten kotouttamisohjelmien hengessä. Ne poikkeavat edellisistä kolmessa mielessä. Ensinnäkin niillä on maahanmuuttajien kulttuureihin ja etnisyyteen edellisistä tyy-

peistä poikkeava suhde: toimintaa ei määritä niinkään toimijoiden suhde omiin kulttuureihinsa kuin suhde suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan ja kulttuuriin. Toisaalta kotouttamisyhdistyksiä erottaa muista niiden jäsenrakenne. Maahanmuuttajien kanssa yhdistyksiä pyörittävät suomalaissyntyiset toimijat, usein kaupunkien viranomaiset. Kolmanneksi ne poikkeavat edellisistä siinä, että toiminnan rationaalisuus tulee lähes suoraan suomalaisen hallinnon määrittelyistä. Vaikka varsinaisia kotouttamisyhdistyksiä on vähän – Jyväskylässä ja Tampereella yhteensä neljä – liittävät monet muun tyyppiset yhdistykset suuremman rahoituksen toivossa toimintaansa kotouttamisohjelmien mukaisia pyrkimyksiä, kuten suomenkielen opetusta ja maahanmuuttajien kursittamista (Pyykkönen 2006b).

Myös kaupungeissa toimivat *koalitioyhdistykset* poikkeavat selvästi yksi- tai monietnisistä maahanmuuttajayhdistyksistä. Ne ovat jo olemassa olevien maahanmuuttajayhdistysten ja yhdistysmuotoon järjestäytymättömien etnisten ryhmien edustajien muodostamia liittoja. Niiden pyrkimyksenä on toimia maahanmuuttajien yhteisenä paikallisena tai alueellisenä intressiryhmänä ja edustuselimenä.

Pelkästään vuonna 2004 Jyväskylässä ja Tampereella toimi yhteensä 16 *maahanmuuttajaprojektia*. Suurin osa niistä oli julkisen sektorin toimijoiden (TE-keskukset tai kaupunkien maahanmuuttajapalveluista vastaavat yksiköt) organisoimia ja hallinnoimia. Toiseksi suurin osa oli suurten ”suomalaisen järjestöjen” paikallisosastojen tai säätiöiden muodostamia (esim. Nokian SPR ja Tekevä säätiö Jyväskylässä). Ainoastaan yksi projekti näistä oli maahanmuuttajayhdistyksen organisoima ja hallinnoima. Monissa julkishallinnollisten toimijoiden tai ”suomalaisjärjestöjen” projekteissa maahanmuuttajayhdistykset olivat mukana kumppaneina, esimerkiksi vastaamassa jonkun tietyn toiminnon järjestämisestä tai edustamassa jotain ryhmää. Projektien yleisin tarkoitus oli maa-

hanmuuttajien kotouttaminen. Sitä on edistetty niin antamalla kieli- ja kansalaistaito-opetusta kuin työllistämällä ja järjestämällä harrastustoimintaa, joka tukee sosiaalisten kontaktien syntymistä.

Lajien valikoitumisen ja yhdistystyyppien väliselle yhteydelle ei ole yhtä selitystä. Yleisin perustelu lajille haastatteluisissa on, että sitä on toivottu yhdistykseltä. Monet yhdistykset kertovat kokeilleensa muitakin lajeja ja harrastuksia kuin mitä jatkuvasti tarjoavat, mutta ovat päätyneet nykyisiinsä osallistujien toivomuksesta.

Kuten taulukosta huomataan, useat lajit ovat kaupunkien yhdistyskentillä universaaleja. Lajit ja harrastukset, kuten jalkapallo, lentopallo, tanssi (mukaan lukien perinteiset ja universaalit tanssit) ja jumppa ylittävät etniset ja yhdistystyyppien rajat. Syy on yleensä lajien kansainvälisyydessä ja joissain tapauksissa siinä, että yhdistysaktiivit ajattelevat niiden olevan suosittuja valtaväestön keskuudessa, jolloin niiden avulla on helpompi lähestyä syntyperäistä paikallisväestöä. Jalkapallo on lähestulkoon ainoa laji, joka ylittää tässä mielessä kaikki yhdistys- ja kulttuurirajat, jättäen kuitenkin jäljelle sukupuolten välisen rajan. Tosin jotkut yhdistykset ovat pyrkivät vaikuttamaan tähänkin asiaan ja järjestävät yhteisiä jalkapalloharjoituksia tytöille ja pojille. Vaikka lajit ovatkin universaaleja, niille annetut merkitykset vaihtuvat. Kulttuurista yhtenäisyyttä kurdien keskuudessa ajavat yhdistykset merkityksellistävät jalkapallon pelaamisen eri tavoin kuin monikulttuuristen kontaktien synnyttämiseen pyrkivät yhdistykset.

Projektien kohdalla monet lajeista ovat osa toimintarepertuaaria, koska niiden katsotaan olevan suomalaisia ja näin kotouttavan maahanmuuttajia. Projektien lajivariaatio on lisäksi yhdistyksiä suurempi, koska niillä on viranomais- ja muiden verkostokytkönsä ansiosta selvästi yhdistyksiä enemmän resursseja käytössään.

Yhdistystyyppi/projekti	Liikunta-toimintaa	Lajit/harrastusmuodot (yleisyysjärjestyksessä)
Etniskulttuuriset yhdistykset	9/21	Jalkapallo, lentopallo, koripallo, sähly, tanssi/jumppa, nyrkkeily
Uskonnolliset yhdistykset	2/9	Jalkapallo, lentopallo, (naisten) uinti
Naisten yhdistykset	3/4	Uinti, jumppa, tanssi
Nuorten yhdistykset	3/4	Jalkapallo, sähly, koripallo, uinti, luistelu
Monikulttuurisuusyhdistykset	5/9	Jalkapallo, lentopallo, sähly, koripallo, tanssi, hiihto, pilkki
Kotouttamisyhdistykset	1/4	Jalkapallo, uinti, jumppa
Koalitioyhdistykset	0/4	-
Liikuntayhdistykset	3/3	Jalkapallo, lentopallo, nyrkkeily, kuntosali
Taideyhdistykset	0/5	-
Maahanmuuttajaprojektit	10/16	Jalkapallo, (naisten) uinti, (naisten) jumppa/voimistelu, kuntosali, tanssi, lentopallo, sulkapallo, itsepuolustuslajit

Taulukko 1. Kuinka suuri osa eri tyyppisistä yhdistyksistä tai projekteista järjesti liikuntatoimintaa Tampereella ja Jyväskylässä vuonna 2004, sekä yleisimmät lajit.

Etnisyyden diskursiiviset muodostumat

Monissa viimeaikaisissa tutkimuksissa etnisyyttä on tarkasteltu diskurssina. Se on ”tapa rakentaa merkityksiä, jotka suuntaavat ja järjestävät sekä toimintaamme että käsityksiämme itses-tämme” (Hall 1999, 47). Etnisyys saa merkityksensä diskursiivisen alueella – tiettyjen historialliskulttuuristen ja diskursiivisten olosuhteiden ja käytäntöjen kehityksessä, niiden asettamisen rajoituksin ja mahdollisuuksin. Etnisyyttä (esimerkiksi suomalaisuutta) koskevat diskursiiviset muodostumat ovat syntyneet sitä tietyllä tapaa representoivista ja tietyn suhteen siihen ottavista lausumista, jotka eivät ole täysin synonyymisiä keskenään, vaan niissä on myös merkityseroja, mutta nämä ovat säännönmukaisia ja systemaattisia, ‘jakautumisen järjestelmän’ (Foucault 1972, 38) lain alaisia.

Diskurssilla viitataan tässä sekä kielelliseen käytäntöön että tiedon muodostelmaan. Erotan diskurssissa Norman Fairclough’n (1997, 31) tapaan kaksi ulottuvuutta: kyse on toisaalta sosiaalisesta toiminnasta ja ihmisten välisestä vuorovaikutuksesta, toisaalta todellisuuden sosiaalisesta konstruktioista, tiedon muodosta. Diskurssin ulottuvuudet muodostuvat niistä käytännöistä tai prosesseista, joissa merkityksiä tuotetaan, ja näiden käytäntöjen ”lopputuotteista”, merkitysjärjestelmistä, jotka mahdollistavat tietynlaiset puhuvat ja sulkevat pois toiset (Hall 1999, 98–99). Ihminen jatkuvasti sekä käyttää että tuottaa diskursseja.

Monet kulttuurintutkijat ovat tarkastelleet liikuntaa samalla tavoin kuin muutakin arkitoimintaa: kielessä ja teoissa tuotettujen merkitysten kautta (Townson 1997). Taustalla on ajatus, että toiminta tulee tutkijan käsitettäväksi ja käsiteltäväksi ”sikäli kun se on jo saanut kielellisen esityksen” (Sulkunen 1997, 42), oli pa se tutkijan ulottuvilla sitten puhuttuna, tekstinä tai muutoin aistittavissa olevana. Sosiaalista toimintaa tulee tarkastella kuin puhuttua kieltä, vaikka sitä ei puheessa tai tekstissä representoitaistakaan, koska kaikki toiminta jättää esiintymiskontekstiinsa ”jälkiä, joita voidaan tutkia kuin merkkejä” (emt., 27). Liikunnassa ilmenevä liikekin on ’merkityksiä tuottavaksi käytäntö’.

Diskurssianalyysini perustuu litteroitujen haastattelujen ja lehtiaineistojen sekä niitä kehystävien diskurssin tuottamisen kontekstien ja laajemman sosiokulttuurisen kontekstin välisen yhteyksien selvittämiseen (vrt. Fairclough 1997). Analysoin ensinnäkin sitä, miten tietty representaatio etnisyydestä liikunnassa suhteutuu puhuntatilanteeseen ja itse puhujan subjektiasemaan. Toiseksi sitä, miten koko sosiaalisen vuorovaikutuksen konteksti (maahanmuuttajayhdistysten ja -projektien liikuntatoiminta) etnisyyden representaatioon vaikuttaa. Kolmanneksi tarkastelen yhteiskunnallisten instituutioiden ja rakenteiden vaikutusta puhujiin ja tekstiin.

Etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssi

Etnisen koheesion syntyminen maahanmuuttajaryhmien keskuudessa on hankalaa akkulturaatiopaineiden vuoksi (vrt. Perales 2000, 245). Suomessa Kotouttamislaki sisällyttää maahanmuuttajien kotoutumiseen heidän kielensä ja kulttuurinsa

säilyttämisen (L493/1999, §2). Etnopolitiikan mainifestoitumiselle annetaan hallinnon taholta tilaa ryhmien kulttuuritoiminnassa, eli rituaaleissa ja käytännöissä, jotka on ladattu etnisillä ja vähemmistöpoliittisilla symboleilla. Eräs konteksti rituaaleille ja käytännöille ovat maahanmuuttajayhdistysten liikuntaharrastukset.

Etniskulttuuriset yhdistykset tarjoavat ajanvietettä ja sosiaalisia kontakteja tietyn etnisen ryhmänsä jäsenille, pitäen osittain kiinni ryhmän kotimaasta periytyneistä arvoista ja normeista. Liikunnassa tuotetut eleet, tekstit tai puheet toistavat kotimaasta periytyviä konventioita. Esimerkiksi useimmille islamilaisista maista tulleilla ryhmillä naisille ja miehille on omat liikuntaryhmänsä, samoin kuin tytöille ja pojille, vaikka tässä esiintyykin nykyisin vaihtelua ja monien ryhmien kohdalla perinteiset sukupuolijaot ovat hölymässä. Lähtömaassa harrastetuista lajeista halutaan pitää kiinni uudessa kotimaassa siksikin, että ne katsotaan ryhmälle kulttuurisesti ominaisiksi. Liikunta tässä merkityksessään on merkittävä ryhmää yhdistävä voima, koska liikkujat jakavat saman sosiokulttuurisen ymmärryksen, käsitteellisen kartan ja sen koodiston. (Vrt. Rönström 1991.)

Etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssissa ilmenevää etnisyyden ja liikunnan diasporista suhdetta voidaan lukea samoin kuin Soile Veijola (1992, 214) on tulkinut sekajoukkuepeliä sukupuolen kontekstissa: ”Haluamme rituaalin, joka tekisi meistä jälleen yhteisön, vaikka vain hetkeksi”. Liikunnan tilat ovat diskurssia käyttäville yhdistyksille keino herättää ennen maahanmuuttoa olemassa ollut yhteisöllisyys uudelleen henkiin. Tuottaa tila, jossa uuden elinympäristön käsitejärjestelmät ja kulttuuriset koodit rakenteistavat yhdessä olemista vain vähän. Liikunta korvaa hetkellisesti ja tilanteisesti valtaväestön järjestyksen ryhmien traditionaalisilla järjestyksillä.

Etniskulttuurisessa ”diaspora-työssä” on tärkeää sellaisten kollektiivisten narratiivien tuottaminen, joissa käsitellään kaipausta koti- eli lähtömaahan (Safran 1991, 83–84; Huttunen 2002). Liikunnasta on maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa muodostunut yksi tällaisen kulttuurityön konteksti. Se on jostain ”kulttuurisesta kodista” lähtemään joutuneen kansan imaginaarista paluuta kotimaahansa. Toimintaan liittyy harvoin suoria intohimoja vaikuttaa lähtömaiden olosuhteisiin tai ajatusta palata menetettyyn ”onnelaan”. Sen sijaan toimintaan liittyvässä kollektiivisessä muistelutyössä lähtömaat ja niiden yhteisöllisyys tai kulttuuriset olosuhteet uudelleen eletään symbolisesti uudessa elinympäristössä.

– *Sitten on muuta toimintaa: on saunailtaa ja tanssi-illoja järjestetään ja retkiä ja kuntosalia ja aerobicia on vapaa-aikakeskuksessa. Ja on meillä nyrkkeilyryhmäkin. [...] Me olemme tilaisuuksissa yhdessä. Jokainen kertoo vähän omasta elosta ja mistä on tullut tänne, ja esittelevät omaa elämää. Sen mistä ovat tulleet ja kuka on heidän mukana ja ketä jäi sinne kotimaahan. (Etniskulttuurinen yhdistys, nainen, 46 vuotta.)*

Etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssi on tyypillinen etniskulttuurisille yhdistyksille ja yksietnisille naisten, nuorten ja uskonnollisille yhdistyksille (vrt. Pyykkönen 2005). Sitä käytetään toisinaan myös projekteissa, joissa projektityöntekijät

ovat itse maahanmuuttajia. Kaikille edellä mainituille liikunnan tärkein tarkoitus on edistää etnisen ryhmän jäsenten keskinäistä vuorovaikutusta sekä sosiaalisten kontaktien syntymistä ja kiinteytymistä tietyllä paikallisalueella. Toisinaan liikunnan ja etnisyyden suhde näyttäytyy tällaisena myös sellaisille yhdistyksille ja projekteille, joiden tarkoitus on edistää monikulttuurisuutta ja kotoutumista. Tällöin asia liittyy kohteena olevien maahanmuuttajien maassaoloaikaan: juuri maahan tulleiden kohdalla toimintaa halutaan järjestää heidän omalla äidinkielellään, jotta kotoutuminen uuteen elinympäristöön lähtisi helpommin käyntiin.

Mitään tiettyjä lajeja lähtömaan kulttuuriin sidottuun etnisyyden tuottamiseen ei diskurssissa selkeästi liitetä. Joitain yleisiä linjoja on kuitenkin nähtävissä. Yksietnisten naisten yhdistysten ja etniskulttuurisissa yhdistyksissä toimivien naisten kerhojen kohdalla perinteiset tanssit nousevat keinoksi ilmaista kiinnittymistä lähtömaan kulttuuriperinteisiin. Muilla lajeilla suhde ei ole yhtä perinnöllinen. Esimerkiksi jumpaa, kuntopiirejä tai uintia on harvoin harrastettu lähtömaassa, mutta harrastajien yhteisen taustan vuoksi ne saavat etnisen kiinteyden merkityksen uudessa elinympäristössä. Miesten kohdalla etnistä yhteenkuuluvuutta tuottavaksi lajiksi nousevat erityisesti jalka- ja lentopallo. Etniskulttuuristen ja muiden yksietnisten yhdistysten järjestävät pallopelikerhoja nimenomaan siksi, että lajia pelattiin jo lähtömaassa: ”Ihmiset ovat tottuneet tiettyihin lajeihin. He haluavat lentopalloa, koska Afganistanissa lentopallo on todella suosittua. Ja jalkapalloa, koska sekin on tosi suosittua Afganistanissa.” (Etniskulttuurinen yhdistys, mies, 28.)

Siinä missä jalkapalloa harrastetaan yli ryhmärajojen, etnospesifejä lajeja ovat erilaiset kamppailulajit. Paini on Lähi-idästä – erityisesti Iranista – tulleiden maahanmuuttajien laji. Nyrkkeilyharrastuksia tarjoavat sen sijaan erityisesti Venäjältä tulleiden paluumuuttajien yhdistykset. Myös Virosta muuttaneilla on oma lajinsa, joka muistuttaa meikäläistä polttopalloa.

Kontekstit, joissa liikunta merkityksellistyy alkuperämaasta periytyvän kulttuurin lipunkantajana ovat niitä, joissa kommunikaation osapuolet ovat pääsääntöisesti saman etnisen ryhmän jäseniä. Toisaalta liikunnalla halutaan toisinaan myös esitellä omaa kulttuuria ”ulkopuolisille”. Näin on esimerkiksi silloin kun paininäytöksissä esitellään iranilaista kulttuuria.

Diskurssia yhdistyksissä käyttävät ja tuottavat ovat pakolaisryhmien kohdalla miehiä, jotka ovat tulleet Suomeen Lähi-idän maista. Diskurssikäytäntö rakentuu pitkälti lähtömaan välisten sukupuoliasemien mukaiseksi. Tämä sosiokulttuurinen käytäntö vaikuttaa diskurssiin voimakkaasti: imitoidessaan lähtömaan sukupuolijärjestystä se tuottaa sitä olemassa olevaksi myös uudessa elinympäristössä (vrt. Martikainen 2004, 209).

– *Ovatko nämä liikuntatapahtumat sellaisia perhetapahtumia, että sinne tulee kentän laidalle perheet mukaan?*

– *No, ei ne perheet ole mukana siellä. Siellä on vain nuoria miehiä. Se on Afganistanissa perhe vähän erilainen kuin Suomessa. Siinä on iso ero. Monet naiset eivät halua olla miehien kanssa yhdessä. Kun me opetamme sählyä ja uimista, tyttöjä*

opettaa minun työnantajani. Hän on nainen. Minä opetan poikia. Pienillä lapsilla ei ole väliä, mutta aikuisille tytöille hän pitää sitä. (Etniskulttuurinen yhdistys, mies, 25.)

Paluumuuttajien ja venäläis- tai virolaistaustaisten maahanmuuttajien etniskulttuuristen yhdistysten liikuntatoiminnassa naiset ovat selvästi aktiivisempia kuin pakolaisyhdistyksissä. Asia periytyy mitä ilmeisimmin naisten perinteisestä aktiivisesta roolista yhteisöissä, sekä naisten kansalaistoiminnan yleisyydestä. Olivathan naiset merkittävässä asemassa jo 1900-luvun alun venäläisyhdistyksissä Suomessa (Korhonen 2005).

Diskurssia tuottavien liikuntatoiminnan järjestäjien oman toimija-asemansa määrittely tapahtuu suhteuttamalla itsensä toimintaan osallistuviin ja muihin liikuntatoiminnan tarjoajiin: ”[Yhdistyksemme organisoii liikuntatoimintaa,] koska nuorille ei muuten järjestetä mitään. Eräs venäläinen yhdistys järjestää vain 30–50-vuotiaille ja toinen seura yli 60-vuotiaille.” (Yksietninen liikuntayhdistys, mies, 40.) Oma toiminta on merkittävää, koska mikään toinen samaa ryhmää edustava yhdistys ei sellaista tarjoa. Toimijat perustelevat asemansa etniskulttuurisen liikuntatoiminnan tarjoajina sillä, että heillä on siitä ja muusta kansalaistoiminnasta pitkä kokemus Suomessa, sekä sillä, että heidän toimintansa on laajalti tunnettua etnisen ryhmän jäsenten keskuudessa.

– *Olen yksi kahden iranilaispakolaisten yhdistyksen perustajista. Olen ollut molemmissa ensimmäinen valittu puheenjohtaja. Olen myös hallituksen jäsen eräässä [kotouttamis]yhdistyksessä ja olen lisäksi tämän oman yhdistyksen puheenjohtaja. Meillä on jäseniä eri puolilla Suomea. Yhdistyksen pääpaikka on täällä, mutta jotkut jäsenistämme asuvat myös muissa kaupungeissa. Minä pyörityn myös yhtä urheiluseuraa, joka on painiseura. Olen seuran valmennusjohtaja. (Etniskulttuurinen yhdistys, mies, 47.)*

Diskurssissa tietyt ihmiset objektivoidaan toiminnan kohderyhmäksi esittämällä heidät mielekkäiden ja järkevien toimintamuotojen puutteesta kärsivänä ryhmänä. Samalla yhdistys tulee perustelleeksi itsensä; se on syntynyt vastaamaan sosiaaliseen tilaukseen. ”Koulun jälkeen, kun ei ole mitään muuta tekemistä, niin jotkut menee nuorisotaloille ja jotkut kaupungille vaan seisoskelemaan. Siinä aika menee hukkaan. Että me tarjotaan vaihtoehto nuorille.” (Yksietninen nuorten yhdistys, mies, 26.)

Keskeinen tapa kategorisoida ihmisiä diskurssissa on puhua ”meistä” etnisenä kulttuuriryhmänä. ”Me” rinnastuu suhteutuu ”muihin”. ”Muita” diskurssissa edustavat valtaväestö ja muut maahanmuuttajat. Itsensä nimeäminen etnonymillä, kuten ”me kurdit” tai ”me suomalaiset”, kertoo tavasta hahmottaa maailmaa erilaisten kansallisten tai etnisten kulttuuriryhmien mosaiikkina. Kulttuurit voivat elää rinnakkain, mutta ovat keskenään niin erilaisia ja omalakisista kokonaisuuksia, ettei niiden uskota tai toivota voivan sekoittua. Liikuntatoiminnan harrastusryhmät kootaan omasta etniskulttuurisesta ryhmästä. ”Muiden” kanssa pelataan harvemmin, ja tällöinkin yleensä heitä vastaan, ei sekajoukkueissa. Toiminnan yksietnisyttä perustellaan monietnisen vuorovaikutuksen vaikeudella ja kulttuuristen pelkojen olemassaololla:

– *Osallistuuko liikuntakerhoihinne muita kuin venäläisiä tai venäjänkielisiä nuoria?*

– *Ei oikeastaan. Tähän ovat syynä ennen kaikkea kulttuuri-erot. Muihin kulttuureihin kuuluvien on vaikea tulla mukaan. Lisäksi syynä on se, että me toimimme venäjänkielellä. Järjestämissämme nuorten juhlissa on ollut mukana myös muihin kansallisuuksiin ja kieliryhmiin kuuluvia nuoria. [...] Monikulttuurisuus on tärkeää, mutta samalla vaikeaa käytännössä, koska monet pelkäävät lähestyä toisista kulttuureista tulevia ihmisiä. Esimerkiksi kunto- ja nyrkkeilyseurat ovat avoimia kaikille, mutta muista kulttuureista ei ihmisiä tule silti osallistumaan. (Yksietninen liikuntayhdistys, mies, 40.)*

Kotoutumisen diskurssi

Yleisesti ajatellaan, että edellä käsitelty etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssi on maahanmuuttajien liikuntatoiminnan kentällä 'hegemoninen' (Jokinen & Juhila 1993, 89–96). Hegemonisoituminen on kuitenkin ongelmallista, koska etnisyyden merkitys on yhtä liikkuva kuin ihminenkin – ”jatkuvasti liikkeellä olevana ja puheenomaisena käytäntönä se on avoin väliintuloille ja uusille merkityksille” (Kaskisaari 1992, 265).

Yksi diskurssi, jossa ”väliintuloja” traditioiden hegemoniaan ilmenee, on kotouttamisen diskurssi. Se perustuu laajalti jaettuun integraation ideaan, jonka mukaan yhteiskunnan etnisten ryhmien väliset suhteet jäsentyvät toimivimmin siten, että maahanmuuttajat ja muut etniset vähemmistöt toimivat julkisesti enemmistön arvojen, normien ja toimintatapojen mukaisesti, mutta yksityisesti he voivat elää perinteisten arvojensa mukaisesti (Rex 1996). Diskurssissa liikunta kytkeytyy integraation yleisiin päämääriin: maahanmuuttajien syrjäytymisen ehkäisemiseen, sekä heidän yhteiskunnalliseen aktivoimiseensa ja osallistamiseensa. Maahanmuuttajien integroituminen valtaväestöön merkitsee ensisijaisesti osallistumista työelämään ja koulutukseen, sekä suomenkielen ja peruskansalaistaitojen omaksumista (Työministeriö 2002).

Kati Myrén (1999; 2003) on tutkimuksissaan havainnut liikunnalla olevan tärkeä merkitys maahanmuuttajien kotoutumiselle ja sopeutumisprosessille, jossa maahanmuuttajien odotetaan löytävän paikkansa uudessa yhteiskunnassa. Tutkimuksiin osallistuneet ovat katsoneet niiden maahanmuuttajien liikuntaharrastusten, joissa tapahtuu suomalaisten ja maahanmuuttajien kohtaamista, helpottavan suomen kielen oppimista, lisäävän suvaitsevaisuutta ihmisten välillä ja poistavan rasismia. Liikunnalla – varsinkin joukkuelajeilla ja erityisesti jalkapallolla – oletetaan yleisesti olevan rasismia vähentävä asennekasvatuksellinen vaikutus (Itkonen 1997). Myös useat pääsarjojen jalkapalloseurat ovat viime vuosina kampanjoineet Suomessa ja ulkomailla näkyvästi rasismia vastaan.

Liikunnan tärkeys maahanmuuttajien kotoutumiselle tulee sen merkityksestä suomalaisten elämäntavassa. ”Liikunta koetaan meidän yhteiskunnassamme osana minän merkittävää ja sen korostamista” (Myren 1999, 113). Jotta kotoutumisen kaltainen ’akkulturaatioprosessi’ (Berry 1992) voisi onnistua, on akkulturoituvan osapuolen omaksuttava merkittä-

västi piirteitä enemmistön elämäntavasta. Diskurssissa liikunnan tilat ovat ympäristöjä, joissa maahanmuuttajat luontevasti oppivat uuden kotimaan tietotaitoja sekä tuntemaan yhteiskuvuutta suomalaisen yhteiskuntaan ja sen valtaväestöön. Yhdistykset ja projektit pyrkivät liikunnan avulla saamaan maahanmuuttajat aktivoitumaan yhdessä tekemiseen, puhumaan suomea, ottamaan kontaktia suomalaissyntyisiin ja toisinaan tutustumaan suomalaisiksi miellettyihin liikuntamuotoihin, kuten vaikkapa hiihtoon, pilkkimiseen ja avantouintiin. Niiden tekeminen on merkki suomalaistumisesta:

– *”Vietiin maahanmuuttajat avantoon, juu. Saatiin ilmaiset sisäänpääsy. Ja mamut teki kuolemaa. Se oli hirveen hauskaa. Huhhuh. Mutta se on pakko koittaa, se kuuluu tähän suomalaisuuteen.” (Monikulttuurisuusyhdistys, nainen, 35.)*

Kotoutumiseen kuuluu, että liikunnassa ylitetään rajoja maahanmuuttajien kulttuurien ja suomalaisen kulttuurin välillä. Varsinkin projekteissa rajojen ylittämiseksi ymmärretään se, että maahanmuuttajat tekevät liikuntatoiminnassaan jotain sellaista, jonka ei katsota kuuluneen heidän kulttuuriinsa sen alkukodissa. ”Pyrkimyksenä on tuoda esille mahdollisuus, että tällaistaikin toimintaa voi olla ja näinkin voi tehdä. Muutamien kanssa opeteltiin hiihtämään, ja jotain muuta uutta, joka ei ole ollut muuten mahdollista, kun esimerkiksi kulttuuri on estänyt.” (Monietninen naisten yhdistys, nainen, 52.)

Kotouttamisdiskurssia tuottavat liikuntatoiminnassa etupäässä kotouttamis- ja monikulttuurisuusyhdistykset sekä projektit, mutta lisäksi suuri osa monietnisisistä yhdistyksistä. Diskurssi tuottuu ja toistuu myös monissa medioissa, erityisesti maahanmuuttoasioiden ammattilehti Monitorissa. Diskurssin representoima liikunnan ja kotoutumisen suhde käy oivallisesti ilmi seuraavasta lainauksesta Monitori –lehdessä: ”Jäsenet kokevat, että seurassa toimiessa heidän kielitaitonsa on parantunut ja että heidän on ollut helpompaa sopeutua uuteen kulttuuriin, saada uusia ystäviä ja osallistua muuhun yhteiskunnalliseen toimintaan”. (Chime 2000, 66.)

Kotouttamista tapahtuu yhdistysten ja projektien liikuntatoiminnassa siinäkin merkityksessä, että ne tutustuttavat juuri kaupunkeihin muuttaneita maahanmuuttajia omalla äidinkielellään paikkakuntien liikuntapalveluihin. Varsinkaan paikallaisilla tai paluumuuttajilla, joiden informaatioverkostot ovat maahanmuuton alussa monesti olemattomat, ei ole tietoa paikkakunnan vapaa-ajanviettomahdollisuuksista. Yhdistykset ja projektit ovat monille ensisijainen tietolähde asiassa. Samalla toiminta edistää oman kielen säilymistä, joka sekin katsotaan osaksi toimivaa kotoutumista (Työministeriö 2002).

Diskurssiin kuuluu, että erilaisuus suomalaisten ja maahanmuuttajien välillä koetaan jossain määrin ongelmaksi. Tämä tulee esiin varsinkin projektihaastattelussa. ”Inkerinsuomalaisen ja suomalaisten lasten välillä ei ole liikuntatoiminnassa ollut ongelmia, koska he ovat niin samanlaisia” (projektityöntekijä, mies, 52). Erilaisuus näyttäytyy seurauksena maahanmuuttajien kulttuureista ja uskonnoista. Suomalainen kulttuuri ei edusta erilaisuutta. Tämä puoli diskurssissa kytkeytyykin siihen tutkijoiden kritisoimaan seikkaan, että valtaväestön ehdoilla tapahtuvassa integraatioprosessissa nimenomaan maahanmuuttajien kulttuurit näyttäytyvät ongelmalli-

sina integraation onnistumisen kannalta (Ålund 1991; Pyykönen 2006, 129).

Diskurssin keskeisiä subjekteja ovat pitkään maassa olleet ja työllistyneet maahanmuuttajat eli ne, jotka ovat saaneet tunnustusta suomalaiselta yhteiskunnalta. Keskeisiä subjekteja ovat myös projektien ja yhdistysten suomalaistoimijat. Subjektiasema rakennetaan vedoten omaan aktiivisuuteen, rohkeuteen ja omiin tietotaitoihin, joiden avulla toimijat pärjäävät suomalaisella liikunnan kentällä ja pystyvät auttamaan muita maahanmuuttajia kotoutumisessa. Kyse on esimerkin näyttämistä. Toiminnan kohteiden objektivoiminen tapahtuu pitkälti samoin kuin etnisen kiinteyden diskurssissakin. Tämä tosin ei kohdistu ainoastaan niihin, joiden omat resurssit eivät riitä toiminnan organisoimiseen, vaan vieläpä erityisesti riskiasemassa oleviin maahanmuuttajiin. Heihin, joiden kohdalla kotoutumisen oletetaan olevan vaikeaa tai sen katsotaan epäonnistuneen – turvapaikanhakijat, iäkkäät, työttömät, kouluttamattomat nuoret, musliminaiset ja kotouttamissuunnitelmien ulkopuolella olevat.

Liikunnan kotouttamiskurssi ilmenee useimmiten konteksteissa, joissa on mukana suomalaissyntyisiä tai heillä on hallitseva asema, kuten projekteissa ja kotouttamisyhdistyksissä. Suomalaissyntyisten läsnäolo tekee liikuntatoiminnasta kotouttavaa, varsinkin kun toiminnassa tällöin yleensä puhutaan suomea. Heidät katsotaan opettajiksi ja maahanmuuttajat oppijoiksi. Kotoutumista edistävät erityisesti myös suomalaisiksi mielletyt liikuntamuodot: hiihto, luistelu, uinti, kansantanssit ja niin edelleen.

Kotoutumiskurssin lausumia voisi kutsua ”melankolisiksi performatiiviksi”. Ne ovat kärsimystä ”Toisen menettämisestä psyykkisenä hahmona, johon liittyy seuraus kasvaneesta identifiikaatiosta tuohon Toiseen” (Butler 1993, 24). Melankolisuus muodostuu Minän ja Toisen väliseen identifiikaatioon liittyvässä tietoisuudessa siitä, että ”Minä” ei koskaan pysty tulemaan täydellisesti ”Toisen” kaltaiseksi; maahanmuuttaja ei sopeutumiskykyisistä huolimatta koskaan tule etnisesti suomalaiseksi – ainakaan hegemonisten suomalaisuutta määrittävien ajattelutapojen valossa, joihin on istutettu idea suomalaisesta valkoihoisena, maassa syntyneenä ja suomea puhuvana.

Kotoutumisessa kotoutuja on ei-ehä subjekti, joka pyrkii eheytyään tai pyritään eheyttämään samastamalla merkitykselliseen ”Toiseen”, eli tässä tapauksessa valtaväestöön (vrt. Hall 1999, 154–160). Melankolisen performatiivista tekee tästä syystä juuri se, että prosessin päätepiste – ”Toiseksi” tuleminen – karkaa jatkuvasti käsistä. Valtaväestön tapojen, tyylien ja normien omaksuminen paikkaa puutetta osittain. Tämä ilmenee psyykkisenä tervehtymisenä ja positiivisina tuntemuksina. ”Pelattuaan vuosia kaikki kesät palloa ihan kaveripohjalta, alkoivat maahanmuuttajatkin muodostaa omia rekisteröityjä jalkapalloseurojaan, mikä on parantanut [...] heidän itsetuntoaan ja kotoutumisen tunnettaan” (Chime 2000, 66).

Kotoutumisen diskurssin melankolisuuteen liittyy kotouttamiseen sisään kirjoitettu paternalismi. Kotoutumisen prosessiluonteisuus, sen lopullinen saavuttamattomuus ja päämäärän selkeytymättömyys ylläpitävät ajatusta kotouttamisen kohteen ei-ehydestä. Tämä puolestaan tekee ei-ehästä

kotoutujasubjektista jatkuvasti jonkinasteisen holhouksen tarpeessa olevan. Maahanmuuttajan on koko ajan näytettävä toteen omaa kotoutumistaan erilaisin suorituksin. Ne voivat olla suomenkieltä ja kansalaistaitoja koskevia, mutta suomalais-syntyisten kanssa samaan liikuntatoimintaan osallistuminenkin edustaa tunnustettua kotoutumissuoritusta. Laajemmalla monitahoisen maahanmuuttajuuskurssin tasolla tämä liittyy siihen paljon tutkimuksessa ja maahanmuuttajatyössä pohdittuun, mutta lopullisesti ratkaisemattomaan kysymykseen, milloin maahanmuuttaja lakkaa olemasta ’maahanmuuttaja’ ja millä ehdoin (esim. Lepola 2000).

Etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssi

Etnisen kiinteyden ja kotouttamisen diskurssit ovat yhdistysten ja projektien liikuntatoiminnan kentällä hegemonisessa asemassa. Niiden lisäksi siellä ilmenee kuitenkin diskurssi, jossa liikuntatoiminnan katsotaan ja toivotaan edistävän etniskulttuurista ’hybridisoitumista’ ja ’kulttuurisia käännöksiä’. Käsitteillä tarkoitetaan osin tiedostettuja, mutta monilta osin tiedostamattomia prosesseja, joissa perinteiset arvot, normit, tietomuodostelmat ja tavat korvautuvat tai täydentyvät joko yhden tai useamman kulttuuriksi luonnehditun entiteetin vastaavilla, jättäen kulttuurisen eheytyksen loputtomasti keskeneräiseksi. Monet kulttuurintutkijat (esim. Hall 2003) pitävät tilaa ominaisina diasporisille, paikaltaan siirtyneille ryhmille. Diskurssin performatiivien ”melankolisuus” on kotouttamisen diskurssia monisäikeisempää, sillä diskurssin kategorisoinnit eivät redusoidu ”meihin” ja ”muihin”.

Etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssin keskeisiä käyttäjiä ja tuottajia ovat monikulttuurisuusyhdistykset, mutta myös osa monietnisiä yhdistyksiä. Lisäksi diskurssia esiintyy Monitori -lehdessä. Monikulttuurisuusyhdistyksillä on perustavanlaatuisen pyrkimys etnisten ennakkoluulojen hälventämiseen ja saattaa eri kulttuureista tulevia ihmisiä yhteen, esimerkiksi liikuntaharrastusten pariin. ”Sivutuotteena” ne madaltavat kulttuurien välisiä raja-aitoja ja edistävät piirteiden siirtymistä ja sekoittumista.

Diskurssi esiintyy miesten liikunnassa erityisesti niin sanottujen yleismaailmallisten joukkuepelien yhteydessä, kuten jalka-, lento- tai koripallon, ja toisinaan sählyn. Naisilla diskurssi ei ole yhtä lajisidonnainen. Tämä johtuu monessa tapauksessa siitä, että naisista suurin osa on alkanut harrastaa liikuntaa vasta Suomessa. Lajeilla ei ole heidän kohdallaan niin suurta etniskulttuuristen perinteiden painolastia harteillaan, vaan periaatteessa mikä tahansa laji voi edistää kulttuuripiirteiden ristikkäistymistä.

Tyypillistä diskurssia tuottaville yhdistyksille on, että niiden jäsenrakenne on alati muutoksessa. Erilaisista etniskulttuurisista ryhmistä oleva jäsenistö menee ja tulee jatkuvasti. Tämä edesauttaa sitä, ettei mikään etninen ryhmä saa yhdistyksissä valta-asemaa ja ala määrittämään sen periaatteita ja tavoitteita omista lähtökohdistaan käsin, vaan kollektiivinen identiteettimäärittely säilyy dynaamisena, eikä mitään ryhmää lähtökohtaisesti rajata ulos.

– *Meillä on semmoinen yhdistys, että kaikki ihmiset, jotka liittyvät, eivät välttämättä ole mukana kauaa. Ne vaihtuu koko ajan. Koska suuri osa on kansainvälisiä oppilaita tai Nokialla töissä. Taas ihmiset, jotka tulee meidän kursseille ja kerhoihin, he eivät välttämättä liity yhdistykseen, mutta he ovat joka puolelta. (Monikulttuurisuusyhdistys, nainen, 35.)*

Kuten edellisestä voi jo havaitakin, kyseistä diskurssia tuottavien yhdistysten aktiivijäsenet ja usein muukin jäsenkunta ovat korkeasti koulutettuja. Yhtäältä tämä edesauttaa jäsenrakenteen jatkuvaa muutosta, sillä työ- ja koulutuspaikkojen muutokset kuljettavat ihmisiä tiheässä rytmisissä paikkakunnalta toiselle. Toisaalta tutkimukset osoittavat, että korkealla koulutuksella ja kosmopoliittisella asennoitumisella kansallisuuteen ja identiteettiin on selvä yhteys (esim. Jaakkola 2005, 23–24, 51; Hannerz 1996, 102–111).

Liikunnan etnisen hybridisyyden diskurssiin kuuluu lähemmästä ajatus ihmisen kyvystä muuttaa kulttuurisidonnaista käyttäytymistään ja ajatteluaan. Ikään kuin kulttuuri-piirteissä ja identiteetissä olisi kyse 'valintamyymälän valikoimista' (Sintonen 1999, 126–128), joita voidaan poimia 'itsen ostoskärryyn' tarpeen ja mieltymysten mukaan.

– *Kulttuurien erilaisuuksien kautta olen oppinut paljon uusia asioita. Suomessa olen oppinut arvostamaan joitain kurdikulttuurin puolia enemmän kuin ennen ja taas jotkut asiat olen heittänyt pois kurdikulttuuristani. [...] Ihmiselle on kulttuurista tehty Jumala ja sen muuttaminen on melkein kielletty. Vaikka kulttuuri on tapa ja tapoja voi muuttaa ja kehittää. Itse olen avoin ja muutan elämäntapojani tilanteen mukaan. Näin pyrin tekemään myös yhdistyksemme liikuntatoiminnassa. (Monikulttuurisuusyhdistys, mies, 27.)*

Liikunta on yksi tällaisten valintojen tiloista. Yhdessä liikuminen tuottuu diskurssissa etnisen sekapelin metaforana, jossa ulkopuolinen, etniskulttuuristen jakojen halkoma maailmaa unohtuu hetkeksi ja liikunnasta tulee identiteettien merkityksellistymisen universumi (vrt. Veijola 1992, 214–215). Pelaajan tai liikkujan roolissa on helpompi tehdä identiteettivalintoja kuin 'maahanmuuttajan' tai 'suomalaisen'.

Keskeinen ero diskurssissa verrattuna aiempiin on, että se perustuu käsitykselle kulttuurista, joka ei ole pysyvä ja muuttumaton. Sen sijaan kulttuuri muuttuu ja sitä voidaan muuttaa jatkuvasti, koska se on ihmisten luoma konstruktio. Kulttuurin säilyttäminen nähdään diskurssissa pyrkimyksenä sitoutua "taantumukselliseen menneeseen".

– *Ei kukaan ole syntynyt oman kulttuurin kanssa, koska kulttuuri tulee näistä kaikista tavoista ja siitä mitä ihmiset yhteiskunnassa oppivat. Meidän mielestä kulttuuri ei ole sellainen asia, jota voi säilyttää. Me emme katso sitä hyvänä jos säilytetään. Mitä tahansa kulttuuria. Mä en tarkoita, että mä katson meidän kulttuuria pahana. Jos mennään 50 vuotta taaksepäin ja katsotaan suomalaista kulttuuria. Jos me oltiin säilytetty se, nykypäivään asti, niin minkälainen suomalainen yhteiskunta meillä olisi? Meidän päätavoite on vuorovaikutus. [...] Jalkapallon kautta me on tutustuttu moniin sellaisiin ihmisiin ja opittu monia sellaisia asioita, joita emme olisi oppineet, jos olisimme pelanneet vain toistemme kanssa. (Monikulttuurisuusyhdistys, mies, 40.)*

Diskurssin järjen kannalta liikunnan ansio on siinä, että se häivyttää kulttuurin ja paikan välisen yhteyden. Kokoonuomiseen yhteessä elinympäristössä ei-kulttuuriseksi mielletyn yhteisen asian – kuten liikunnan – ympärille, ihmiset jättävät paikan määräämät minuudet taakseen ja maantieteelliseen paikkaan sidotun kansallisuuden tai etnisyyden sijaan yhdessä liikkumisesta tulee paikantumisen merkittäjä. Vaikka siirtymisen uuteen elinympäristöön, jonka jakavat monista paikoista lähtöisin olevat ihmiset ja ryhmät, jo sinällään sekoittaa kulttuurin ja paikan suhdetta, liikunnan kaltaiset väliaikaiset tilat antavat paikalle yhä selvemmin monikulttuurisen leiman. Näissä tiloissa on monia kulttuurisia merkitysjärjestelmiä, joiden tarjoamien välineiden avulla omaa elämää ja itseä pystytään hahmottamaan. (Vrt. Hall 2003.)

Kun paikan ja kulttuurin fyysisen yhteyden katkeaminen mahdollistaa myös niiden symbolisen yhteyden katkeamisen, avaa se tilaa vastarinnalle, joka lähtömaassa olisi ollut mahdotonta. Tämä on tärkeä tekijä varsinkin pakolaisten kohdalla, joista monet ovat paenneet lähtömaan kulttuuria, joka on koettu ahdistavaksi tai jopa henkeä uhkaavaksi. Liikunta eri kulttuuriryhmiin kuuluvien tai sekajoukkueissa tai joidenkin naisten kohdalla liikunta ylipäätään, on toimintaa, joka ei lähtömaassa ollut mahdollista. Siinä, missä useimmille etniskulttuurisille yhdistyksille liikunta on vastarintaa suhteessa valtakulttuuriin, on se tässä diskurssissa vastarintaa "omaa alkuperäistä kulttuuria" kohtaan. Diasporassa liikunta mahdollistaa essentialisiksi muodostuneiden etnisten tai uskonnollisten identiteettien ja kulttuuristen merkitysten kyseenalaistamisen ja murtamisen. (Vrt. Brah 1996, 67–83.)

Hybridisyyden diskurssiin kuuluu merkittävä 'aladiskurssi', jossa etniskulttuuriset identifikaatiot pyritään kokonaan hylkäämään. Ne halutaan korvata universaaleimmilla, yhteiseen ihmisyyteen ja solidaarisuuteen perustuvilla. Tyypillistä diskurssille on retoriikka, jossa kulttuurisen erilaisuuden merkitys pyritään häivyttämään: "Myllypuron Liikuntamylyssä liikutaan samassa seurassa, eikä erilaisuudella ole väliä; tempu opitaan yhdessä – onnistumiset ja epäonnistumiset yhdes- sä jaettavana" (Tompuri, 2001, 71).

Aladiskurssissa ihmisyyden itsessään mielletään etnisyyttä tärkeämmäksi tekijäksi ihmisten keskinäisessä samastumisessa. Kulttuurit ja etnisyydet nähdään esteiksi tiellä ihmisten tasa-arvoiseen vuorovaikutukseen. Ajattelutapa on hyvin lähellä Lila Abu-Lughodin (1991) antropologista puheenvuoroa, jonka mukaan puhe etniskulttuurisista ryhmämuodostelmista on perustavasti epäonnistunut, koska tyypittelyyn vääjäämättä sisältyy stereotyyppittelyä, sekä kulttuurien homogenisoimista ja ajattelemista staattisina kokonaisuuksina.

Diskurssia käyttäviä ja tuottavia toimijoita luonnehtii monesti poliittisuus. Varsinkin vasemmistolaisien poliittisten aatteiden kannattajat ajattelevat, että kansallisten, etnisten tai uskonnollisten identiteettien ylläpitäminen kansalaistoiminnassa on taantumuksellista ja ehkäisee aidon kansainvälisen solidaarisuuden kehittymistä.

– *Mä en ole miettinyt omaa kulttuuria järjestötoiminnassa, koska mulla ei ole ollut tätä ongelmaa elämässäni. Mä olen pienestä lähtien katsonut maailmaa vähän laajemmasta näkö-*

kulmasta. Eikä minulla ollut esimerkiksi Suomeen tulon alkuvaiheessakaan mitään kulttuurisia ongelmia. Mulle nämä ihmiset ovat olleet tuttuja ja kulttuurissakaan ei ole ollut mitään syviä eroja. Mä näen ihmiset toisenlaisessa valossa, kuin että koko ajan yritän tyrkyttää heille erilaisia kulttuureja. Minulle kulttuuria on nämä niin sanotut korkeatasoiset ihmisarvot. Minulle itselleni ei ole mitään tärkeää, että vaalitaan irnilaista kulttuuria. Mitä sekin sitten on? Jokaisella on omat käsityksensä. Toisaalta kun muhun ei ole vaikuttaneet mitkään uskonnolliset tekijät, joita pidetään kulttuurin tärkeänä tekijänä, niin sen takia mun on helpompi päästä yli näistä niin sanotuista kulttuurirajoista. (Monikulttuurisuusyhdistys, mies, 42.)

Kun muut maahanmuuttajayhdistykset keskittyvät liikuntatoiminnassaan lähinnä etnisten ryhmien omiin kulttuureihin, tätä diskurssia tuottavat yhdistykset keskittyvät vuorovaikutukseen ja rajojen hylkäämiseen. Diskurssissa muut yhdistykset määrittellään ”vanhoiksi”, koska niiden toiminnan ei katsota tosiasiallisesti edistävän etnisten ryhmien välistä vuorovaikutusta. Etniskulttuurinen identiteetti korvautuu diskurssissa sekä maahanmuuttajille yhteisillä diasporassa elämisen tekijöillä (esim. subjektiasema maahanmuuttajana Suomessa) että yleisemmin eri kansallisuuksista tulevia koskettavilla tekijöillä (esim. ihmisoikeuksien kunnioittaminen).

Diskurssin käyttäjille on myös yhteistä heidän pitkä oleskelunsa Suomessa. Heille on ehtinyt syntyä paljon kontakteja valtaväestöön. He osaavat yleensä hyvin suomen kieltä ja ovat saaneet työtä tai ainakin koulutautuneet Suomessa. Heitä yhdistää siis se, että he ovat saaneet jonkinlaista tunnustusta suomalaiselta yhteiskunnalta, aivan kuten kotouttamisdiskurssin subjektit.

Diasporista liikettä

Tamperelaisten ja Jyväskyläläisten maahanmuuttajayhdistysten liikuntatoiminnan kentillä toimii kolme etnisyyttä eri tavoin konstruoivaa diskursiivista muodostumaa. Liikuntatoiminta on ”alisteista” laajemmille tavoitteenasetteluille, kuten etnisen identiteetin prosessoinnille, kotouttamiselle tai monikulttuurisoitumiselle. Ensinnäkin on etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssi, jossa liikuntatoiminta merkityksellistyy osaksi lähtömaan kaipuuta ja sen kulttuuristen piirteiden olemassa olevaksi tekemistä uudessa elinympäristössä. Toiseksi on kotoutumisen diskurssi, jossa korostuu liikuntatoiminnan merkitys osana uuden elinympäristön piirteiden omaksumista ja niiden sekoittumista ”alkuperäiseen” kulttuuriin. Kolmanneksi osa yhdistyksistä tuottaa ja käyttää etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssia, jossa etnisyyden ja kulttuuri eivät ole palautettavissa mihinkään tiettyyn alkuperään tai ryhmäidentiteettiin, vaan toimijat tunnustavat kulttuurien alituisen sekoittumisen diasporassa ja pyrkivät edistämään sitä.

Tarkasteltaessa etnisyyden liikuntatoiminnassa saamia merkityksiä voidaan käyttää hyväksi diasporan käsitteen ’analyttistä työkalua’ (Wahlbeck 2002). Stuart Hall (2003, 121) on määritellyt diasporan kaksoismerkityksen seuraavasti:

– Termiä diaspora voidaan käyttää ”suljetulla” tavalla kuvaamaan jostain syystä ”alkuperäismaastaan” hajaantumaan joutuneen kansan pyrkimystä lopulta palata kotimaahansa – heidän kulttuurinsa todelliseen ”kotiin”, johon he ovat olleet koko ajan yhteydessä säilyttämällä perinteensä koskemattomana. Mutta on olemassa myös toisenlainen tapa käsittää diaspora. Diaspora viittaa myös sellaiseen kansojen hajaantumiseen, missä nämä eivät milloinkaan voi kirjaimellisesti palata paikkoihin, jotka he kerran joutuivat jättämään taakseen; niinpä heidän on päästävä jonkinlaiseen ”sovintoon” niiden uusien, usein alistavien kulttuurien kanssa, joiden kanssa heidän on pakko olla tekemisissä; he ovat muokanneet itselleen uudenlaisia kulttuurisia identiteettejä hyödyntämällä tietoisesti tai tiedostamatta yhtä tai useampaa kulttuurista repertuaaria.

Etniskulttuurisen tradition diskurssissa diaspora ymmärretään ”suljetulla” tavalla. Liikuntasidonaiset performatiivit heijastavat symbolista kaipuuta lähtömaahan – kulttuuriin kotiin (vrt. Hily & Pinard 1987, 142–151; Safran 1991). Liikunnan avulla ylläpidetään perinteitä; lähtömaasta tuttuja sosiaalisia järjestyksiä ja ryhmiä, tapoja, kieliä ja tietomuodostelmia. Vaikka kulttuuri ei voi fyysisen paikaltaan siirtymisen vuoksi säilykään aivan samanlaisena kuin se koettiin lähtömaassa, tarjoaa liikunta keinon ja kontekstin toistaa sitä edes jossain määrin, vaikka elinympäristön akkulturaatiopaineet olisivatkin suuret.

Hallin ”toisenlaiseen tapaan käsittää diaspora” liittyvät kotoutumisen ja etniskulttuurisen hybridisyyden diskurssit. Niihin sisältyy ajatus siitä, että sen enempää fyysistä kuin symbolista paluuta aiempaan olinpaikkaan tai sitä vastaavaan kulttuuriseen tilaan ei ole. Sen sijaan diskurssit sisältävät ajatuksen kulttuurisen muutoksesta, koska uudessa elinympäristössä kulttuurit ja identiteetit väijäämättä sekoittuvat. Niitä voi hyvin luonnehtia tietomuodostelmien ja puhetapojen tasolla tapahtuvaksi pyrkimykseksi päästä ”sovintoon” uusien kulttuurien kanssa, joiden kanssa ne ovat tekemisissä. Kotoutumisen ja hybridisyyden diskurssit kertovat etniskulttuurisista identiteeteistä, jotka ammentavat kahdesta tai useammasta etniskulttuurisesta repertuaarista. Diskurssissa diasporassa syntynyttä kulttuurista repeämää ei pyritä sulkemaan, vaan sen kanssa opetellaan elämään eri kulttuuristen kotien kulttuuripiirteitä omaan identiteettiin ja merkitysjärjestelmään ’kääntäen’ (Hall 2003, 121). Traditioilla on diskurssissa paikkansa, mutta ne tulevat ’dekonstruoiduksi’ (Derrida 1997; Spivak 1993, 130); joutuessaan kosketuksiin muiden kulttuuripiirteiden ja -perinteiden kanssa niihin piiloutuneet oikeaoppisuudet paljastuvat, kyseenalaistuvat ja tulevat uudelleen muotoilluiksi tai risteytetyiksi.

Abstract

Sports are one of the main forms of action for the immigrants associations in Finland. In addition to the meaning of advancement of physical and mental health, sports have other meanings and functions for associations: Sports activities have crucial significance for the 'diasporic production' of ethnic identities. The relationship between sports and ethnicity depends on whether associations are oriented towards their "original" ethnic identity and culture, ethnic majority and country of settlement, or multiculturalism and cultural hybridization. These orientations on their behalf lean on different discourses, which associations produce and reproduce in their sports activities. The relationship of ethnicity and sports is approached through three discursive formations in the article: (i) discourse of cultural tradition, (ii) discourse of integration, and (iii) discourse of ethno-cultural hybridization. In the first, sports activities are considered to strengthen the cohesion of ethnic groups associations claim to represent. Sports offer an effective way for collective retrospection of the country of origin. In discourse on integration sports get their meaning from integrating immigrants to Finnish society and culture. In the third discourse sports are considered as space, where cultures and identities mix or their meanings as categories organising relationships between people vanishes. In the end of the article, these discursive orientations are approached with the concept of diaspora. Discourse of cultural tradition and part of the utterances expressed in discourse of integration symbolize yearning for lost home and origins. For associations and sports performing discourse of hybridization, the question is rather about aspiration to symbolically manage with the displacement of culture and identity without basing on any fixed cultural entity.

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