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About the Journal

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Editorial

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South Asian Religions and Civic Engagement in the Nordic Countries and Switzerland

Tuomas Martikainen and Martin Baumann

The articles collected in this special issue are based on presentations given at a workshop titled "Engaging in a New Society: Conference on South Asian religions in the Nordic countries and Switzerland" in Turku, Finland, 14–15 June 2010. The event was organised and financed by the Centre of Excellence in Post-Secular Culture and a Changing Religious Landscape in Finland at Åbo Akademi University, the Department for the Study of Religions of the University of Lucerne (Switzerland), and the Donner Institute, Turku (Finland). The main emphasis of the workshop was to study methods of civic engagement among South Asian people and religious organisations in the West.

South Asian immigration and religions in Europe

In the aftermath of the Second World War and the post-war reconstruction period, many people from South Asia[1] arrived and settled in Europe, especially from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Initially, the largest group of migrants were low-skilled, male workers in search of work. This was made rather easy by the fact that many were still British subjects, as Britain was the central target for most immigrants at this stage. While some returned, many stayed and were later followed by women, children and relatives, in what was to become chain migration from the same localities and regions. After the independence of South Asian states, and the ensuing economic and political unrest, and, later, with intensified globalisation from the 1980s onward, the migration flows have become more diverse. Now they also include highly skilled labour migrants, entrepreneurs and students, but also refugees fleeing civil war and persecution. All of the different migration flows have been followed by marriage migration and family reunification in the country of settlement.

The composition and size of South Asian immigration differs between different countries. While the Nordic countries and Switzerland have not been among the main targets of South Asian immigration in Europe, still a significant number have settled there (see Table 1). Some 138,000 had settled in the Nordic countries and approximately 29,000 in Switzerland by 2009. Their share of all first-generation immigrants[2] was as follows: Denmark 7.3%, Finland 3.2%, Norway 11.1%, Sweden 2.9% and Switzerland 1.7%. The low figures show that South Asians do not form a particularly large group in any of the receiving countries, but, nevertheless, Indian, Sri Lankan and Pakistani groups constitute noteworthy minorities. Bangladeshi, Bhutanese and Nepalese are smaller in numbers, and they have also not been particularly visible in research. As elsewhere in Europe, discussion of the second generation is currently growing, even though first-generation immigrants still constitute the largest segment.

The religious diversity of South Asia is well represented among the immigrants. Religious background is also often associated with particular regional, linguistic, and national cultures. For instance, *Hindus* from North and South India settled predominantly in the UK as well as in numerous other countries. Others include Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian *Muslims*; *Christians* from Kerala; *Jains* from Gujarat settling in Manchester, London and Antwerp; *Buddhists* from Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka, and Laos; *Sikhs* from the Punjab with a stronghold in the UK, but also Italy; *Parsis* from Bombay; and Tamil Hindus, Christians and Muslims from Sri Lanka

Table 1. First-generation immigrants from South Asian countries in the Nordic countries and Switzerland in 2009.

	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden	Switzerland
Bangladesh	502	1,197	736	5,500	1,086
Bhutan	39	3	31	30	15
India	6,196	3,624	9,349	16,457	8,277
Nepal	1,188	899	460	504	337
Pakistan	19,880	1,179	30,161	9,161	1,917
Sri Lanka	10,663	649	13,436	6,652	16,889
Total	38,468	7,551	54,173	38,304	28,521

Source: Statistics Denmark, Statistics Finland, Statistics Norway, Statistics Sweden and Swiss Federal Office of Statistics.

who settled as asylum seekers all over Western Europe. The presence of these groups has played an important role in the diversification of religious life in Europe despite the fact that rates of conversion (both to and from the South Asian religions) have been rather low. In addition to immigration, South Asian religions have entered the Western religious field also through religious movements that have been predominantly spread by Western converts. There is a long list of religious traditions that added to the Western religious spiritual market in this way. Among the most well-known are the so-called Hare Krishna (ISKCON), Transcendental Meditation and other neo-Hindu groups, but also various Buddhist traditions, some Sikh-Santh groups and many others are part of the multicoloured and diverse category of "South Asian religions". Even though their growth has mainly taken place since the 1970s, there is a history related to the Theosophical Movement dating back to the late nineteenth century that introduced many 'South Asian' religious concepts in the West, including *karma*, reincarnation, and the glorification of "Indian spirituality".

Over about three decades, numerous studies have examined the various South Asian religions and groups 'abroad'. Whereas during the 1970s and 1980s research focused on the so-called *new religious movements* (NRMs), including Transcendental Meditation, Ananda Marga and ISKCON, since the 1990s research has increasingly focused on immigrant South Asian groups and their religions. In 1986, Kim Knott from the University of Leeds published a pioneering study entitled *Hinduism in Leeds*. In the study, she used ethnography, including participant observation and interviews, to reconstruct and portray the living world, the priest and the Hindu temple in Leeds. At the time it was unusual to use social-scientific methods to study living religions, but since then the focus of research has strongly moved on to study contemporary religions and their place and significance in European societies. Much of the existing research on immigration-based South Asian religions in Europe has been historic-descriptive, aiming to reconstruct and describe the life of South Asian people and their organisations. While the studies have described and analysed adaptations and changes in religious ritual, worship and identity formation, attempts to establish generalisations have also been common.

The Nordic countries and Switzerland have not been at the forefront in the study of South Asian religions in Europe, despite a number of researchers active in the field.[3] As elsewhere, a dichotomy has prevailed between the study of NRMs and immigrant religions, and it has been rarely crossed. In this respect, the role of ISKCON is significant, as it is practiced among the Krishna community, where both immigrants and native converts often practice together. However, in terms of immigration the Nordic countries provide an interesting example of rather small, and sometimes recent, immigrant societies, where also the scale of South Asian migration is rather small. In this way they can broaden our understanding of immigrant settlement in different contexts.

Civic social capital and civic engagement

Debates over *social capital* have been frequent in the social sciences during the 1990s and 2000s. Several articles on this issue address a particular strand of interest in the concept, namely Alex Stepick's, Terry Rey's and Sarah Mahler's (2009) notion of *civic social capital*. Introduced in the book *Churches and Charity in the Immigrant City*, and building upon Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, Stepick and his research team introduced the term of civic social capital. He and the team employed the term "largely to shift focus away from social capital's emphasis on economic benefits to individuals and towards activities that are also civic. We are interested in social ties that extend beyond one's immediate family and friends." (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009:14) Studying immigrant religious communities in Miami, Florida, the researchers focused in particular "on how religious organizations enable or deter social relationships with the broader civic society" (ibid.).

In order to analytically employ the concept, Stepick differentiated civic social capital along the forms of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. *Bonding social capital* "emerges from networks where people share perceived identity relations. It reflects social ties among people defined as socially homogeneous or similar in race, ethnicity, gender, class, and/or religion" (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009:15). Bonding social capital provides emotional support and mutual help to like people.

Bridging social capital "ties together people who are socially different" (ibid.), i.e. it goes beyond the limited range of like and similar people. The concern with bridging social capital in immigrant organisations has to do "with bridging social ties that link immigrants to the broader civic society" (ibid.). Stepick and his group argue that bridging activities may "promote a sense of civic responsibility, overcome divisiveness and insularity, and encourage not only tolerance but cooperation" (ibid.). Bridging social capital links different groups with one another and strives for the common good and for strengthening society at large.

Linking social capital, finally, establishes ties between "people who are not only different, but also unequal in power and access to resources. […] [It] spans vertical arrangements of power, influence, wealth, and prestige" (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009:16). Importantly, this form of civic capital links people and organisations with different levels of power. For example, a leader of a marginalised group may establish ties to spokespersons of influential pressure groups, and to elected and appointed officials. Linking is thus status-bridging social capital and may open doors to new resources and a secure, acknowledged place in society.

Civic engagement is promoted by both individuals, often leaders of a group, and organisations. Taking the perspective and vocabulary of social capital is just one approach and avenue for discussing the engagement of individuals and groups with the larger society. Other approaches come from sociolog-

ical system theory or may be observed and analysed through discourse theory.

Articles

The articles in this special issue highlight various developments in South Asian religions in five countries: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. A unifying aspect (though, not as much as we had hoped) is references to the usefulness of civic social capital as an analytical concept. The papers do not provide country-by-country surveys or systematic comparisons, but, rather, they present particular, topical issues studied in depth in one country, thus lending points of reference and an analytical lens to similar situations and contexts. The papers touch on issues such as government regulation of organisational forms, leadership, authority, authenticity, and the second generation.

Martin Baumann's (University of Lucerne, Switzerland) text discusses civic social capital and Hindu Tamil priests and temples in Switzerland. Tamils constitute the largest Asian immigrant minority in Switzerland. The article provides statistical and qualitative information on the arrival, settlement and current situation of Tamil people in Switzerland, processes of religious institutionalisation, and examples of civic engagement by conceptual means of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital.

Göran Larsson (University of Gothenburg, Sweden) and Nina Björkman (Åbo Akademi University, Finland) provide a literature survey of South Asian Muslims in the Nordic countries. The article deals with the religious and cultural activities of South Asian Muslims in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, especially those of the Ahmadiyya Mission, Tablighi Jama'at and Jamaat-e-Islami. The authors note that while many Muslims arrived in the 1960s and 1970s as labour migrants, today also South Asian students represent an important faction of South Asian Muslims. They also point to the need for further research on South Asian Muslims in general.

Marianne Fibiger (Aarhus University, Denmark) focuses on young Tamil Hindus and their relationship to tradition by using the lens of collective memory. Fibiger concentrates on the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, who negotiate between their religious Hindu, cultural Tamil and social Danish identities. The article discusses the interplay between the local setting, late-modernity, and the way in which especially young, well-educated Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus negotiate their relationship to tradition in terms of their parents and of society, and among each other.

Måns Broo (Åbo Akademi University, Finland) studies the relationship between ISKCON and South Asian Hindus in Finland. The article highlights issues arising from both local conditions and the individual agency of local leaders in giving a place for Indian immigrants among the ISKCON movement in Finland. Hence, despite global tendencies in the Hare Krishna movement, local choices and strategies are still important.

Knut Jacobsen's (University of Bergen, Norway) article analyses leadership structures among Tamil Hindus in Norway. Jacobsen's detailed analysis of the roles of 'manager', 'priest' and 'guru' show that the Christian congregational model only partially makes sense of leadership structures among Tamil Hindus. The priest is mainly a provider of rituals, while the manager and the board are in charge of the running of the temple. This fact is not understood by Norwegian public authorities, who demand higher education of foreign "religious leaders" in order to gain legal entry to Norway. This is done in the name of equal treatment of religious traditions, even though the aim of this policy is to prevent radical Muslim clerics from entering the country.

Katarina Plank (University of Lund, Sweden) looks at Buddhism as medicine, that is, how mindfulness therapies, cognitive behavioural therapy and 'non-religious Buddhism' are interwoven in Sweden. She shows how Buddhist concepts are integrated into Western medical praxis and transformed in the process.

Frank Neubert (University of Bern, Switzerland) studies the emergence of 'Global Hinduism'. By contrasting the ISKCON and Satguru Siva Subramuniyaswami he analyses the different strategies of understanding 'Hinduism' and argues for a gradual emergence of 'Global Hinduism' that has transgressed ethnic boundaries and is becoming a global religion like Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. The Hindu diaspora plays an important role in these developments.

All in all, the focus of the articles is more on developments among immigrant religions, but they also show links to developments among NRMs. Based on the articles, we can safely state that organised religious groups play an important role in civic engagement for immigrants. On the one hand, they provide a place for ethno-religious socialisation, and, on the other hand, they are avenues for both learning necessary civic skills and for reaching out to society. Religious organisations are also called to take on functions that the initiators were not prepared for, including growing state interest in their activities and serving as places of ethno-religious representation for the local society. While these processes are well-known in older immigration societies, the Nordic and Swiss experiences can contribute to a broader understanding of these phenomena. They also provide new insight to the notion of 'immigrant religion', which is too often associated with Islam only.

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Notes

1 There are various definitions of 'South Asia'. In this article it refers to Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Some definitions also include Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar), Iran and the Maldives.

2 *First generation* refers to people born abroad and *second generation* to people born to immigrant parents in their country of settlement, see Rumbaut 2007. The number of immigrants differs from country to country. The data for 2009 is as follows: In Denmark immigrants constituted 9.5% (526,036) of the total population of 5.5 million; in Finland 4.4% (233,183) of the total population of 5.4 million; in Norway 10.2% (488,753) of the total population of 4.8 million; in Sweden 14.3% (1,337,965) of the total population of 9.3 million; and in Switzerland 21.7% (1,680,197) of the total population of 7.8 million.

3 Nordic scholars are, however, quite visible in the study of (Tamil) Hindus (e.g., Baumann, Luchesi & Wilke 2003, Jacobsen & Kumar 2003) and Islam in Europe (e.g., Larsson 2009), though the latter has not in most cases had a particular South Asian focus.

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Martin Baumann

Civic Social Capital and Hindu Tamil Priests and Temples in Switzerland

Abstract

A minority of about 50,000 Hindu Tamils has come to Switzerland during the past three decades. Among other things, the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka have established numerous Hindu temples and sought to recreate self-defined structures to preserve their cultural and religious identity. Taking leave from existing studies and recent research, this article applies the concept of civic social capital to Hindu Tamil priests and temples. It differentiates the dimensions of bonding, bridging and linking capital in order to apply a new analytical perspective on processes of social integration of Hindu Tamils in Switzerland. Emphasis is on aspects such as social and communal "services" provided in temples, priests and temple presidents participating in interreligious activities, and priests maintaining active relations with the media, municipalities, and other social institutions. It argues that in some cases priests and temple presidents have been successful in their use of bridging and linking capital to enhance their status and prestige as well as provide enhanced visibility to the Hindu Tamil minority, thus far more or less unnoticed in Switzerland.

Keywords: Hindu Tamils, Switzerland, Hindu temple, civic social capital, priest

Introduction

Not long after I had started teaching and researching in Switzerland I was invited to a meeting on "Asian religions in Swiss school books" at the University of Zurich in 2002. The meeting to analyse the representation of "Buddhism" and "Hinduism" brought together teachers, scholars, Ph.D. students, school officials, and representatives of Buddhist and Hindu traditions. The single, and thus labelled, "representative" of Hindu religions was the head priest of the Sri Subramaniar Alayam (temple) in Adliswil (near Zurich), Mr. T. Sarahanabavananthakurukkal. The priest had been invited because of his good German language skills and because he was head priest of one of the biggest Hindu temples in the conurbation of Zurich. In addition, a lengthy documentary on Swiss television about his temple had made the priest widely known. The discussions and results of the meeting are not of relevance here, rather the fact that the invitation and participation of the priest points to various links and levels of this special issue of *FJEM* focusing on South Asian religions and civic engagement: The priest was invited by the university, an institution with more access to prestige, power, and influence in the context of Swiss society than the priest's own temple. The priest took part in the meeting, was able to establish links with many (more or less) influential persons, and championed his Brahmanic view of a nondualist "Hinduism". It may be argued why a devotee from the Zurich ISKCON temple was not also invited, but this might have complicated the "scene". However, the fact that Mr. Sarma (the short version of his long name) was selected to be the Hindu representative was grounded in the fact that he himself was bearer of various forms of social capital: Mr. Sarma was not only founder, man-

ager and head priest of one of the biggest Tamil Hindu temples in Switzerland, but he was also a highly regarded member of the Swiss National Interreligious council, and since the widely seen TV documentary, one of *the* Tamil people known and respected in Switzerland.

This and similar meetings, for example on "world religions" and their implications for health care and local cemeteries, gatherings for 'prayer for peace' and interreligious exchange, and many more, are just snippets of the multitude of activities and engagements of South Asian leaders and religious communities in Switzerland. Though usually rarely publicly known, South Asian individuals and religious, cultural, social, and political groups are generally engaged in civil society, seeking support, empowerment and change – both in Switzerland and in the country and region they left behind.

This paper looks at various forms of civil engagement by employing the analytical lens of social capital vocabulary and the distinction between bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. In order to systematically highlight such civic activities, the paper focuses on one South Asian minority in Switzerland, i.e. Hindu Tamils from Sri Lanka. Among other characteristics, Tamil people constitute the largest Asian immigrant minority in Switzerland. The first part of the paper provides statistical and qualitative information on the arrival, settlement and current situation of Tamil people in Switzerland. Part 2 takes a look at processes of religious institutionalisation, i.e. the founding of numerous Hindu temples to venerate the gods and perform the annual festivities. Part 3 provides examples of civic engagement by scrutinising activities of Hindu temples and priests according to the distinction of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. It will become obvious that Hindu leaders and organisations create civic social capital on various levels. Many of the endeavours, however, are not directed towards the country and society of residence. Rather, as former refugees their point of identification and engagement rests to a large extent with the country and people they left behind. The conclusion sums up the findings, discusses the concept of civic social capital, and provides perspectives on topical issues of leadership, second generation, and publicity. Overall, the article strives to contribute to the analyses of civic engagement of immigrant leaders and groups in line with the view that "[C]ompared to the wealth of American research […], research on religion and civic engagement in European countries is still scarce" (Liedhegener 2010:135).

1. Tamil people in Switzerland – data and profile

Tamil people from Sri Lanka form the largest immigrant group of the various South Asian minorities in Switzerland. Indeed, at about 50,000 (including nationalised Sri Lankans) they form the most numerous Asian immigrant group in Switzerland. Indians and the Thai make up some 17,000 and 15,000, respectively (including those nationalised); Vietnamese immigrants make up 13,300; and migrants from Pakistan constitute a comparatively small minority of about 3,000. Other migrants from South Asian countries comprise just a few hundred people (Federal Office of Statistics 2008a). About 90 % to 95 % of the Sri Lankans are Tamils, amounting to approximately 45,000 to 47,500 Tamils in Switzerland.

Tamils fled the war-torn South Asian island after the mid-1980s. For 25 years, from the 1983 pogrom to the end of the war in 2009, continuous streams of refugees fled and came to South India, Australia, North America, and Europe. Estimates for Sri Lankan Tamils in Western Europe range from 200,000 to 250,000.

In Switzerland, Tamil refugees have been distributed to all cantons and communities. As asylum seekers they received support from the local community and had to stay there for a time. Only after gaining secure legal status, more mobility was possible. Quite a number came to the cities and towns where work opportunities were better and there was less social marginalisation and control. Also, it was easier to meet relatives and fellow Tamils, and Tamil cultural and religious associations as well shops were within easy reach. As a result, in 2008 the vast majority of Tamil people lived in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, Zurich and Bern and the north-western cantons forming clear strongholds (Federal Office of Statistics 2009:10).

At the start of 2010, almost 50,000 migrants from Sri Lanka resided in Switzerland: 17,800 had acquired Swiss nationality (35.5 %), 28,000 Sri Lankan citizens were on a continual and secure legal stay (56 %), and 3,960 asylum seekers had been provisionally admitted (figures from the Federal Office for Migration 2010a: 5 and 2010b; Federal Office of Statistics 2009a). Importantly, since the late 1990s, the number of Sri Lankan immigrants securing permanent status and those receiving Swiss citizenship grew exponentially. Whereas from 1974 to 2001 only 2,300 Sri Lankans had gained Swiss citizenship, from 2002 to 2009 some 15,500 were nationalised. The main reasons for this significant development were three special state regulations to legalise the stay of Tamils in Switzerland (after failed state repatriation programmes in the early 1990s), as well as acknowledge their length of stay, as many had arrived in the mid-1980s. In late 2009, 91.5 % of the refugees either were nationalised or had acquired a legally secure stay; only 8 % still faced an insecure future and a potential move back to Sri Lanka (Moret & Efionayi, Stants 2007:44, Federal Office of Migration 2010a, 2010b).

Taking up Swiss citizenship was often motivated by pragmatism: on the one hand, a Swiss passport ensured a secure stay, opened prospects for a better job, and enabled easier entry to Sri Lanka as a Swiss citizen than as a Tamil, non-resident Sri Lankan. On the other hand, identification with Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan nationality was poor and the change of passport was considered merely an administrative act. As such, gaining citizenship does not necessarily imply strong identification bonds with the new country. Rather, as will be argued later, the identification remained heavily tied to Tamil Jaffna regions (Northern Sri Lanka), the province of emigration and place where parents and relatives still lived. It

is most likely, however, in the course of time and the maturing of the young generation that the focus of identification will strongly shift towards the country of residence, i.e. Switzerland (Baumann 2002, Eulberg 2010).

According to Swiss Census 2000, the educational and economic situation of Sri Lankan Tamils had been plainly below average: in 2000, only 17 % of Tamils obtained an advanced education and 17.5 % secondary education (compared to total Swiss national education 19.2 % and 51.3 %), whereas a majority of 65.5 % of Tamils gained only primary education (total Swiss 29.5 %, Bovay 2004:40). Less advanced education and the provisional legal status of admittance limited chances for upward mobility. This relegated Tamils to take up jobs in less-prestigious sectors: in 2000, 38.2 % worked in the poorly-paid sector of restaurant kitchens (total Swiss employed 5.4 %) and 11.9 % in the likewise inadequately paid health care sector, as nurses and floor cleaners (total Swiss 10.9 %, Bovay 2004:117). In particular, the insecure legal status predominant during the 1990s forced Tamils to take any job, at times two jobs simultaneously. Only a job, regular income, and one's own social security made it possible to obtain a more secure and lasting stay in Switzerland (Markus 2005, Baumann 2007:230-232). With acquiring a secure, legal stay, the significant increase in citizenship, and a strong emphasis on education, Tamil people will be able to find better jobs and enjoy a chance for upward mobility.

It needs to be mentioned that Tamils themselves worked to improve their situation. Following the first massive wave of Tamil asylum entries in the mid-1980s, populist media and politicians assaulted Tamils as 'drug dealers and social security fraudsters'. During the 1990s, however, Tamils achieved a more positive image in wider society, due to their diligence, industriousness, reliability, willingness to adapt and eagerness to learn (Bühlmann 2002). Nowadays, the second generation has advanced in terms of educational level, and almost all speak the vernacular (German, Swiss German and French in West Switzerland) and identify with Swiss life and Switzerland. Public opinion values Tamil people as a model minority of integration. However, socio-economic indicators and data strongly point to modest, low-key social incorporation within the lower strata of Swiss society.

As in Sri Lanka, Tamils in the diaspora strongly kept to endogamy in marriage patterns, i.e. not marrying outside the ethnic group but having a Tamil husband or wife. Both in Switzerland and Germany, among all ethnic groups Tamils scored highest in the rate of endogamy (Bovay 2004:67, Baumann 2000:104). This is significant as it conveys the importance of handing down religious and cultural traditions to the next generation. Generally speaking, in a high percentage of marriages between like religious and ethnic partners, children are socialised in the same religious tradition and the maintenance of traditions is secured, while religiously mixed marriages render the maintenance of religious traditions much less likely. Recent figures point to a nascent change toward more interethnic marriages between Tamils and the Swiss, indicating a process of acculturation in this as in other social and cultural areas (Federal Office of Statistics 2009b:9, Federal office of Statistics 2010). The importance of caste diminishes as well and is contested by education, wealth, occupation, and socio-economic status. With arranged marriages, however, caste remains significant and salient (Lüthi 2005:47).

2. Hindu Tamils and religious institutions

In religious terms, according to research by Christopher McDowell, 87 % of the Tamil refugees arriving in Switzerland during the period between 1983 and 1991 were Hindus (McDowell 1996:119). Later research indicated that the distribution was some 70 % Hindu – most followers of the god Civan (Skt Śiva) and his family, around 9 % Roman-Catholic, 5 % Protestant, some Muslim, and – importantly – around 13 % without any religious affiliation (numbers for Germany, applicable to Switzerland as well, see Baumann & Salentin 2006). The number of Hindu Tamils thus can be estimated at around 30,000 (C. Baumann 2003, Baumann 2007:226; for Indian Hindus, see Wälchli 2008).

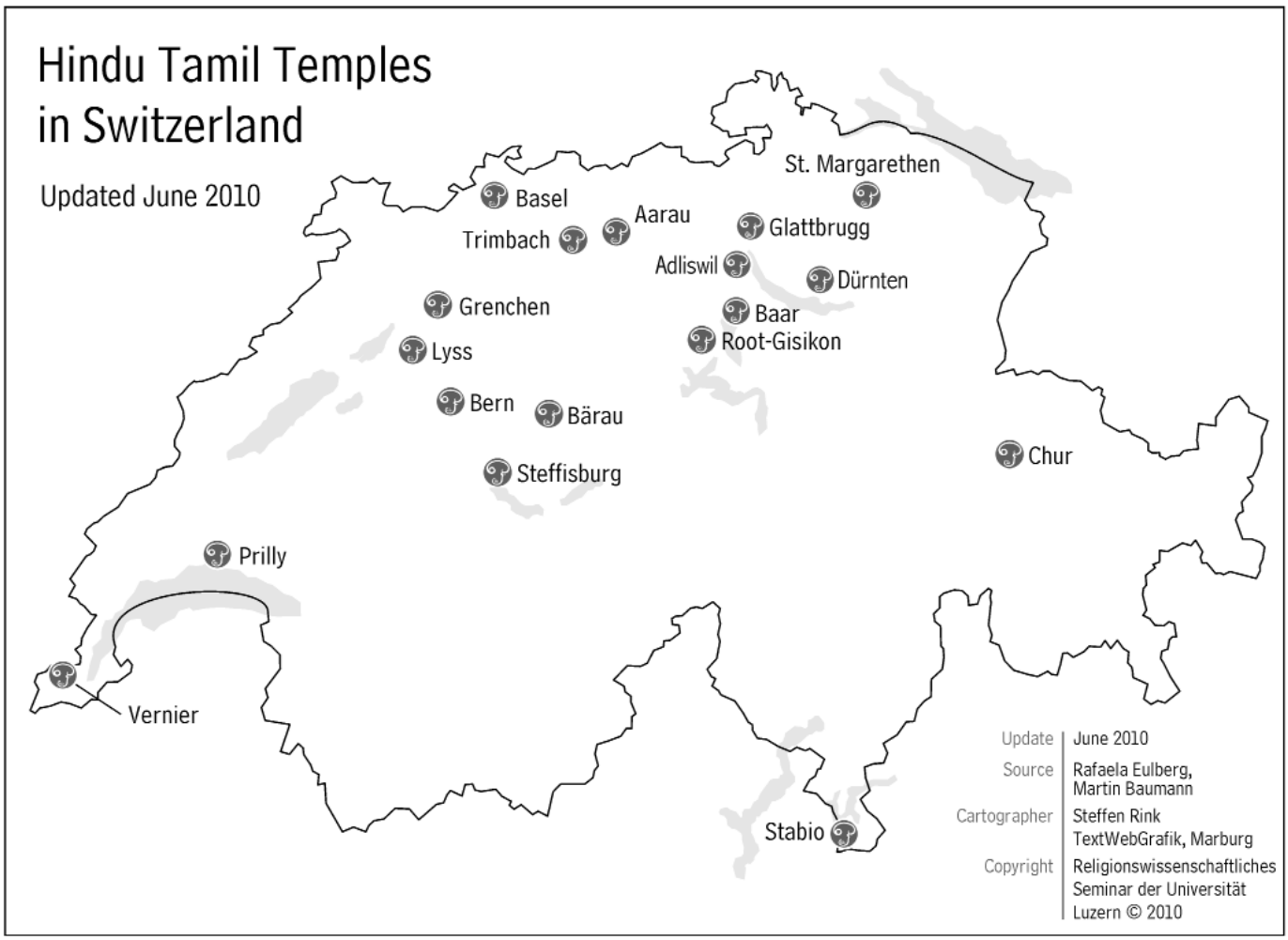
Religious practice takes place both in the home and in regional temples. As Christopher Fuller emphasised with regard to South India, "temples, and what goes on in them, are but one part of Hinduism as a whole. Much Hindu religious practice takes place in the home" (Fuller 1988:50), i.e. practices such as fasting, devotion, and praying are as important for Hindu religious life as temple worship.

Bearing this in mind, importantly since the arrival of women and children in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Hindu Tamils started to found religious and cultural institutions and to open their own shops for the provision of goods badly needed in daily life. The 1990s can be called a time of institutionalisation, temple proliferation, and long-term establishment in the Swiss diaspora. Also, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) gained a strong foothold and influence among Tamils, though the organisation's range of power and control remained contested among Tamils, journalists, and the state security service.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, Hindu Tamils founded numerous temples. In 2010, there were 18 temples of varying size, the majority located in the conurbations of cities in the German-speaking cantons (see map).

Spacious temples in con verted warehouse depots evolved on the outskirts of Zurich (Adliswil, in 1995), the capital Bern (1994, relocated 2002), and Basel (initially 1986, relocated in 1989, 1994, and 2009). These temples have been complemented by many mid-sized or small temples in converted cellars, houses and warehouses. The bigger temples stage the annual temple festival with impressive public processions, attended by several thousand participants and visitors. The festival is both an occasion for religious observation and reconnecting with like kin and friends (Luchesi 2008, Eulberg 2008, 2010).

Interestingly, the first purpose-built Hindu temple is planned for inauguration in 2011 in Trimbach (Northwest



Switzerland). Most likely, the Sri Manomani Ampal Alayam in Trimbach will become as central and important for Swiss Hindu Tamils as the monumental, purpose-built Sri Kamadchi Ampal Alayam in Hamm/Germany (Baumann & Luchesi, Wilke 2003, Liebheit 2009). For many priests in both Switzerland and Germany, the Sri Kamadchi temple serves as the achievement of a vision and a model: the completion of a visible, "true" Hindu temple where the special favour of the gods rests.

The religious and cultural organisations are usually set up as associations. According to Swiss law they need to have rules of order and a democratically elected board. These regulations are employed and interpreted in different ways, as will be illustrated later. Generally, the local community, canton and state do not support or financially subsidise a religious organisation. The aims and activities of the various institutions thus have to be resourced by Tamils on their own through contributions and voluntary work. In general, it is possible to observe a distinction between religious activities tied to the private home and the priest and temple; and cultural, educational, sporting and other activities bound to Tamil cultural and social associations. Only rarely do the activities come together under one organisational frame, such as the Sri Manomani Alayam in Trimbach, founded in 1991 as the 'Association for Support of Tamil Culture in Switzerland', and the Hindu temple in Basel offering counselling for Tamil people as well as youth and women's groups, language classes, a theatre group, a library, and more.

Predominantly first generation immigrants, always men, lead and manage the 'established' institutions and organisations. Thus far, only few members of the second, upcoming generation have become involved in governing a religious and cultural organisation. Young Tamils have started creating and founding their own spaces and institutions, such as sports clubs (football, cricket), a Tamil students' union, and the (political) Tamil Youth Organisation, as well as on the religious front the Saivanerikoodam temple as part of the interreligious project House of Religions in Bern. Generally, however, the 'established' institutions and new groups work together and support one another in times of need.

In the following, Part 3 will analyse activities of civic engagement engendered by Hindu Tamil immigrants and their religious associations and temples.

3. Hindu Tamils and civic social capital

During the past 25 years Tamil immigrants invested much time, voluntary work, and financial resources to support and engage Tamil people and to recreate social, cultural, and religious institutions and ways of life. Reviewing the list of organisations and groups founded by Tamils in Switzerland, in

a list provided in 2007 by Moret & Efionayi, Stants, we count some 90 different listings, among them political organisations, contact and support points, national and local cultural associations, Hindu temples and Pentecostal churches, sports and leisure clubs, as well as Tamil media groups (2007:136-154). Generally, Tamils are heavily organised, and members of the upper Brahmin and Vellala castes know how to get things moving. The networks and institutions are means for support, orientation, and reconstruction; also ways for creating prestige, status and influence as well as to some extent re-establishing former power relations and inequalities.

Employing the approach of civic social capital as suggested by Alex Stepick and his research team (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009a), in the following we will employ the distinctions between bonding, bridging and linking social capital to Hindu Tamil religious organisations and religious leaders, i.e. priests. In which ways and by which means do Hindu temples and priests engender civic engagement according to the three forms? To what extent do they promote activities that go beyond a focused religious function? Tuomas Martikainen in his study on *Immigrant Religions in Local Society*, studying amongst other things such socially engaged activities in Turku, called this the "'secular' activities" of religious organisations (Martikainen 2004:230). Indeed, as studies underscore, most diasporic religious immigrant places are multifunctional sites with religious and non-religious activities going hand in hand (Warner & Wittner 1998, Behloul 2004).

3.1. Bonding social capital

Bonding social capital "emerges from networks where people share perceived identity relations" (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009a:15), i.e. immigrant people of the same religion or ethnicity. It provides emotional support and mutual help to like people.

Basically, Tamil Hindu temples provide religious worship and rituals. Temples offer the opportunity to be near the gods and to 'see' them when *darśana* (Skt., Tam. *taricanam*) is granted – seeing and being seen by the divine (Eck 1998). Also, devotees can give offerings, venerate the gods and beg for their boon, and thank for wishes fulfilled. Socially, the temple is a place for meeting like kin and friends and be together among those of the same language and culture. Temples provide worship (Tam. *pūcai*, Skt. *pūjā*), meeting opportunities, and the distribution of free food after the worship, which serves as a means for in-group integration; it brings together Hindu Tamils scattered in different towns and villages and provides emotional support and solace to people in an alien culture and society. A Hindu temple, in particular the larger ones with the provisions of a kitchen and a spacious 'function room' for celebrating marriages and hosting cultural presentations (dance, theatre etc.), creates what Robert Orsi called a "sense world" (Orsi 1985:172). For many, the Hindu temple is a basic point of religious orientation. Through festivals, rituals, acts, sights, sounds, and smells it generates an atmosphere of authenticity not reproducible in the private domain.

Temple worship is not a group ritual and thus does not create or promote solidarity among fellow Tamils. In particular, caste distinctions impede a common solidarity. Rather, solidarity primarily relates to extended family members and fellow caste members. Due to the diasporic shortage of Hindu temples, Tamils from different castes visit the same temple, where high, middle, and low caste people all gather. Communality finally ends when the common meal is distributed at the end of the *pūjā*: Sometimes, upper-caste people take the meal with them, to eat at home and not in communion with lower caste fellows. The pattern is likely to change with the evolution of the second generation, but thus far studies on the issue are lacking.

In recent years, a few Hindu temples have added a link to their websites called "services" (Tam. *ālayacēvaikal* [services of [the] temple]). Services include various activities, both religious and non-religious, as well as bonding and bridging activities. For example, the already mentioned Sri Sivasubramaniar temple in Adliswil lists several such services on its website (www.murugantemple-zh.ch). The first-stated service encompasses the provision of a library (Tam. *kumaran nūlakam*) with booklets and texts. The literature offered on display is almost exclusively in Tamil, and most texts deal in one way or another with religious topics. As such, setting up a library serves the temple's own, and not a wider population, and constitutes another form of bonding social capital.

The next "service" on the list encompasses cultural events for Tamils as well as non-Tamils. Typically, by way of an example, a picture shows two Tamil girls performing Indian dances (*bharatanāṭyam*) for a non-Tamil audience with accompanying explanations by a young man. Such cultural activities are intended to promote interest and awareness among the wider public and to help develop mutual trust in face-to-face relations. Other such activities include inviting school and other groups, such as teachers, parish members and the general public, to visit. All of these activities can be labelled bridging social capital as they establish ties beyond Tamil people, to members of the broader civic society.

Furthermore, the "services" listed include gatherings such as religious festivals and rites of passage. Interestingly, the temple lists these as a service of the third tier, following the library and the activities for non-Tamil visitors – not among the first and foremost services.

Finally, the website's service listings include pictures of a group of boys going to a boys' school in eastern Sri Lanka. Obviously, the temple financially supports the school. Some boys might be orphans, while others are with their family. As a result of the civil war and dwindling state support, in particular schools for Tamil children have been in need of extra financial support. This activity, too, can be labelled bonding social capital, as it strengthens ties between people of the same cultural-linguistic group.

Other temples, such as the above-mentioned Sri Kamadchi Ampal temple in Hamm/Germany, provided support to build an orphanage after the devastating tsunami in late 2004. Supporting schools and helping to establish an orphanage or

a hospital are activities that strengthen bonds from the secure diaspora to the former homeland in need.

In a similar way, for example Jains in Antwerp and Manchester sent money and assistive equipment to provide support and relief after the earthquake disaster of 2001 in the Gujarat.

As Stepick and his project team illustrate with case studies of Cuban, Haitian, and other immigrant groups in Miami, remittances and political, religious, and moral support are common and well-established forms of transnational civic social engagement (Stepich, Rey & Mahler 2009a, Hansing 2009). At this stage, compared with long-established immigrant groups, Hindu Tamils in Switzerland and Western Europe engage less in civic projects in the society of residence but strongly in the society they left years or even decades before. Engagement in the society and region left behind takes on social, financial, as well as political forms.

3.2. Bridging social capital

According to Stepick and his team, bridging social capital "ties together people who are socially different" (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009a:15), i.e. activities and engagement go beyond the limited range of like and similar people.

With regards to Hindu temples, this form is constituted in activities such as welcoming school groups and other non-Tamil groups, as noted above, and taking part in religious dialogue activities. Most often, Christian leaders or groups arrange for an interreligious dialogue meeting and invite Jews, Muslims, Baha'i and Buddhists, as well a "representative of Hinduism". Most Hindu priests fluent in German or French highly appreciate such invitations as a sign of acknowledgment and respect and most make an effort to accept such invitations. On the other hand, due to time constrains of the usually working priests, such interreligious meetings represent an extra burden. Most often, the priest is salaried by the temple board to conduct religious activities in the temple, and has to match his earnings with 'secular' work.

In similar terms, participation in the annual 'week of religions' in November, inaugurated by the National Interreligious Council of Switzerland, is another form of bridging activity. However, such involvement implies a lot of surplus organisational work for those involved with the management of a temple. For example, the president of the Sri Manomani temple in Trimbach, the first purpose-built temple in Switzerland, was asked to take part in the interreligious week in 2009. The main idea was to signal the openness of the temple and its board and to provide the first steps of communication with the wider society. Having no experience yet of what was expected and to come, the president asked a Ph.D. student who was currently studying the temple to help in arranging a day of "open Hindu temple" during the week. As such, the president made use of his linking social capital in asking a university member to support the bridging activity in organisational terms.

Only rarely an interreligious activity is initiated on the Hindu side. One example was the celebration for the 80th birthday of Sathya Sai Baba in 2006: In Lucerne, the local Sai Baba group staged a celebration with children of the so-called 'Hindu classes' to perform devotional songs. In addition, representatives of the Catholic parish, and of Muslims, Buddhists and Baha'i had been invited to perform a prayer and to participate as honoured guests in the celebration. The birthday festival provided both bridging ties to other religious leaders as well as linking capital to the dominant church in the canton.

In general, in religious terms Hindu Tamils and Hindu organisations in Switzerland are less interested in forms of bridging social capital. On the one hand, this has to do with the severe time constraints on priests and temple board members, who are already absorbed with arranging matters for their own temples. On the other hand, internal reservations and distinctions based on status, caste and political interests impede the formation of lasting internal bridging forms and umbrella organisations. For example, the initiative to establish a national board of Hindu priests in Switzerland never became a success. The impulse to organise such a board was voiced by the National Interreligious Council of Switzerland to Tamil priests in the early 2000s. Some priests took up the idea, but due to internal disagreement and the more or less open involvement of the LTTE, the endeavour never really left its founding stage (C. Baumann 2003:280).

3.3. Linking social capital

Linking social capital, finally, establishes ties between "people who are not only different, but also unequal in power and access to resources" (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009a:16). It is a vertical link to power, influence, wealth, and prestige.

In contrast to the comparatively low rate of bridging social capital, temple presidents and temple priests exercise various forms of linking social capital. For example, the above-mentioned Sri Sivasubramaniar temple was founded with the help of well-established Swiss persons from Zurich in 1994. In order to find a suitable place for the temple, a board was formed with members from the National Interreligious Council of Switzerland, the president of the Protestant Churches of Zurich, and people from academia and the municipality (constituting linking social capital of the priest Sarma). This board was instrumental in lending credibility to enable the leasing of an industrial hall in a suburban community of Zurich. The temple flourished, the priest worked energetically to attract many devotees, and by and by the temple became one of the best-known Hindu temples in Switzerland. On the basis of this, a cultural programme of Swiss television produced a film on the annual temple festival 2001, another form of linking social capital for the main priest and temple manager, Mr. Sarma. Participating in the Swiss Interreligious National Council and, for example, in conferences and meetings such as those outlined in the introduction, provided further avenues of linking for the priest. The many links to school teachers, journalists, film-makers, municipal officials, and most recently a stint as an actor in the film 'Madly in Love' (as a priest, 2009), enhanced both the social capital and prestige of the head priest.

In the early 2000s, the Swiss board members had been active in working to establish democratic structures to organise the running of the Sri Sivasubramaniar temple. However, the imposed democratic structures with the strong influence of affiliated members led to a crisis in 2002: Mr. Sarma, the head priest and manager of the temple, felt that such structures of democratic decision making were inappropriate for running a temple and its activities. Also, rumours about influence of the LTTE were strong. The priest quit his involvement with the temple and in 2004, as numerous Hindu Tamils had begged him (his own words and version), he opened his own temple not far from the former temple and located in the same municipality. After six years, Mr. Sarma moved his Sri Vishnu Thurkkai Amman temple to another place in the canton of Zurich, away from the competing Sri Sivasubramaniar temple. In November 2009, the groundbreaking ceremony took place for the relocated goddess temple, now placed in Dürnten. Mr. Sarma had been successful in inviting the president of the municipality of Dürnten, Mr. Hubert J. Rüegg, to play a part in the ceremony. The participation of the municipality's head established (again) important linking ties to appointed local officials and contributed to the acceptance of the temple in the community. A day later, a national newspaper published a positive article about the groundbreaking ceremony, including a colour photograph showing the priest Mr. Sarma and the community president decorated with a flower garland, an orange Indian scarf on his shoulders and around his head, taking part in a ritual (Hahn 2009). The attendance, participation, and welcome speech of the president legitimised the Hindu temple in the community and region.

In similar ways, other temples and religious leaders in Switzerland and abroad have been successful in establishing supportive status-linking ties to people and institutions of influence and prestige. For example, the priest of the Sri Thurkkai Amman temple near Lucerne, Mr. N.R. Sasithara Sarma, maintains good contacts and relations with local journalists, clergy of the Roman-Catholic church, members of the university, and members of the local municipality and the canton. These vertical contacts and the priest's friendliness and responsiveness have produced repeated media coverage of the Hindu temple and the priest in the local newspaper; the use of the community halls of the Catholic parish for celebrating Hindu festivities (e.g. see above); support in creating a booklet about the temple and its gods; two short films about Hindu festivals (Sindemann 2004); and a book by Mr. Sasithara Sarma about Hindu rituals (forthcoming). Contacts and negotiations with the local municipality, finally, enabled allowance for a special place at the local river to dispose the ashes of cremated persons (Eulberg 2009). The priest, in contrast to the reluctant temple board, supported arrangements for visits by local school groups, parish groups, and the general public. This civic engagement fostered a better understanding of Hindu ritual and religiosity among the wider public, generated mutual trust, and promoted an awareness of the plurality of religions in the canton. The various linking ties enhanced public knowledge and acceptance of the Hindu temple and made it possible to meet some of its needs. The maintenance and costs, nevertheless, have to be met entirely by Hindu Tamils affiliated to the priest and temple.

Conclusion

Looking at the short history of some 20 years of Hindu Tamil institutionalisation in Switzerland, we observe various examples of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. There is a strong emphasis on inner-group bonding activities, as Hindu Tamils and leaders are eager to recreate the cultural and religious bonds and institutions of Sri Lankan Jaffna. Forms of bridging activities are rare though not absent; involvement in bridging activities most often result from outside initiatives. In contrast, individuals and leaders maintain various vertical linking relations to persons and institutions with access to power, influence and prestige. Such status linking supports a generally positive reception of Tamil people and their temples and enables some of the temples' needs to be provided for.

To a large extent, the examples of Hindu Tamil civic engagement listed here emphasise the positive benefits of social capital. Bridging and linking ties supported, amongst others, the establishment of Hindu temples, receiving privileges, and in general establishing a well-regarded place in Swiss society. However, the supporting vertical relations often entailed a reverse effect and constituted strikingly patronising structures: Swiss people and institutions in power and with more prestige told 'the poor refugees' how to act, how to organise and what to do. Though this was done with good intentions, the patronising attitudes reinforced the inequalities of Swiss society and manifested the power difference between the Swiss supporters and the foreign recipients. The generous help and tolerance were beneficial, but came with expectations of acting in accordance with the donors' terms. Only later, with better languages skills and with their own expertise about Swiss society and its implicit rules, Hindu leaders gained the competence to transform bridging and linking ties for Tamils' self-determined interests, goals, and accumulation of prestige. As such, to enable bridging and linking social capital to surmount patronising structures and to allow empowerment and self-determined action, at least a certain level of equality in prestige, access to power and institutional basis are necessary. In the case of immigrant communities, leadership and length of stay are decisive variables. In line with the factor of leadership, the article provided examples of Hindu leaders, i.e. priests and temple board presidents, as they took on critical roles in engendering civic social capital (for leadership, see Stepick, Mahler & Rey 2009b:260f).

Regarding the variable 'length of stay', conspicuous degrees of engagement and civic social capital have been directed towards Tamil speaking regions in Sri Lanka. It is too early in the immigration and settlement process of Sri Lankan Tamil people to observe forms of civic engagement directed towards the host society. Rather, the focus of engagement of the diaspora group rests clearly with the country and culture

of emigration. In view of the uncertain fate of relatives and the loss of educational and social infrastructure in the wake of the war, the emphasis on the former homeland is very understandable. Despite this general focus, however, a few individuals in the upcoming, younger Tamil generation have become heavily engaged, for example, as local politicians or intercultural mediators (women in particular), socially and politically participating in the development of Swiss society. They can be labelled both pioneers and examples of success based on their own efforts and commitment (Markus 2005).

It will be interesting to see whether the focus of engagement and identification of the second and third Tamil generations will shift towards the country and society of residence. Diaspora studies and diasporic phase models suggest such a development, in particular if the host society grants opportunities for upward social mobility and the engendering of a feeling of belonging, acceptance, and participation (Baumann 2002).

In addition, recent developments of Hindu Tamil leaders and temples leaving the state of invisibility and gaining more publicity – through media reports, participation in interreligious dialogue, their own websites, and grand temple festivals – will expand and strengthen bridging and linking ties to the wider public. The extent to which the first purpose-built Hindu temple in Switzerland will expand civic engagement will be worth noting. Most likely, as observed with the impressive Sri Kamadchi Ampal temple in Hamm/Germany, the architecturally South Indian-styled Sri Manomani Ampal temple in Trimbach will attract many Swiss visitors, groups, and media. Also, it is likely that the temple will draw more Hindu Tamils to its festivals than any other Hindu temple in Switzerland. As in Germany with the Sri Kamadchi temple and its head priest and manager Sri Paskarakurukkal, the wide publicity most likely will transform the Sri Manomani temple and its diligent president for Swiss authorities and sectors (media, politics, churches, schools) into *the* representative of Hinduism in Switzerland. The appearance of the new, publicly visible temple will further change the thus-far hidden, hardly noticed presence of Hindu religion – perceived more often than not as exotic and foreign – into an accepted religion in a pluralistic Swiss society.

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South Asian Muslims in the Nordic Countries: An Overview based on the Existing Literature

Abstract

The following article deals with a number of topics relating to the religious and cultural activities of South Asian Muslims in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. While Finland has the longest history of Muslim presence, it has a significantly smaller Muslim minority than the other Nordic countries. This, and other differences, contributes to the very different settings for Muslims in the above-mentioned countries. While many Muslims arrived in the 1960s and 1970s as labour migrants, today the many foreign students from South Asia represent an important faction of South Asian Muslims. Transnational networks have also become increasingly important, and the Ahmadiyya mission, Tablighi Jama'at and Jamaat-e-Islami, among others, all play an important role in the religious field. The material available is, however, still very scarce and, as the findings of this article conclude, further research is sorely needed to give an overview that goes beneath the surface of religious activities in these communities.

Keywords: South Asian Muslims, Muslim organisations, Ahmadiyya, Tablighi Jama'at, Jamaat-e-Islami

A quick search on the Internet reveals that the study of Islam and Muslims in the Nordic countries has advanced over the last decade, and that a growing number of recent academic articles, chapters and books have focused on topics such as Muslim organisations, Muslim women, migration and diaspora issues, and Islamic law. Besides academic studies and journalistic reporting it is also clear that a so-called Muslim presence on the Internet has become more visible, and most Muslim groups today have their own web pages. Apart from this material it is also easy to access a large number of blogs, discussion lists and portals that are devoted to Islam and Muslim affairs. Some of these sites and forums are set up by Muslims, who want to discuss or promote Islam, but others are focused on criticising or harassing people of Muslim cultural backgrounds (see, for example, Larsson 2007 on this development). Consequently, the Internet can be used for connecting various groups and people of different interests to support or criticise Islam and Muslims who live as minorities in Western Europe. Migrants who want to adhere to their religious traditions are also using the latest information and communication technologies to keep in contact with their religious leaders in their home countries, and several Muslim *ulama* have become prominent spokespersons on the Internet or via satellite television shows that are broadcast from the Middle East, South Asia or other parts of Europe (see, for example, Skovgaard-Petersen & Gräf 2009, Galal 2009).

Still it is evident that the research on Muslim migrants to the Nordic countries is a young speciality within the academic field of Islamic studies. Even though we have basic information about the institutionalisation of Islam and Muslims we still lack important data that can shed light on the religious life of, for example, the migrants of a South Asian background.

For example, we have little field data that can be used for highlighting theological discussions and internal variations that can be related to attitudes, gender and generational differences etcetera, that prevail among migrants of a South Asian background. As this short overview will demonstrate we have more data from Norway that can be related to individuals of a South Asian Muslim cultural background than we have from Sweden, Denmark and Finland. While Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims have been highly visible in Norway, they are almost invisible in the other Nordic countries. The material for this article was collected and based on a systematic search via available databases, such as Index Islamicus and ATLA Religion Database, and library search engines in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland.

Based on the existing literature, the aim of this overview is to offer some basic data about migrants of Muslim South Asian cultural backgrounds and their institutions in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. The presentation is arranged according to a number of topics that will highlight both the internal diversity and trajectories in the migration history of the South Asian Muslim diaspora in the northern parts of Europe. We have focused on the institutionalisation of South Asian Muslim groups in the Nordic countries because the establishment of Muslim organisations from the Indian subcontinent are closely related to transnational and global processes, but also to migration and integration policies in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Even though it is possible to find most Muslim organisations that originate in the Indian Subcontinent in the Nordic countries, it is clear that they have managed differently in the respective countries. The different approaches can most likely be explained by migration patterns, local politics and policies and by the fact that the number of South Asian migrants varies between the four Nordic countries included in this survey. Even though it would be of great interest to focus on everyday activities and apply theories that relate to theoretical questions, such as "bonding and bridging social capital" as used by Alex Stepick, Terry Rey and Sarah J. Mahler (2009), the existing literature does not support such an analysis. As this brief outline will show, most research is focused on institutionalisation processes and migration patterns and we have hardly any information about everyday activities or theological discussions among South Asian migrants in the Nordic countries. From this point of view, our text is a call for more longitudinal and comparative research that brings in new theoretical and methodological aspects and, most importantly, more empirical data that will help us better understand the Nordic South Asian Muslim communities.

Some important starting points

When we use the term 'South Asians' we refer only to individuals of a Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi background, and consequently Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan are excluded. This narrow definition is used because Islam is the dominant religion in Pakistan and Bangladesh, but it is also a significant contributor to Indian cultures. There are of course also Muslims in Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, but the numbers of Muslims in these countries are very low (see Jacobsen & Pratap Kumar 2004). The figures for the Nordic countries are mainly based on official migration statistics and it is important to remember that there is no causal connection between the origins of an individual and his/her religious belonging or attitude towards religion. It would therefore be wrong to assume that all Pakistani individuals practise Islam, but nevertheless it is likely that they have been influenced by Islam and Muslim cultures that are rooted in a rich flavour of Islamic traditions. Furthermore, when it comes to statistics for India we have to remember that a large portion of the population is Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Jain, but a considerable number is also Muslim, and India as a country has a long history with Islam.

At first glance, and even though the countries in the Nordic rim have a long history in common and have been interconnected in periods of war and peace, more or less share the same cultural values and understand each other's languages – with the important exception of Finnish – there are significant differences. Islam is, however, a recognised religion in all Nordic countries and a number of Islamic organisations are acknowledged and accepted by the states of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. However, when it comes to Muslim religious belonging we do not have any reliable statistics for Sweden, since religious belief is a private matter and consequently not included in official statistics. But it is relatively safe to argue that most migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh have a Muslim cultural belonging – a fact that does not say if and to what degree they practice Islam – but when it comes to India it is even more problematic to assume that the migrants are Muslims. However, while the population in India belong to a large number of different religious traditions, it is plausible that some of the Indian migrants are Muslims, but not to the same extent as the migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Statistics on religious belonging (i.e. membership in, for example, a Muslim organisation) are, however, available for Finland and Norway. Tuula Sakaranaho, however, estimates that only about 10% of the Muslims in Finland are members of a registered religious community (Sakaranaho 2006:262). An estimate from 2009 of the number of migrants with a Muslim cultural background in the Nordic countries is given in the table below.

Table 1. Number of Muslims in the Nordic countries per country and by percentage of the population

Country	Estimated number of Muslims	Percentage of total population
Denmark	221,800	4
Norway	150,000	3
Sweden	350,000–400,000	3.8-4.4
Finland	40,000	0.8

Source: Larsson 2009, p. 3, but some of the figures have been updated according to data presented in this article.

Resembling other migrant groups, Muslims who originate in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have mainly arrived in the Nordic countries as workforce migrants or as guest students. While the first South Asian migrants started to arrive in small numbers from the end of the 1960s, the number of international students has increased considerably over the last decades. One explanation for this development is the fact that higher education is free in the Nordic countries and that even international students do not need to pay for tuition. The number of migrants from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh is, however, still low. The figures for Sweden, Norway and Denmark for the years 2007–2009 are given in the table below.

One of the first South Asian Muslim groups to arrive in Sweden was the so-called Uganda Asians. Members of this group arrived in Sweden after having been forced out of Uganda in 1972 following a political coup by the dictator Idi Amin. In order to demonstrate his hate towards the British colonial system he decided to get rid of all so-called non-Ugandans, especially the guest workers who had been employed by the British colonial power. Contrary to most South Asian migrants that arrive to Sweden today, this group was dominated by Shia Muslims. The large majority of the Uganda Asians settled in England, but a small minority ended up in Sweden (see Westin 1990). In this process they were able to get jobs at the Saab car factory in Trollhättan on the west coast of Sweden. From the mid-1970s members of this group had gathered for prayer and in 1985 they were able to build a Shia mosque in Trollhättan (for more on the Shia Muslims in Sweden, see Thurfjell 1999). Initially there were no open tensions between Sunni and Shia Muslims in Trollhättan, but when more Sunni Muslims arrived in the city the differences between the groups became more emphasised. Even though Trollhättan is one of the most important and interesting cities in Sweden, when it comes to the institutionalisation of Islam and Muslims there are at the moment of writing this paper no detailed studies of the religious landscape of the city; an illustration of the lack of empirical research about Islam and Muslims in the Nordic countries and in particular South Asian Muslims.

The Muslim presence and the institutionalisation of Islam in Norway are to a high degree interconnected and linked to the migration of Pakistani Muslims to the country in the 1970s. While migrants from Pakistan constitute a minority among immigrants in Sweden, Denmark and Finland, they make up the largest group in Norway. According to estimations by Christine M. Jacobsen and Oddbjørn Leirvik, approximately 3 % (circa 150,000 individuals) of the total Norwegian population of 4.6 million have a Muslim cultural background. Half of the Muslim population reside in Oslo (Jacobsen & Leirvik 2009:259). Albeit the Islamic landscape is diverse and includes a large number of different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups, the Pakistani migrants have had a significant influence on the institutionalisation of Islam in Norway. According to estimations by Tom Irgan, there are approximately 26,000 migrants of a Pakistani cultural background in Norway (for the year 2005) and approximately 80 % of them reside in Oslo. A large proportion of this community originates in the same area in Punjab and belonged to the lower middle class in Pakistan (Irgan 2005:49).

When it comes to Denmark, Muslims of a South Asian cultural background are counted among the four largest ethnic Muslim groups. For the year 2009 the Muslim population in Denmark was estimated at 4 % (circa 221,800) of the total population (5,540,241 on April 1, 2010) (Jacobsen 2009:97-98). On the basis of this data, the number of Pakistani Muslims makes up approximately 8.2 % of the whole Muslim population. Like in most countries in Europe, migrants of a Muslim cultural background live mainly in the larger cities (i.e. Copenhagen, Aarhus and Odense).

Until the mid-1980s Finland was not a net receiving country, but an emigration country. However, during the last two decades Finland has become a receiving country, and a small number of migrants with a Muslim cultural background have settled in the country. In comparison with the other Nordic countries the number of Muslims is low. According to estimates made by Tuomas Martikainen for 2009, approximately 45,000 individuals of a Muslim cultural background reside in Finland, constituting 0.8 % of the total population of 5.3 million (Martikainen 2009a:117). A noteworthy difference in comparison with the other Nordic countries is that the immigrant Muslims in Finland arrived at a situation where there already was an established Muslim community (Sakaranaho 2006:255).

South Asian Muslims are not among the most significant groups in the country and they are numerically much smaller than the Somalis, Arabs (mainly from Iraq), Kurds, Kosovo Albanians, Bosnians and Turks who constitute the largest groups of Muslim migrants (Martikainen 2009:117). Immigrants of South Asian backgrounds are often mentioned only briefly in the studies about Muslims living in Finland. In 2002, an estimated 503 immigrants from Bangladesh and 494 immigrants from Pakistan resided in the country. A problem in making estimates based on country of birth is that Finnish

Table 2. Migrants from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to Norway, Sweden and Denmark in 2007, 2008 and 2009.

	Pakistani migrants			Indian migrants			Bangladeshi migrants		
	N	S	D	N	S	D	N	S	D
2007	663	1331	399	552	1022	1494	n.a.	744	66
2008	785	1574	449	960	1219	1756	n.a.	1050	111
2009	809	1849	443	1121	1469	1353	n.a.	1239	107

N= Norway, S = Sweden, D = Denmark
Source: Statistics Norway, Sweden and Denmark

citizens are not accounted for in these statistics (Sakaranaho 2006:249). The Islamic Centre of Finland (Suomen Islam-Keskus) was established by a group of mainly Pakistani Muslims in February 1994. The Pakistanis felt there was a need for a mosque with Urdu as working language. Also, the Tatar cemetery in Helsinki was getting too small for the needs of the growing Muslim community. The intention was also for the mosque to help the Pakistani community in religious and cultural affairs (Sakaranaho 2006:261, Hirvonen 1994:10). Today The Islamic Centre has about 98 members (estimate from 2009), most of whom are of Pakistani background. The members claim not to be Sunni or Shia but rather just Muslims. Sources reveal that ten years back The Islamic Centre did not have an imam but religious scholars from around the country came to lead the prayers. The Pakistani community also organised Urdu lessons for children at the nearby Töölö primary school (http://www.uskonnot.fi/yhteisot/view?orgId=80, Kariskoski 1999:29-30). Another Islamic community with Pakistani and Bangladeshi members is the Islamic Society of Finland in Oulu (Suomen Islamilainen Yhdyskunta). It was founded in 1993 and has an estimated 400–500 members mainly from African and Arab countries. The community has plans to build the northernmost mosque in Europe and caters to the needs of Muslims from all of Northern Finland (Hallenberg 1996:112).

Some early examples

Although migration from countries outside Europe to the Nordic countries is a phenomenon closely linked with the workforce migration that took off in the late 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s, a small number of Muslims arrived in the Nordic countries prior to the 20th century. For example, Finland and parts of the Baltic rim (especially Lithuania) had a close connection with the Russian Empire and because of this historical relationship they received among many other ethnic groups, also Russian Muslim traders and soldiers of Tatar background. For Finland, the annexation of the country by Imperial Russia in 1808 meant that a significant group of Muslim Tatars arrived and settled in Finland as soldiers. With Finland's independence in 1917, the Muslim Tatars were granted citizenship (from 1920) and they were given an opportunity to register as a religious community in 1923 (Martikainen 2009b:117). Finland is an exception to the other Nordic countries because of its small Muslim Tatar minority that has resided in the country for over a century. As compared to the other Muslim groups, the Tatar Muslims are well integrated into society and their identity as Muslims is combined with linguistic and ethnic aspects. With the arrival of new Muslim migrants from other parts of the world, Islamic diversity has become more visible in the public sphere.

A much later example of Muslim migration to the Nordic countries prior to the workforce migration is the Ahmadiyya mission. Members of the Islamic reform movement founded in India in the 1860s arrived in Denmark and Sweden as early as the 1950s. This group has, however, been marginalised in the study of Islam and Muslims in Europe. This lacuna could mainly be explained by the fact that the numerically much larger Sunni and Shia Muslim groups have portrayed them as heretics, and this normative statement has unfortunately had a negative influence and restrained the academic study of Islam in Europe. Still it is evident that it was members of the Ahmadiyya community who erected the first purpose-built mosques in Denmark and Sweden. In 1966–1967 the Nusrat Djahan Mosque was built in Hvidovre in Copenhagen, Denmark, and in 1976 the Nasir mosque was erected in Gothenburg (Göteborg). In 1980 the community was also able to build the Noor mosque in Oslo and they are currently building the largest mosque in Norway. Numerically this Muslim group is very small and the number of Ahmadis in Denmark is estimated at 600 and the corresponding figure for Sweden is close to 1,000 members. The Ahmadiyya community in the Nordic countries is, however, well integrated and, for example, the mosque in Gothenburg often functions as a meeting place and an interface between the Ahmadis and non-Muslims, a fact that often causes concern for Sunni and Shia Muslims. Despite its long history and important place in the history of Islam and Muslims in the Nordic countries the Ahmadiyya community is not well researched. We still lack a comprehensive comparative study that would document and analyse the history of the Ahmadiyya mission in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

Transnational Muslim organisations

Compared to other South Asian migrant groups that live in diaspora in the Nordic countries, Muslims have been more successful in setting up organisations and movements that can help Muslims who live outside of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to keep their cultural and religious identities alive in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. For example, when it comes to the Nordic countries it is clear that Pakistani and Indian movements and organisations such as the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Tablighi Jama'at, and of course also the Barelwi and Deobandi traditions have a history that goes back to the 1970s, and these are some of the oldest Muslim groups in the Nordic countries. The Tablighi Jama'at is active under the name of Anjuman e-Islahul Muslimeen in Norway and Finland, whereas the movement in Sweden uses the Arabic name Jamaat at-Tabligh.

The three purpose-built mosques that have so far been set up in Oslo are all closely associated with Norwegian-Pakistani organisations, and in addition to the purpose-built mosques there are at least four Pakistani so-called basement mosques in the capital. As for most countries in Europe, Muslim prayers are generally conducted in converted flats, old factories or offices. Nevertheless, the Islamic Cultural Centre that was set up in Oslo in 1974 is the oldest Muslim organisation in Norway and this mosque attracts mainly followers of the Deobandi tradition. Irrespective of the fact that it is often pre-

sented as an independent body, it is evident that it has close connections and ties to the Jamaat-e-Islami movement in Pakistan and its umbrella organisation in England: The Islamic Foundation. For example, the imams and Koran teachers are employed via the Jamaat-e-Islami and most books found in the Islamic Cultural Centre are published, edited or translated by this organisation or its body in the UK (i.e. the Islamic Foundation in Markfield, Leicestershire). Since many Pakistani migrants were followers of the Barelwi traditions it soon became necessary to establish yet another Muslim organisation. Consequently, in 1976 the Central Jama'at-e Ahl-e Sunnat was founded to meet this request. Today this is the largest mosque in Norway. Furthermore, in 1987 the Minhaj-ul-Quran opened a mosque in Oslo (see Irgan 2005, Vogt 2008).

The presence of Pakistani Muslim organisations is less obvious in Sweden, but from Larsson's fieldwork we know that the Tablighi Jama'at have study circles that meet on Tuesday nights in Uppsala, Stockholm, Karlskrona and Gothenburg. Unfortunately there are to the best of our knowledge no studies documenting these activities or any interviews with Muslims who take part in these study circles. However, from Larsson's field studies we know that people of a Pakistani cultural background often gather in the Masjid Aysha (S:t Eriksgatan 91, http://www.aysha.se/) mosque in Stockholm. The current imam, Muhammad Muslim, who is educated according to the Deoband school of thought in Bury, UK, and in India, is to our knowledge one of the few imams in Sweden who speaks Urdu, Arabic and Swedish. Every Friday Muhammad Muslim delivers his *khutba* in Arabic, but the sermon is always explained in English, Swedish and Urdu depending of the audience or visitors to the mosque (Larsson 2008).

When it comes to South-Asian Muslim organisations in Denmark, the Idara Minhaj-ul-Quran in Denmark was established in the 1980s. As the name suggests it should come as no surprise that this organisation has close ties to the Minhaj-ul-Quran movement that was started by Muhammed Tahir ul-Qadri in 1980 in Pakistan (Jacobsen 2009:100). This movement has activities for both men and women in Copenhagen and Odense and they are currently in charge of three mosques. According to Lene Kühle (2006), the Minhaj-ul-Quran movement is well organised and they are officially recognised as an approved Muslim organisation in Denmark (i.e. they have a license to perform marriages, organise funerals, etc.). Compared to other Pakistani organisations discussed in this text, the Minhaj-ul-Quran is more open to Sufism and they are ideologically and theologically closer to the Barelwi traditions (Kühle 2006:94-95). But there are also other Muslim organisations in Denmark, for example, the Tablighi Jama'at, which has closer ties to the Deobandi tradition. This movement has been active in Denmark since the 1970s, but it was not until the end of the 1980s that they were able to establish a centre in the Makki Masjid in Copenhagen (Kühle 2006:95-96).

The Tablighi Jama'at has established itself in Finland as well. The Anjuman e-Islahul-Muslimeen of Turku was registered as a religious community on August 14, 1998 (http://www.uskonnot.fi/yhteisot/view?orgId=448). The movement is also affiliated with two mosques in Helsinki. The available literature, however, sheds no light on the extent to which the South Asian Muslims are represented among the Tablighi members. It would therefore be hasty to draw any conclusions about the Tablighi Jamaat's members in Finland at this stage.

Even though the major South Asian Muslim organisations are established in Norway, Sweden and Denmark and to a lesser degree in Finland, we still have very little data about the activities taking place inside these institutions and what the members actually think about Islam, South Asian culture and the diaspora in the Nordic countries (important exceptions are Toreskås Aksheim 2007 and Bjørnhaug Johansen 2007, dealing with young Pakistani Muslims in Norway). Table 3 illustrates the major South Asian Muslim organisations that are established in the Nordic countries.

Table 3. South Asian origin Islamic organisations in the Nordic countries.

Country	Organisation	
Norway	Jamaat-e-Islami	Islamic Cultural Centre, 1974*
	Tablighi Jama'at	Anjuman-e Falah-e-Muslimeen Madni masjid
	Barelwi	World Islamic Mission, 1995* Idara Minhaj ul-Qur'an, 1987* Central Jama'at-e Ahl-e Sunnat, 1976*
	Ithna Ashariyya	Anjuman-e Hussaini, 1975*
	Ahmadiyya	
Denmark	Jamaat-e-Islami	Islamic Cultural Centre
	Ahmadiyya	Nusrat Jahan Mosque, 1967*
Sweden	Ahmadiyya	Nasir mosque, 1976*
Finland	Tablighi Jama'at	

* Purpose-built Mosques
Sources: Kühle 2006; Larsson 2009; and Vogt 2008.

Cultural identity vs. Muslim identity

It is plausible to argue that the above-named Muslim organisations are all trying hard to promote and uphold a 'Muslim identity' for their members who live in a country dominated by non-Muslim traditions and values. However, it is obvious that religious institutions in the diaspora are often seen as guardians of cultural capital, traditional values and linguistic skills. As demonstrated in a number of studies, for a migrant the mosque, church, tempel or *gurdwara* often functions as a safe haven and a place where he or she can speak his/her own language and behave according to his/her customs and traditions. These functions could be influenced and paired with a firm religious belief, but not necessarily. The boundary between religion, culture and local identity are therefore often blurred and complex.

For example, when it comes to Gothenburg, Sweden, the Muslim student organisation at the Chalmers Technological University seems to function as the most important centre for Muslims of a Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi background (for more on this organisation, see Larsson 2009b, Emanuels-

son 2010). This organisation was set up in order to provide a place for Friday prayers and international guest students of a Muslim cultural background. The mosque – which is ordinarily used as the university sports hall during the weekdays – gathers approximately 150 Muslims every Friday and the sermon (*khutba*) is delivered in English and Arabic by the members of the student organisation. Field observations by Larsson and Emanuelsson give the impression that this congregation gathers a large number of Muslims of different theological currents (i.e. both Deoband and Barelwi Muslims). However, local differences and tensions that exist in, for example, Pakistan, India or Bangladesh, are downplayed by the organisation which emphasises that it is a congregation for all Muslims. According to Naim Khan, who functions as one of the imams at Chalmers, there are approximately 100–120 students of a Bangladeshi background and 200–300 Pakistani students for the academic year 2009/2010. Most of the students stay for one or two years in Sweden to get an MA in engineering, chemistry or equivalent subjects before they return to their home countries. Even though the organisation hosts Muslims of a diverse background there seems to be little theological tension and most conflicts are about nationality and local politics in South Asia. For example, during the Day of Equality when student unions celebrate equality at the university some of the Pakistani Muslims have complained and argued that the Indian flag should not be celebrated and presented beside the Pakistani flag. Irrespective of the policy of the organisation it is also reported that there are some conflicts over how to differentiate between culture and religion. For example, while some students are very fond of music and dancing, other Muslims are more likely to stress that Islam forbids music, singing and dancing and some of the members of the Tablighi Jama'at have complained that the prayer is not performed in a correct way. There are also differences of opinion regarding the celebration of the prophet Muhammad. While some students stress that it is important to celebrate the *Mawlid an-Nabawi* (the birthday of the prophet Muhammad), other students argue that this is an un-Islamic custom that has nothing to do with a proper celebration of Islam. This tension is, however, not unique for the South Asian Muslim community and conflicts over the *mawlid* are found in most Muslim congregations through history among Muslim migrants in Europe as well as the United States.

According to Naim Khan, whom Larsson interviewed for this article in spring 2010, the majority of students of a South Asian background have a very limited knowledge about Islam and most of the conflicts have to do with their insufficient knowledge about what Islam actually teaches. This is of course a normative statement and it is evident that Muslim students at Chalmers have different understandings of what Islam teaches, and it is not possible to find a unanimous opinion or interpretation that is upheld or practiced by all South Asian Muslims. The writings of Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi (1903–1979) are often read at the university, but according to Naim Khan there are no followers of the Jamaat-e-Islami (i.e. the political movement and later party that was started in Pakistan by Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi in 1941) at the university. Instead most Pakistani Muslims follow or support the Tablighi Jama'at. As a result of their family ties and traditions the students are all more or less influenced by Deobandi and Barelwi traditions.

From the field studies conducted by Larsson and Emanuelsson at Chalmers it becomes clear that many of the international students find it very important to uphold their religious identity, but this identity is often closely entwined with cultures and traditions in their home regions and countries. Naim Khan reports for example that most of the Bangladeshi guest students find it very important to participate in the celebration of the Bengali New Year and that both Muslims and Hindus participate with little problem in the festivities that take place around the 14th of April every year. This celebration gathers approximately 200–250 people and the ambassador of Bangladesh to Sweden participates in the celebration organised by the Association of Bangladeshi Students. Some Muslims consider this an un-Islamic event, but since it is very important for the Bangladeshi identity of the students most of them are nonetheless willing to accept this celebration and have no problems with participating in the activities during the event. This is an illustrative example of how difficult it is to make a sharp distinction between local traditions, culture and religion.

Conclusions

This text has primarily surveyed the existing literature that provides us with information about South Asian Muslim migrants of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi religious, cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the Nordic countries. When summarising the findings it is necessary to critically assess the collected information and the conclusions that can be drawn from this material.

First of all it is evident that there is very little data on Muslim migrants from a South Asian cultural background when it comes to the Nordic countries, Norway being the only exception providing more detailed information about Pakistani migrants. However, it is clear that the ethnic and linguistic belonging should not be exaggerated, and other studies on Islam and Muslims indicate that transnational aspects are of greater importance than geographical background and most Muslim organisations (especially when it comes to youth and women's organisations) cooperate and bridge different ethnic and linguistic divides. The Muslim student and youth organisations, The Muslim Youth of Norway (NMU) and The Muslim Student Society (MSS), for example, have been influenced by equivalent youth organisations in both Sweden and the UK (Jacobsen 2005:157).

While some of the 'older' Muslim organisations from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have been more concerned with preserving local customs and specific interpretations of Islam rooted in a South Asian culture, the younger generations (i.e. those who were, for example, born in the Nordic countries to Muslim parents) have been more keen on finding interpre-

tations that replace 'local customs' with a so-called authentic interpretation of Islam. This process involves both a 'privatisation' and 'Islamisation' – an attempt which often creates generational conflicts and splits over how to interpret and practice Islam. This fact, which is documented in several studies of Islam and Muslims in Europe, seems to downplay the importance of specific ethnic communities and their Muslim organisations (e.g. Roy 2004). This conclusion does, however, not suggest that we should ignore the South Asian Muslim community or its organisations, but points to the fact that migration and globalisation processes have changed the importance of these organisations and that ethnic background might be of less importance in the future. At the same time it is clear that the establishment of strong Muslim organisations such as, for example, the Tablighi Jama'at or Jamaat-e-Islami, has contributed to a fixing of Muslim traditions and a strong tie with Muslim organisations in South Asia (Irgan 2005:51).

Contrary to the members of the Hindu diaspora community in the West, Muslims still seem to follow the guidance given in the so-called classical texts written by, for example, Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi, Taqi Usmani or Ali Thanwi. If this observation is correct it implies that the members of the Muslim South Asian diaspora are different from the Hindus who, according to Knut A. Jacobsen and P. Pratap Kumar (2004:xvi-xvii) follow a "grass-root level understanding of religion" (i.e. not the so-called Brahmanical sources). However, to demonstrate that this conclusion is correct we need more empirical data, and it is likely that we will find important differences between the Nordic countries. The fact that Muslims of a South Asian background have been more active and visible in Norway and partly also in Denmark has most likely contributed to the Islamic milieu in Norway and Denmark.

If we use the theoretical concepts "bonding and bridging social capital" as used by Alex Stepick, Terry Rey and Sarah J. Mahler (2009:8), it seems that the Muslims in Norway and partly also in Denmark have had greater ability to build up support among both ethnic and religious Muslims of a South Asian background than South Asian Muslims living in Sweden and Finland. Because the Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi identity is of less significance in Sweden and Finland it is more likely that Muslims from South Asia will be absorbed by other non-South Asian Muslim organisations. While it is evident that Muslim groups of a Pakistani background organise activities in for example Gothenburg, Stockholm and Uppsala in Sweden, in doing so they are not stressing their Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi identity in the same way as the South Asian Muslims do in Oslo, Norway.

All in all, most available data supports the assessment that the Muslim community is split and diverse in the Nordic countries, but to demonstrate what this actually means and what kinds of interpretations flourish among South Asian Muslims we need more empirical data that can be used for developing our analysis and for making comparisons between the Nordic countries. The last aspect is of great importance and the Nordic research councils ought to cooperate and launch a large comparative research project aiming at covering and analysing similarities and differences that prevail among Muslim migrants in the Nordic countries. Even though the Nordic countries share much in terms of history, social structure and social cohesion, it is evident that Finland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have taken different paths when it comes to migration, integration and the development of the so-called multicultural society. A future research project on the migration and settlement of Muslims in the Nordic countries could therefore cast important light on both similarities and differences in the Nordic region.

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Marianne Qvortrup Fibiger

Young Tamil Hindus in Denmark and Their Relationship to Tradition and Collective Memory[1]

Abstract

This article deals with young, well-educated Tamil Hindus in Denmark, and how they balance between being part of a shared Tamil cultural heritage or cultural memory and at the same time being part of Danish society. It will try to illuminate the situations and contexts in which cultural heritage is a resource or hindrance in this negotiation. It will also try to clarify how young Tamil Hindus' relation to cultural memory seems to differ in comparison with their parents'. One of the main differences is young Tamil Hindus' very open-minded differentiation between being a Hindu (religious identity), being a Tamil (cultural identity) and being a Dane with a Tamil background (social identity). This article builds on empirical research on Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, including around 50 interviews with young Tamil Hindus, complemented by the theory of collective memory.

Keywords: Collective memory; Second-generation Tamil Hindus; Negotiating between identities; Hinduism in Denmark; Purusha-artha

Introduction

Denmark has circa 12,000 ethnic Hindus, who emigrated mostly from Sri Lanka as refugees (approximately 9,000) but also from different parts of India, mostly North India (approximately 3,000) (Fibiger 2007). All try to engage in the new society, which can be a difficult task, because Danish society at large seems to deter greater engagement before a long process of integration. The first generation of Hindus came to Denmark in the 1970s, mostly from the northern parts of India. They were seen as so-called guest workers, meaning that they should stay in Denmark as long as there were jobs. The Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus came as *de facto* refugees starting in the late 1980s, but mostly in the 1990s.

The new settlers, or the first generation, had to learn the language, and their education from India or Sri Lanka was often not accepted, which meant they had to go through the educational system once again but on Danish terms. When it came to religion, they had to get used to the view that religion is primarily a private matter and not much seen in the public sphere. That meant that the Hindu tradition in many ways became privatised and institutionalised.

The second generation of Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, who were either born in Denmark or came to Denmark as small children, do not face the same problems as their parents. They are brought up in a Danish setting and are used to dealing with Danish society at large but also to being a religious minority. Instead, they struggle with issues of identity, generation gap, being recognised as a Danish citizen but with Tamil roots, and being Hindu but under different terms. They, as well as their parents, are all Hindus in their self-understanding. But what they put into this category differs. It is interesting to note an overall generational pattern when it comes to the relationship to the Hindu tradition. While the first generation in many ways tries to keep up tradition as they knew it in India or Sri Lanka, the second generation does not. They

reinterpret or take out elements from tradition or the collective memory, which both helps them engage in Danish society and bond them to the tradition they share with their parents. In other words, among the second generation of Hindus in Denmark, tradition is negotiated between the society they are part of and the identity of being a Hindu.

This article will concentrate on the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, who negotiate between being Hindu (religious identity), Tamil (cultural identity) and a Danish citizen (social identity). In other words, this article deals with Hinduism in the Danish context, focusing on the interplay between the local setting (history, demography, geography, policy etc.), late-modernity, and how especially the young, well-educated Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus[2] negotiate their relationship to tradition, in relation to their parents, to society and among each other.

Cultural memory

That the young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, who are either born in Denmark or came to Denmark when they were small children, have a different relationship with the tradition compared to their parents is not a new observation, but what I will stress in this article is that it is still shaped in the context of certain patterns or a certain system of symbols, which young Tamil Hindus are socialised to relate to in their upbringing – even when in disagreement.

This common source of reference is what Jan Assmann (2006) or Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2000:124-125) calls cultural memory. Both of them emphasise that memory has a cultural basis or is culturally transmitted and cannot only be found within the individual – in the body or in the neural basis of consciousnesses, as a hardcore cognitivist would stress. From this point of view, which I do share, the young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus use cultural memory as one central point of departure in finding their identity in a new setting and under new circumstances.

Jan Assmann, who is inspired by Maurice Halbwachs' (1952) work with social memory, wants to come to an understanding of how information is transmitted. And he wants, with the following description, to emphasise the interaction he believes is in play between the psyche, consciousness, society and culture. Even if the neural foundation of memory is individual, he emphasises that the content of it is founded in the interaction between the individual and his/her social relations. In other words, he stresses that memory is basically a social phenomenon. Further, according to Assmann, cultural memory has its background in tradition, but he links cultural memory to communicative memory in the following way:

What communication is for communicative memory, tradition is for cultural memory […] But they have different temporal structures. If we think of the typical three-generation cycle of communicative memory as a synchronic memory-space, then cultural memory, with its tradition reaching far back into the past, forms the diachronic axis. (Assmann 2006:8)

And with reference to Aleida Assmann (1999), he defines tradition as the following: "Tradition can be understood as a special case of communication in which information is not exchanged reciprocally and horizontally, but is transmitted vertically through the generations" (ibid.:8).

The differentiation between communicative and collective memory is important. Communicative memory occurs in the immediate interaction with other people and does not remember more than three generations back. The individual's state of mind or emotional state of being plays an important role in communicative memory, because it helps to store the content of the experience (love, anger, disillusion and so forth) (ibid.:3). This memory storage is important to keep in mind, when it comes to the relation between how tradition is understood and how it is dealt with by its bearers. In this dialectic we can understand how a common reference to a presumably shared tradition changes according to circumstances and according to the individual interpretation of it.

In contrast to communicative memory, cultural or collective memory remembers back in history, and can be stored either in institutions or in text. From Assmann's point of view cultural or religious texts are a special class of oral or written texts, which seem to have great impact on a given worldview, because the texts come with attached normative and formative importance (ibid.:38). The text as cultural or collective memory can be recalled regardless of place and space. The same seems to be the case when it comes to institutions, where cultural or collective memory is communicated through rituals and festivals (ibid.:105). Assmann's understanding of rituals is in line with Durkheim's, as storage of norms and ideals, and he underlines that "everything that is associated with religion has the task of keeping alive a memory that has no support in everyday life" (ibid.:11).

In relation to religion Assmann defines cultural memory as an institutionalisation of what he – with reference to Berger and Luckmann – calls invisible religion (understood as the process of individuation and the formation of a personal self). Assmann does not reject invisible religion, but he wants to understand why we find the maintenance of symbolic universes over generations, and the continuity of a special system of meaning and identity (ibid.:37). Assmann's point of departure is an elaboration of culture and evolution, but I think his statements work very well, when it comes to dealing with religions in diaspora and how elements from collective memory are not moved diachronically in time, but synchronically in space, in spite of the twist that it is still the diachronic or historical linking to a shared heritage that seems to be the reason for the need to retain a shared identity marker, but in a new setting and under new circumstances. The emphasis on the institution and the text as the storage of tradition also fits very well with a diaspora and minority situation, especially when the tradition is moved to a country like Denmark, where religion is not customarily seen in the public sphere, as men-

tioned above. In Denmark, the Hindu tradition has in many ways been institutionalised. There are three consecrated temples in Denmark, two of which are Sri Lankan Tamil temples: The Sree Sithy Vinayakar Temple in Herning and the Abirami temple in Brande are not only the central places of worship for the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Jutland, where most of them live, they are also central for social gatherings and as places to feel Tamil together with other Tamils: "I mostly go to the temple to socialise. You go to meet other Tamils, eat Tamil food, talk in Tamil, sing Tamil songs and wear Tamil clothes without feeling embarrassed". (Female, 21 years)

This idea of a presumably shared collective or cultural memory being important among Diaspora groups in their understanding of being part of a particular group does not mean that: 1) the understanding of cultural memory is the same among all members of the group, or the same elements of cultural memory are considered its core elements; 2) cultural memory is not negotiable and does not change according to circumstances (personal, surroundings, interrelations etc.); 3) part of cultural memory shared by one group cannot be shared or be exported to others as well. All three reservations are at play, and are also interlinked – obviously the case when engaging in and adapting to a new society.

My emphasis on cultural memory as changeable in relation to the individual, circumstances and persons involved follows the line of Danièle Hervieu-Léger and her understanding of cultural memory. She emphasises the dynamics of cultural memory, writing as follows:

The cultural memory which is more extensive than the memory of any particular group incorporates – and constantly reactivates and reconstructs – the currents of thought which have outlasted past experiences and which are newly actualized in the present. In the interpretation given by Halbwachs, this inseparable creative and normative dynamic function of collective memory is engendered by society itself. (Hervieu-Léger 2000:124-125)

Besides her underlining of cultural memory as constantly reactivated and reconstructed, I will draw the reader's attention to the last sentence, where Hervieu-Léger, also inspired by Halbwachs, stresses how collective memory is engendered by society itself. It means that the collective memory of the Tamil Hindus in Denmark gets it own local expression. When it comes to my area of research – young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus – it is easy to trace.

Another important contribution by Hervieu-Léger is her distinction between cultural and religious memory. This is especially important when it comes to the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, who in their self-understanding differentiate between the two categories. Most often they firstly denote themselves as Tamils (the cultural memory they share with the Tamil Christians in Denmark), and secondly they identify themselves as Hindu (religious memory that they either share exclusively with the Tamil Hindus or inclusively with Hindus as such).

As a comparison it is interesting to note that most of the young Indian Hindus in Denmark understand themselves firstly as Hindus and secondly as Indian (that is also an observation made by Raj [2000] in England among young Indian Hindus there). In that regard the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus differ from the Indian Hindus, which does have significance in terms of their negotiation strategies and relationship to shared cultural memory that is connected to a particular locality: Sri Lanka, which they share with the around 1,000 Sri Lankan Tamil Catholic Christians in Denmark. From that perspective cultural memory can be illustrated as a Chinese box consisting of shared culture, language, religion, history, locality and so forth. And it is obvious that in most of these perspectives, for the time being, Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus have more in common with Sri Lankan Tamil Catholics than with the Indian Hindus in Denmark. It is also a fact that young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus intermingle with Sri Lankan Tamil Catholic Christians in Denmark, but not with Indian Hindus. And together they celebrate such cultural events as the Martyrs Day in October, chat with each other both in Danish and in Tamil on the Internet, discussing their shared problems of being young Sri Lankan Tamils in Denmark. In particular they discuss their relationship to their parents, the caste system which functions more or less equally among all Tamils in Denmark, just as arranged marriages do; they discuss love and share gossip within the Tamil group, and so forth. In that way they are linked together, sharing a common culture, background, language and relationship to Sri Lanka. What they do not seem to share is religion. But this may also change, because the Catholic Tamil tradition in Sri Lanka had in many ways adapted to the traditions already there. But in Denmark, the two groups become de-linked when it comes to the use of religious institutions, and the celebration of different religious red-letter days.

Religious memory

In the case of religious memory, the normativity of collective memory is reinforced by the fact of the group's defining itself, objectively and subjectively, as a lineage of belief […] At the source of all religious belief […] there is belief in the continuity of the lineage of believers. This continuity transcends history. (Hervieu-Legér 2000:125)

According to Hervieu-Léger, members of a given religious group share a belief in a continuous lineage. It is interesting when comparing generations in diaspora to outline the source or point of departure that an individual believer thinks this lineage derives from, or the false tracks that some believers think others have followed.

From this perspective it is interesting to follow a pattern where young, well-educated Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus try to reinvent "real cultural memory" – cultural memory that fits into their new lifestyle and Danish ideals, but without losing their relationship to the same tradition as an identity

bearer. It is therefore not a coincidence that the caste system and arranged marriages are debated and criticised by young, well-educated Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, while yoga, meditation and the more philosophically oriented Hinduism with its focus on the individual is emphasised more, because it seems to fit in with the Danish, individual-focused concept of religion. This last consideration is of note, because in this way the local Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu tradition appears to be slowly on its way out, while a more global Hindu tradition is taking over.

Young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus also stress an implicit Hindu work ethic, with a strong emphasis on education, and they use it as a strategy for overruling caste as the primary guiding principle in finding the right marriage partner. This is an example of how young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus try to negotiate with their parents, by using arguments already embedded in the tradition. In other words, the reinvention of cultural memory can be seen as a combination of a critique of the parents' relation to tradition and as an adaptation of cultural memory to the new setting.

While the first generation tries to keep up local traditions familiar to them from their life in Sri Lanka, the second generation – at least when it comes to intellectual and highly educated Tamil Hindus – tries to weed out the elements that to them seem contradictory to their life in a late-modern society. This is what the sociologist Anthony Giddens calls a disembedding or de-traditionalisation process and what Gupta (2006) call de-linking, I will call it a re-traditionalisation or 'new traditionalisation' process because they do not reject tradition or cultural memory, but their relation to the tradition changes. The Hindu as well as the Tamil tradition is in other words debated mostly among young intellectuals. This debate can be followed in different chat forums on the Internet – for example, *tamilgirls.dk* and *nizhal.dk* – and in Tamil youth groups that organise evenings of debate where various issues, such as arranged marriage, Tamil culture, education and the situation in Sri Lanka, are discussed.

The most prominent debate forum is the Tamil-produced youth magazine called *Brobyggeren* ("The Bridge Builder") – printed and written by young Tamil Sri Lankans. The magazine has thus far published 16 issues. And in 2003 the editors were awarded a prize by the Minister of Integration, Bertel Haarder, for their critical and open-minded views and for subjecting their own tradition to debate, which, according to the Minister, makes integration easier.[3] After the prize the editors of *Brobyggeren* wrote in the foreword of the magazine:

Dear readers of Brobyggeren!

Here we sit with issue 10 of Brobyggeren. It is with great pleasure that we contribute articles that seem to be thought-provoking.

After three years on the market we can see some results of our work – namely a growing interest in Tamils and their situation in Denmark. At the same time the magazine has become a healthy forum for debate among us, making room for discussions on important issues such as integration, being a Tamil in Denmark and so forth. It also gives room for thoughts, feelings and opinions in a sound way [...] without condemnation.

On the occasion of Brobyggeren's three-year anniversary we have received many comments and congratulations – among others from our Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and we have had a meeting with Minister of Integration Bertel Haarder, who told us that he is very pleased with our initiative and work [...]

All this makes us aware of the responsibility we have for the society we are part of [...]

(Brobyggeren, 10 August/September 2003)

These statements, and not least the last sentence, show how this group of young Tamil intellectuals engage in society. What is needed, though, is a mutual understanding in society that respects this new group of Danish citizens with a Tamil background. This is what many young Tamils are trying to convey, as revealed in the following.

Being both Tamil and Danish

In the beginning I was very Tamil-like, today I am nearly as much Danish. I think it is important to take the good things from both cultures. That is at least what I am trying to do. (Male, 25 years)

From my own viewpoint, I will say that I am neither 100% Tamil nor 100% Danish. I am both. While living in Denmark, having a Danish passport, speaking Danish as all other Danes do, and working and doing something for the country, I am proud to say I am Danish. Maybe I am not considered Danish by the Danish, but that doesn't bother me at all. I do not live for the sake of others, but for the sake of myself, my family and friends. These people recognise me as a Dane – that is enough for me. What someone calls me on the street and in the supermarket or at an exam, I really don't care! On the other hand I will say I am Tamil as well. But that is something everybody agrees upon – so we can skip that part without any problems. (Brobyggeren No. 7, 2002)

The last quote is taken from a longer article by a young Tamil, who writes about the harassment he has experienced in different situations in Denmark. It underlines that while he has no problem feeling Danish and defining himself as such, some ethnic Danes do. And it touches upon an important issue; namely the fight for being recognised as a Danish citizen with a Tamil background – a background that is his link to history, ethnicity and religion: in total, his cultural memory, which at least indirectly has shaped him as a person.

The article by this young man shows how his experiences with ethnic Danes have become a part of his communicative memory and are mostly expressed through anger and resignation. He does not understand why some ethnic Danes cannot accept him as being both Tamil/Hindu and Danish, equal with ethnic Danes with other backgrounds. He wants to under-

line that a Dane with a Tamil/Hindu background can contribute to the country as well – something expressed also in the first quote.

In the following I will offer several examples of the debates, but also the critiques put forward by young intellectuals, mostly of their parents' understanding of collective memory but also of themselves and their handling of their situation in Denmark. Sources include all of the above-mentioned public debate forums as well as interviews I have conducted with young Tamil intellectuals.

Marriage and caste in negotiation

It is around one year since I became a member of this site, and I am almost 31 years [...] still searching for the man with whom I shall share the rest of my life [...] Since the last time I wrote my parents have found a few possibilities [...] But they did not live up to my ideals [...] Now they want me to use the Internet to find a husband [...] hmmm [...] I am not a great admirer of web dating [...] believe more in face to face [...] but I do not go to the right places to find like-minded Tamils [...] They are not and have never been a part of my network [...] (www.Tamilgirls.dk, 26 February 2010)

Many parents encourage their children to find their boy- or girlfriend themselves, but within the same caste. If their parents find out that the boy- or girlfriend belongs to another caste, they will persuade their children to break off the relationship.

So even if the young Tamils in Denmark have more freedom, it comes with certain modifications.

As soon as the young people are ready to get married, and their parents begin to discuss marriage, they listen. The young begin to consider the consequences if they do choose a "mixed marriage" and often they decide to follow their parents' advice and marry within the same caste.

(Ramanan Balasubramaniam, Information, 14 May 2009)

These interviews as well as others I have conducted with young Tamils in Denmark show that marriage, as well as caste, is up for debate, and the opinions are divided. On the one hand, most young people are strong advocates of love-marriages, but on the other hand, they do want to take their parents advice into account: "They are not blinded by love", as many tell me. But they do want their opinion to be taken into account too. Often this means a kind of compromise, where the parents in interaction with their children find possible candidates – often candidates the children have been dating in secret, and where an equal education level is more and more often taken into account instead of caste relations. One hierarchy has in some ways overruled another.

A small survey conducted in 2005 by one of the editors of *Brobyggeren* shows that among 50 young Tamils, around 62 % defined their marriage as a love-marriage. All the young Tamils in the survey had come to Denmark as children (between 6 and 15 years of age) and were 20–27 years of age at the time of the survey (see Table 1).

According to this small-scale survey, love-marriage is favoured. But according to my informants as well as Ramanan Balasubramaniam, the person behind the survey, love-marriages are negotiated according to the norms of parents in terms of marrying within one's own class. Ramanan Balasubramaniam commented on the survey in a follow-up article:

In my survey most of the young people had chosen to hide their relationship for around ½ to 1 year before announcing it to the nearest family members. The couple have used the time to get to know each other and to find good arguments to convince the families. Sometimes the girl waits to tell about her boyfriend until he has finished his education. By doing so, she can play "the education card" to convince her sceptical parents. (Brobyggeren No. 12, 2005)

Dismantling caste?

A good education gives status; it is therefore important to get a good education. If you look at the universities you find a lot of Tamil girls, who either study medicine or law – these educations gives status [...]

When the parents are going to find the right partner for their son or daughter, education means a lot. You know, there are still some, who are married through arranged marriage. And the parents want to find a partner who fits both socially and intellectually with their child. So far it has been a problem to find Tamil boys who are equal to Tamil girls, because the girls have a better education in Denmark than the boys. The girls sit mostly at home studying, the boys are allowed to hang out with their friends. That means that the parents sometimes find the partner abroad – that is now changing though. The Tamil boys now realise the importance of a good education. (Female 28 years)

Table 1: Love-marriages and arranged marriages among Tamil youth in Denmark. Source: Brobyggeren 2005.

	Both are from Denmark	One is from another EU country	Married to a Dane	Married to a Sri Lankan
Love marriage	15 persons	9 persons	4 persons	4 persons
(Total: 61.92 %)	(29.41 %)	(17.65 %)	(7.43 %)	(7.43 %)
Arranged marriage	8 persons	2 persons	0	9 persons
(Total: 37. 26 %	(15.69 %)	(3.92 %)		(17.65 %)
Total	45.1 %	21.57 %	7.43 %	25.08 %

With the above in mind it could be concluded that caste as an important identity marker is more or less being dismantled in Denmark. And as a guideline for finding the right spouse, a new hierarchical system – education level – is taking over. This is also more or less true in relation to marriage negotiations, when young Sri Lankan Tamils play "the education card", as mentioned in one of the quotes, to convince their parents that the right match is being made.

What is interesting for this article's theoretical point of departure is that young Sri Lankan Tamils are able to find one thing in cultural memory that seems to equalise something else also contained in cultural memory that does not fit in with the ideals of their current society. Educational level is being aligned with caste, and in negotiating marriage, can be argued to equalise or overrule it. Young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus at least indirectly refer to *purusha-artha* – the four goals in life, which are part of the Hindu ethic and underline the need for engaging in life. The four goals are *dharma* (ethics, morality), *artha* (wealth, political power), *kama* (erotic and aesthetic enjoyment) and *moksha* (liberation from reincarnation). All of them are related to each other and to the four life stages (*ashramas*). Especially *artha* is used to legitimize engagement in a Modern society because it is interpreted as stressing education leading to a prestigious work in the end as its fulfilment. Sri Lankan Tamils are raised in an understanding of the importance of education and success:

I have raised my children to understand the importance of education. They have possibilities in Denmark for education that I myself didn't have in Sri Lanka – they just have to fulfil them – from my point of view, God-given possibilities. (1st generation, Male)

Getting a good education is also seen as a contribution to Danish society, though it is interesting to note that some young Tamils I have interviewed express that they still think their relation to a given caste is important to them – not when it comes to finding the right spouse, but as part of their identity and life story. And even if they know that it is not *comme il faut* to express this among ethnic Danes, they do think that the awareness of a given caste relation will be maintained among Tamils despite other changes in the Hindu tradition as it adapts to Danish society. The meaning of caste relations seems to change internally among young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, from being the filter through which the right spouse is found to an identity marker.

The importance of a good education in terms of marriage

The different forums for young Sri Lankan Tamils address education as a very important issue. Last year on International Women's Day, *Brobyggeren* and the individuals behind the Internet chat forums *Nizhal.dk* and *Tamilgirls.dk* arranged an evening of debate. The invitation stated the following:

Dear readers:

We have chosen to focus on the challenges, possibilities and limits Tamil women face in their selection of a partner, in terms of getting an education and being given the opportunity to marry the person they love. What does this mean? Are the women in that way breaking with our tradition and norms?

We have invited people, who have chosen a partner with a different educational background to give a short presentation […] And we have decided they have to touch on some of the following questions in their presentation:

1. Which considerations and decisions do you think are taken into account, when Tamil women are choosing a partner?

2. What possibilities do Tamil women have on the marriage market?

3. Do freedom and independence have consequences for the women's choice of partner?

4. In which way do parents, society and unwritten rules have an impact on Tamil women's lives?

5. Does it have an impact on the sex roles that more and more Tamil women are on a higher educational level than Tamil men?

6. What kind of expectations does a modern, independent and well-educated Tamil woman have of her future husband?

7. Have Tamil women found a new social status to replace their parents' patriarchal values?

8. Why is it more common for a Tamil woman to marry a Danish man than for a Tamil man to marry a Danish woman?

9. Do we see a pattern, in which young Tamil women are increasingly breaking with their parents' values and with socioeconomic relations, and marrying for love?

10. Has the concept of love changed?

We know it is a complicated and sensitive subject. We hope that many of you will participate and contribute with your opinions and different angles – this is important for a good debate and dialogue.

Best wishes from Brobyggeren, Nizhal and Tamilgirls

Because of problems in Sri Lanka, with a flow of refugees from Jaffna to different refugee camps causing new political tensions on the island, the organisers cancelled the debate, but the invitation was published in various places and on different Internet chat sites, and it caused a lot of discussion that was very interesting to follow. One comment came on the chat forum *tamilgirls.dk* and appears here in an abbreviated version:

Dear all,

I write this comment as a person who has followed the development of the arrangements from the sidelines.

I have noticed two different groups of critics […] One group argues that the problem does not exist, and criticises the arrangers for making up a problem. The other group argues that the arrangers are making the problem too vague. They want an even more critical announcement.

I think that things are changing quicker in Denmark in comparison with, for example, England and Canada. It is

not because the Tamils in Denmark are more "humane", but because we are a small community. It is more difficult for a small community to reproduce and keep up values in their original form.

In England and in Canada Tamils do mostly marry within the same caste and they mostly interrelate with Tamils within the same caste. At the same time they also marry within their own educational level. Both are possible in big communities.

In 2005, around 16% of all the Tamil marriages were mixed marriages between a Tamil (mostly women) and an ethnic Dane (source: the Ministry for Integration). I have been told by some of the Tamil women that it was because they never met any Tamil boy while studying [...]

The young woman refers to the following research by Statistics Denmark[4].

Table 2: Education among 16–29-year-old women and men from Sri Lanka in 2007.

Type of education	Males	Females
High school (STX)	19	35
High school (HHX), business	35	13
High school (HTX), technique	89	57
Short-term education after high school	22	12
Middle-range education after high school	49	63
BA	58	77
MA	27	42

Source: Statistics Denmark.

The discussion went on for a while. It was obvious that young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu girls were or still are frustrated. If young Sri Lankan Tamils are going to convince their parents to replace one established discourse with another within the collective memory, it is important that they can live up to it

Tradition negotiated: Hinduism and *karma*

Although the two generations do not agree on how education should be used as the new parameter for finding a spouse, education as such is not controversial. In contrast, religion and interpreting Hinduism are. Young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus are very critical both of their parents' understanding of and ways of practicing Hinduism, especially when their beliefs or practices don't fit in with the new society. In the following I will give a few examples of how young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus try to negotiate the collective memory in a way that fits in with their new living situation:

Hinduism: *Hinduism is full of disbelief. Just look at our parents. As an example I can tell you that my mother was very absorbed in astrology, especially in how the planets were placed in relation to each other. Sometimes she said: "Now we are facing a bad period". And we had to fast or we had to go to the temple to make offerings. It was driving me crazy. Today, I have to admit, I look a bit at it myself – but in contrast to my mother, I consult books about the subject… I also read the* ***Bhagavad Gītā*** *and other books, just to know what it is all about – something my mother never did. She just told us what gods we had to rely on, what we had to do to get good karma and so on. And she always took us to the temple to make offerings. I like mostly to meditate at home. When I go to the temple it is mostly to socialise. This I told to a local newspaper when I was younger. It was a mistake, a lot of Tamils became very insulted, and I got a lot of criticism. Today I share the viewpoint with a lot of young Tamils.*

Karma: *My mother was very interested in the karma principle. I am a bit more… at a distance. For example, when she was diagnosed with cancer, she was sure she had done something wrong in one of her former lives. At the same time she was very keen on doing well in this life, so that the next one would be without pain. This I could not accept. I think you have to do something now to get better and not just accept that you are feeling pain because of something you have done in earlier lives. Many older people think just the way my mother did. This I take distance from. (Female, 27 years)*

These quotes offer important examples of how the tradition as it is lived out by a representative of the first generation (the mother) is criticised by the daughter (second generation). It is notable that her mother's viewpoints are not totally rejected, but reinterpreted. An example is her understanding of *karma* and astrology. But it is also interesting that the textualisation of tradition becomes an important issue and is seen in contrast to a more unexplored relation to tradition, where one just does things without asking why. What seems even more intriguing is the mention of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a scripture which is not usually understood as part of the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu tradition but does figure in the West as the most well-known Hindu scripture. By referring to the *Bhagavad Gītā* it seems like her understanding of "authentic" cultural memory is identified with a form of global Hinduism, which she may have been introduced to in the Danish school system.

Engaging in a new society

All of the examples provided and the ongoing discussions point to the main issue: how to engage in a new society without losing the link to the collective memory one shares with Sri Lankan Tamils in general and with Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu Danes in particular? It means a lot of negotiation but also reflection on how to deal with being a Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu in a new setting. The following example shows how one young female has tried to deal with this:

I don't think that Hinduism limits my possibilities to play an active role in Danish society. I am pleased to be a Hindu, because our religion – compared to Islam – is not a limitation for integration. Our religion teaches us to use the possibilities we have in this life; that means getting a good education and working hard […] And when it comes to God, de-

spite the name he is given, he is just one and the same. (Female 21 years).

It is obvious that religion does forge a cultural identity, bonding the writer together with other Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus. But at the same time young, intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus do use their interpretation of the same tradition as bridging social capital in the society they are now part of. In other words, being a Hindu is seen as a resource, not as a hindrance.

As the quote shows, this young woman uses her identity as Hindu as an internal as well as external marker to justify her engagement in Danish society. The engagement is interpreted as a demand embedded in the Hindu tradition or the collective memory and it is therefore a legitimate move that she makes, when she chooses prioritising education, engaging in society and adjusting her way of life accordingly. And her description of God fits very well with both the blurred, individual-focused, late-modern Danish belief system as well as the more global and elitist interpretation of God as a monistic entity.

Conclusion

In this article I found it useful to look at how collective memory or memories are shaped among the second generation of intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, both in relation to and in contradiction to family, friends and Danish society. From these perspectives collective memory can be seen both as a resource and a hindrance for young Hindus coping with their life in Denmark. When seen as a hindrance, it is still being negotiated, as the examples in this article have shown. Both arranged marriage and the way the Hindu religion is practiced and understood among the first generation are topics of discussion among Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in different debate forums.

It is obvious that religion is still seen or understood as an important part of the collective memory, but is also obvious that it is only what fits in with the society or can explain one's position in it that is kept. It does not mean that religion has to always synergise with the society it is in; it can also antagonise with it or antagonise between generations as seen in this article – most importantly, is it can be used to explain why one as a person resembles some and differs from others. In other words, the collective memory is constantly being renegotiated even as it is seen as the only thing that is unchangeable among those who refer to it.

When it comes to social engagement, young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus emphasise that their upbringing as Hindus, with an implicit underlining of a strong work ethic in relation to *purusha-artha*, makes them strive to be socially active and engaged, especially in education and work. Here the collective memory is used not only as a tool but also as bonding social capital within the group, and as linking social capital in the society at large. The bonding social capital within the group is obvious especially in the magazine *Brobyggeren*. Here young Tamils write – in Tamil or in Danish – about nearly everything to other young Tamils, very explicitly using their relation to being either Tamil or Hindu as a common platform. "In that way we understand each other and each other's problems or viewpoints from a perspective from within. That makes the discussions easier, because we are speaking the same cultural language – if you know what I mean!"(Male 23 years)

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Notes

1 It is important to note that the term 'collective memory' is used not as synonymous with tradition, but as a broader term that includes tradition as well as history, ethnicity and religion – all areas which can be taken into account in the understanding of belonging.

2 It is important to note that the focus in this article is on well-educated young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus. Many of them are active in the public sphere, arrange debates and publish or write in the Danish Tamil Hindu Magazine *Brobyggeren* ("The Bridge Builder"), edit homepages and so forth. They can be seen as spokespersons for the most critical but also well-thought-out viewpoints, when it comes to the Tamil Hindu tradition.

3 The magazine can now also be found online at http://www.brobyggeren.dk.

4 Note that no Tamils born in Denmark are part of these figures. The pattern is changing for Tamils born in Denmark, with both Tamil boys and girls prioritising education.

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ISKCON and South Asian Hindus in Finland: Strategies for Integration

Abstract

Using the theoretical framework of the concept of civic social capital and based on interviews with members or ex-members of ISKCON, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, in Finland, this article deals with the different ways in which this movement has tried to integrate South Asian Hindus into its activities. Interestingly enough, while most of the strategies adopted by ISKCON Finland have failed individually, the movement has nevertheless been able to create and maintain a very strong position in the Hindu landscape in Finland. By comparing such local practices with international trends within ISKCON and the history of ISKCON's strategies for integrating South Asian Hindus internationally, the article highlights differences between the two arising from both local conditions as well as the individual agency of local leaders. Further, the article also touches on issues such as 'Hinduisation' and 'templeisation' that other scholars have raised, offering examples that go against the grain of much of the development both within ISKCON and Hindu diasporas today.

Keywords: ISKCON, Hinduism, Gaudiya Vaishnavism, migration, civic social capital

Introduction

ISKCON, that is, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, more popularly known as the Hare Krishna movement, is by far the most visible religious movement with South Asian roots in Finland today. While often seen as a new religious movement (see e.g. Junnonaho 1996), the movement sees itself as a representative of the Gaudiya Vaishnava *sampradaya*, a devotional Hindu movement centred on the worship of Krishna, that was begun in the sixteenth century by the Bengali saint and mystic Sri Krishna Caitanya (1486–1533). ISKCON was founded in New York in 1966 by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami (1896–1977), and eventually grew into a worldwide movement. While all full-time members of the movement in Finland at present are ethnically Finnish, the movement attracts significant support from the South Asian Hindu diaspora in Finland. This article aims at examining some of the strategies ISKCON has used for mobilising this support.

To accomplish this purpose, I have interviewed six leading members of ISKCON Finland, two with South Asian background and four from Finland. They represent all but one of the leaders of the movement since the late 1980s (the one individual left out was in office only briefly) as well as individuals active in the projects described below. Some of these people have left the movement since or entertain critical opinions of the current leadership. However, while such issues were raised in the interviews, they are not the focus of this paper, for which reason they are here omitted. I have myself been a member of ISKCON Finland (1992–2003), a fact that helped me find the relevant informants. Unfortunately, I did not have access to the financial and administrative archives of ISKCON Finland, something that could have helped solve some conflict-

ing or vague issues in the interviews. It also appears that these archives are not kept in systematic order at the moment (INT 2).

The theoretical basis for this article is the conceptualisation of civic social capital created by American sociologists of religion Alex Stepick, Terry Rey and Sarah J. Mahler in the context of their study of immigrant communities in Miami (Stepick, Ray & Mahler 2009). Previous studies of ISKCON Finland have included seeing the movement as a new religious movement (Junnonaho 1996, Hellén 1989); examining its representations and communication of charisma (Ketola 2002), and its views on gender issues, the body and sexuality (Ahonen 2002, 2004, Koponen 2005); as well as studying issues of worldview and doctrine (Heikkonen 2002, Kontala 2007). However, as far as I am aware, there are no previous studies of the movement's relationship to South Asian immigrants in Finland.

In creating the term civic social capital, Stepick, Rey and Mahler (2009:13) build on the notion of social capital, as understood by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and American sociologist James Coleman, that is, as social relationships that have material consequences. While Bourdieu and Coleman focused on individuals and especially economic benefits, these authors broaden the focus by looking at communities rather than individuals, and not only at economic benefits, but also how social ties may expand the definitions and sense of the civic society of which one is a part. Of course, communities in themselves – such as ISKCON in this case – have no social capital, only individual human beings do. However, communities are a potential site for the promotion and creation of civic social capital, and some communities may be more active than others in encouraging and producing it.

Stepick, Rey and Mahler (2009:15-16) further differentiate between bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital emerges from networks where people share perceived identity relations. By definition, this kind of social capital is usually not very civic, since the emphasis is on people who are similar. Bridging social capital differs from this in tying together people who are socially different, but who typically feel that they together can achieve something possible not only by creating binding social capital. Bridging social capital is thus an example of civic social capital. Finally, linking social capital refers to social ties between people who are not only different, but also unequal in terms of power and access to resources. A typical example of this could be a voter's relationship to his or her member of parliament.

Below, I will trace the development in ISKCON's relationship with South Asian Hindus first internationally and then in Finland, using this theoretical framework. I will then come to some conclusions with regard to the particular national example given here.

ISKCON and South Asian Hindus internationally

Bhaktivedanta Swami never visited Finland, but ISKCON preachers, generally based in Sweden, started visiting Finland in the late 1970s. ISKCON established a permanent foothold in Finland in 1982. In the beginning, the leadership of ISKCON Finland remained in the hands of non-Finnish members. This – and unhappiness with the particular leader at the time – eventually lead to something of a revolution in 1989, when the foreign leader was asked to leave. Since then, all leaders in ISKCON Finland have been Finns, and "too much contact" with foreign branches of the movement has from time to time been deemed detrimental to the local effort. For several years, the movement had two centres in Finland, in Helsinki and Turku, but the Turku branch was closed in 1995. Officially, the movement has 82 members as of 2009 (Religions in Finland 2010), but the core membership of full-time residents at the Helsinki centre is not more than around ten persons. (For an introduction to the history of ISKCON Finland, see Junnonaho 1996.)

Contrary to what students of new religious movements might expect, a visitor to a public function at any ISKCON temple today will immediately notice the strong presence of South Asians. E. Burke Rochford (2007:182), who has done extensive social studies of the movement in North America, reports that on any given Sunday, 80 % of the attendants at most ISKCON temples are South Asian immigrants, and that on major festivals they may amount to close to 90 %. However, this development has by no means been self-evident.

ISKCON's founder Bhaktivedanta Swami generally ignored Indian immigrants in the West. He seems to have tried to get them to support his plans right at the beginning of his stay in the United States, but as soon as his mission got underway among the American youth of the counterculture, he changed his plans. Bhaktivedanta Swami often railed against the materialism of Indians emigrating to the West (for some quotes, see Rochford 2007:182-183, though Goswami 2001:18 gives an example of the opposite), and he seems to have had little inclination to reach out to them. Bhaktivedanta Swami generally did not like to call ISKCON a Hindu movement – both because of what he perceived as a misnomer of the Vedic or Sanatana Dharma tradition, and because of wishing to emphasise that he felt the movement to be a non-sectarian spiritual movement (Brzezinski 1998).

ISKCON's first official recognition of Hinduism and Hindu supporters came in the mid-1970s – as so often in these cases, in the face of threats from the anticult movement and government officials. This development peaked in 1980, when the North American leadership of the movement called ISKCON "a denomination of the Hindu church", but elsewhere within ISKCON, the relationship vis-à-vis Hinduism is still a hotly contested issue (Rochford 2007:184-185).

While the movement in each country and particular centre or "temple" has a fair amount of autonomy, ISKCON has a central governing authority, which at least tries to implement worldwide plans and strategies. For understanding the changes that took place in ISKCON Finland in the 1990s, some background on the international situation of ISKCON at that time is necessary.

Since Bhaktivedanta Swami's passing in 1977, ISKCON has been plagued by conflicts of succession (see Tamal

Krishna Goswami 1998). These conflicts became particularly problematic in the mid-1980s, threatening to rip the movement apart. In 1986, a solution of sorts was arrived at, which while being at times heavily criticised, gave leaders a much-needed break to focus on other things. That was sorely needed, because results of *sankirtana*, collecting donations by primarily selling the founder's books in the streets, had in many places dropped dramatically. The movement quite simply had to find alternative ways of support.

One solution came to be called "congregational development". Rather than as before focusing almost exclusively on the increasingly small percentage of members living in the movement's temples and ashrams, leaders tried to reach out to a larger community outside the temples. In North America, Rochford (2007:182) approximates this congregation in 2005 to 50,000, the large majority of which was of Indian descent.

The main reasons mentioned for this development were "to help provide American temples with solid financial support systems and to free temple devotees for preaching and book distribution" (Mukunda Goswami 2001:17). The financial support of Indians was specifically mentioned (ibid.:18).

In North America, one outcome of this development was the so-called ISKCON Foundation, founded in 1991. Its primary mission was to raise money to support ISKCON's communities by actively encouraging the involvement of Indian Hindus in ISKCON's temples. As a result of this programme, temple revenues increased substantially in many locales. Burke Rochford (2007:186-187) reports that in 1988, the congregation stood for 48 % of the income of the Philadelphia temple. In 1991, the figure had risen to 62 %, and in 1992, 67 %. In one major North American temple, 95 % of the income came from the Indian community.

ISKCON and South Asians in Finland

The above-mentioned international trend of ISKCON involving South Asians arrived in Finland in earnest in the summer of 1992, when the local representative of the governing board, Harikesha Swami (Robert Campagnola) asked ISKCON Finland to send representatives to a large conference on congregational development to be hosted in August at an ISKCON centre in Germany. As elsewhere, from the management side, the main reason for the new ideas seemed to be a desire to free the inmates of the temples from the burden of collecting funds. The temple needed the financial support of a congregation, and what could be a better place to start than the growing number of South Asians in Finland (INT 3). Finland sent three representatives, one of whom later called the conference an "awakening" to the importance of the Indian congregation (INT 2 – though INT 6 does not remember Indians being spoken about in particular), but notably the then leader of ISKCON Finland opted not to go. This may have been one reason, the same informant tells me, for his subsequent lack of interest in the topic, but one would imagine also a symptom of it (as hinted at by INT 4).

Nevertheless, on returning, these members started implementing the new ideas. In the following, I will deal with four ways in which ISKCON devotees since then have tried to create and integrate an Indian community into ISKCON Finland's activities: *the Sudhama Seva Temple Project, Life Membership, the performance of samskaras,* and *educational programmes.*

1. *The Sudhama Seva Temple Project*. In the beginning of the 1990s, the most important ISKCON temple in Finland was located in a rented apartment in Helsinki. In order to expand the activities of the movement as well as to attract a larger following, a need was felt for a larger temple, not rented but owned, and preferably custom built (INT 5). While the initiative and initial funding came from an Indian-born ISKCON member, some of the persons who had visited the conference in Germany gave the project a boost by making the Indian Ambassador to Finland, Prithvi Raj Sood (1992–1995) interested in the project. The ambassador became the official guardian of the project, and gave ISKCON access to the embassy's lists of Indians living in Finland (INT 2, 4). The support of the Indian Embassy represents very important linking civic social capital that ISKCON Finland has maintained to the present day, particularly considering that the movement does not really have any other socially, financially or politically prominent supporters.

In an attempt at creating bridging social capital, a board of prominent Indians and Pakistanis for the upcoming temple was appointed, including even some Sikhs in the beginning, but due to differences of opinion, its work eventually fizzled out (INT 3). The Indian in charge of the project felt that the temple authorities were not broadminded enough and that they did not give him the support he needed – a charge which they of course disputed (INT 3, 4). In any case, no temple was constructed or bought during the 1990s, though there was a close call in 1999. Most of the money collected (250 000 FIM in 1999 according to INT 3, though INT 6 claims that there was never more than at most 180 000 FIM) was eventually spent on refurbishing the rented apartment where ISKCON Helsinki remains today. This was a solution that not everyone approved of, though ISKCON claims to have cleared the decision with the major donors (INT 6).

2. *Life Membership*. The ISKCON Life Member programme was begun in the mid-1970s as a system where individuals could gain several benefits for themselves and their families (notably free accommodation once a year at any ISKCON temple) for a one-time donation of $1111 – a typically Hindu, auspicious, uneven number. From the beginning, this programme was particularly aimed towards rich Indians, both in India and in the diaspora. However, in Finland, most ISKCON Life Members are Finns, not Indians. Towards the end of the 1990s, there were around 20 such members in Finland, but since the movement internationally found it difficult to fulfil the promised benefits for Life Members, no new Life Members have been created in Finland then (INT 2, 6). There are,

however, plans for some kind of local system of Life Members (INT 6).

The programme can thus be seen as an attempt at creating bonding social capital with a larger Hindu community but that in Finland gradually became an ISKCON-internal project.

3. *The performance of samskaras*. In 1997, two ISKCON devotees published a practical and informative book about the *samskaras* or purificatory rituals that every Hindu or at least Brahmin Hindu is supposed to undergo during his or her life (Dasa & Dasa 1997). This book led to interest in a topic that hereto had remained quite mysterious to most ISKCON members in Finland, and some members learnt how to perform these rituals and procured the necessary implements. Since then, various ISKCON members have acted as pundits or ritual experts in performing various *samskaras* for Hindus in Finland. Until recently, ISKCON has gained little direct pecuniary benefit from these ceremonies (the pundits previously being householder members of ISKCON, keeping donations for themselves), but there is little doubt that providing such ritual expertise has been instrumental in creating a picture of ISKCON as an authentic, "Vedic" movement, worthy of support. Since no-one else in Finland offers such services, unless families wish to perform these ceremonies in India or hire a priest from abroad, which of course would be costly, the ISKCON pundits remain the only option (INT 5).

However, the phenomenon that Vasudha Narayanan (1992) has called "templeisation" – where Hindu temples take over many functions that previously have been held within the home – cannot be observed in Finland. Rather, the ISKCON leadership has been wary of introducing too many domestic ceremonies into the temple, rather wishing to retain its monastic atmosphere (INT 6). Another possible reason for this reluctance will be mentioned below.

Apart from such ceremonies, ISKCON members also regularly visit the homes of members for holding *kirtanas* – congregational chanting of religious songs – and spiritual talks. In earlier years, different Indian-born members were in charge of the South Asian congregation, but today – perhaps because of a lack of such full-time members – the same persons who cater to the Finnish congregation tend to serve the South Asian community as well. Apart from the Helsinki region, ISKCON has a more or less organised South Asian following in Joensuu, Lappeenranta, Oulu, Rovaniemi, Tampere, Turku and Vaasa (INT 6).

All of these activities can be seen as the monastic core of the movement creating bridging social capital with householders outside this core, financially and morally supporting them as authentic representatives of "Sanatana dharma", by providing them with religious services. Alternatively, they can be viewed as an attempt at forming and maintaining a loyal congregation, that is, at creating bonding social capital, where this "Sanatana dharma" is the shared identity relation. The borders between the types of social capital enumerated in the introduction may therefore not be as clear as one might think at first sight.

4. *Educational programmes*. In Finland, religious education in public schools is given in a pupil's religion, and it should be non-confessional in nature. The law also stipulates that if three or more children in a municipality belong to an officially registered religious movement that has a government-approved curriculum for teaching its religion, the municipality must provide such religious education for these children. Since 2003, ISKCON has provided such religious education in schools in the Helsinki area (Broo & Kontala 2007). Here, almost all students have been children of South Asian immigrants. While these classes have had some success, it should be noted that most Hindu parents even in the Helsinki area have not applied for Krishna-conscious religious education for their children, despite its being the only Hindu option, preferring them to attend non-denominational ethics classes or the standard Evangelical Lutheran religious classes. Tuomas Martikainen estimates South Asian Hindu children in the Helsinki area to number approximately 250 (personal communication). Of these, only 25 children or 10 % attend Krishna classes (INT 6). Reasons for this rather low figure may include factors such as a negative images of ISKCON teachers created by the widely-reported scandals in connection with ISKCON-run boarding schools abroad, and parents' fear of their children's religious education becoming too exclusively focused on Krishna (INT 5).

A major project of ISKCON Finland since 2008 is Bhaktivedanta College. Bhaktivedanta College Finland is an off-site branch of Bhaktivedanta College in Budapest, an ISKCON-run, state-accredited college in Hungary. At the present moment, Bhaktivedanta College Finland offers courses in Sanskrit and Ayurveda. Upcoming courses include Vedic Leadership & Management, Vedic Technology and Nature, Spiritual Economics and A Comparison between Western & Vedanta Philosophy (Bhaktivedanta College Finland 2010). Reportedly, there are three groups of students, one of which consists of Indian students in Tampere, whose studies at Bhaktivedanta College comprise an accredited secondary subject (INT 6).

Again, these projects may be seen either as attempts at creating bonding or bridging social capital. The Indian students in Tampere, for example, have few or no family or financial ties to Finnish society, and many of them are likely to move on from Finland after finishing their education. However, they appear to feel that they gain something from attending the courses at Bhaktivedanta College – perhaps a strengthening of their own Hindu beliefs in an overwhelmingly non-Hindu environment – and ISKCON perhaps feels that its own educational project gains respectability by having more students who are not members of ISKCON itself.

Conclusions

Considering the four cases above, it is not clear whether ISKCON Finland really has had a clearly defined strategy for engaging South Asian Hindus and through them creating civic

social capital. Despite international data pointing in this direction, only one of my interviewees (INT 3) speaks of one. The present leader of ISKCON Finland expressly denies having a strategy for the Indians, since he feels the word "strategy" implies a calculated endeavour to gain material benefits. Rather, he wants to stress the reciprocal nature of these affairs: Indians approach ISKCON with their spiritual needs and ISKCON provides for them (INT 6, supported by INT 2). There is thus a bridging rather than a bonding between the two. He also pointed out that despite the fact that ISKCON could possibly get some state support if it had a hundred more members, there has been no attempt to make any of the South Asian supporters sign up as official members (INT 6). This is highly significant and something that I will return to shortly.

In their study of the civic engagement of different religious communities, sociologists of religion Fred Lamar Kniss and Paul David Numrich (2008:180-181) restate the rather obvious fact that highly sectarian groups are largely internally oriented, and thus uninterested in civic social capital, giving ISKCON as an example. From what we have seen above, there are signs of this changing in ISKCON internationally, at least in the sense of the movement consciously expanding its self-understanding – ISKCON not being merely a group of missionary monastics, by actively reaching out to particularly South Asian lay members. Reasons for this have included hopes of both moral and financial support, both of which have been largely realised.

E. Burke Rochford (2007:183) has enumerated the following reasons for this success in North America. Hindus support ISKCON in North America because there were virtually no established Hindu temples in the United States before ISKCON; the young ISKCON converts affirmed the value of the Hindu tradition in an environment new for the immigrants; their asceticism reminded them of holy men in India; they were impressed by ISKCON's orthopraxy and elaborate temple worship; they were attracted by the ritually pure food; and, most importantly, there is a shared belief that participation in ISKCON's temple programmes helps preserve their ethnic and religious identities and keep Indian Hindus away from the allure of American materialism.

In the absence of more data, we must be rather cautious when it comes to the situation in Finland. As we have seen, some of the strategies initiated by ISKCON devotees for engaging Indians to support the movement have been failures, others only marginally successful. I have not been able to access any detailed financial data, but still today, most of the donations that ISKCON Finland receives, even not counting street collections, come from the Finnish, not the Indian congregation. While Indians as we have seen in the United States may number up to 80 % of visitors on any Sunday, in Finland they are still only 20–30 %, though their number rises to 90 % on major festivals. In contrast to day-to-day expenses, the costs for such festivals are usually covered by the South Asian congregation (INT 6).

However, unlike most other Nordic countries, ISKCON in Finland enjoys a monopoly both in providing local ritual expertise and a permanent venue for religious functions – still today, the ISKCON temple is the only public Hindu temple in Finland. Hindus do congregate and celebrate special occasions in other venues as well (Martikainen & Gola 2007: 55–60), but ISKCON draws the largest crowd at major festivals. The fact that the approximately 3,500 Hindus of South Asian origins living in Finland today have not yet felt the need to create a rival temple does suggest that despite misgivings voiced about ISKCON and its tactics (INT 5), the movement has to a large extent been successful in presenting itself as a representative of all Hindus in Finland. This is institutionally perhaps best illustrated by the linking social capital created by the good relationship the movement has with the Indian Ambassador to Finland.

Why then has ISKCON Finland neglected to follow the international example of more fully integrating South Asians into its activities? Why are not South Asians actively canvassed for membership? Apart from the expressed reason of not wanting to seem to capitalise on the piety of South Asian Hindus (INT 6), one reason may be a fear of seeing the movement go down a path of "Hinduisation" witnessed elsewhere (Rochford 2007:194-200), where it is felt to lose many of its unique characteristics. This is also indicated by the website of the movement. The pictures posted there generally show youthful, Finnish members of the movement. Very few Indians are shown, even on the "Events" page (ISKCON Finland 2010). Of course, in contrast to the United States or Great Britain, there are not that many South Asians in Finland yet, so strategically the benefit of aligning the movement with them may not be that great. The personal opinions of the present leader of ISKCON Finland – who, while on very good terms with many individual Indians in Finland, has little understanding for the international trend of identifying ISKCON as a Hindu movement (INT 6) – probably also play an important part.

In more general terms, we can thus see that making a largely internally focused, highly sectarian movement interested in its members creating bridging social links with the surrounding community is not an easy task, but dependent on several overriding factors. These include a clear necessity, such as the need for financial or moral support, a leadership consistently interested in the matter, clear strategies, but also a surrounding community interested in reciprocating such a venture. In the case of ISKCON Finland, many of these elements are present, but not enough. It will be interesting to see whether the situation will change within the next few years.

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INT 1 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Facebook interview 2.6.2010. Author's archive.

INT 2 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Facebook interview 3–7.6.2010. Author's archive.

INT 3 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Telephone interview 2.6.2010. Author's archive.

INT 4 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Telephone interview 7.6.2010. Author's archive.

INT 5 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Telephone interview 9.6.2010. Author's archive.

INT 6 = Interview with a leading member/ ex-member of ISKCON Finland. Telephone interview 10.6.2010. Author's archive.

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Leadership Structures and Government Regulation of Hinduism in Norway

Abstract

In this paper I analyse the leadership structures of the Tamil Hindu temples in Norway and the Government's regulations aimed at controlling the religious leaders of the minority religions. These regulations have led to the denial of work permits and entry visas for the priests of the Hindu temples. The decisions of government officials to deny work permits and entry visas for Hindu priests in Norway are based on a misunderstanding of the training process of Hindu priests and of the leadership structures of the Hindu temples. This paper describes the leadership structures of the largest Hindu tradition in Norway, the Tamil Hindus, and discusses the consequences for the Hindu temples of government regulation directed at controlling the religious leadership. The paper first gives an outline of the Hindu diaspora in Norway and an overview of Tamil organisations in Norway to indicate the role and place of religion. Thereafter I give an analysis of the management of the Tamil Hindu temples and discuss some of the consequences for the Hindu temples and communities of the government regulations.

Keywords: Hinduism, temple, leadership, temple managers, religion and the state

The new religious pluralism in a number of European countries ensuing from large-scale immigration has led to changes in the organisation of religion. The state has increased its control of the religious life of the immigrant populations. The new regulation implemented by the state of Norway in 2007 to control religious leaders has to be understood in the context of an increased anxiety for the consequences of the new religious pluralism. One way the state is able to secure some control over the immigrant religions is through the granting or denial of work permits and entry visas for religious leaders. Religious ritual leaders often have to be brought to Norway by the religious communities from the country of origin of the group in question, since often such persons are not available in the Norwegian immigrant population. As part of the strong desire of the Norwegian state to control the religious leadership of immigrant religions, in 2007 it was decided that work permits to religious leaders would only be granted to those with a Master's degree in Theology or other education equal to a Master's degree that would qualify someone as a religious leader. This regulation was probably motivated by a wish to control the Muslim religious leadership, but it has caused the denial of work permits and entry visas for priests of Hindu temples in Norway. There is no university education in India or anywhere else for Hindu priests and Hindu priests are therefore in general not eligible for work permits. In addition, the leader of a Hindu temple is its manager and not the priest, and to have the requirements for religious leaders apply to the Hindu priests is also questionable. This discrimination of the Hindu population in Norway exemplifies a trend in many European countries in which religious pluralism is often understood mostly to mean the presence of two religions, Christianity and Islam, and the other minority religions are understood in terms of Islam and become victimised by regulations intended to impose bureaucratic regulations on the

largest minority religion.[1] Issues raised by religious pluralism are often defined in terms of the concerns of or with respect to the Muslim minority. Other religions are not able to raise issues in the public arena on their own terms or their issues are understood only in terms of the discourses established in relation to the the largest religious minority.

In the religious leadership structure of Sri Lankan Tamil Hinduism, two figures are most important: the manager of the temple (Tamil: *nirvaki* or *thalivar;* Norwegian: *forstander*) and the priest (Tamil: *kuru* or *kurukkal*; Norwegian: *prest*). The managers of temples are usually Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, who are Norwegian citizens and as such have not been victimised by the new regulation. However, the priests have to be brought from Sri Lanka, and it is the responsibility of the managers to acquire priests to the temples. The regulation has made it impossible to perform this duty. In this paper I present the leadership structures of the Tamil Hindu temples, analyse the roles of the managers and priests and look at some of the consequences of the Government's attempts to gain control of the leadership of minority religions.

1. The Hindu diaspora in Norway

At the beginning of 2010 more than 11 % of the total population of Norway were first- or second-generation immigrants.[2] Using immigration statistics to calculate the number of people belonging to a religious tradition is always uncertain, but the immigration statistics nevertheless give important information, and no other reliable statistics are available. The largest group of Hindus in Norway are the Tamils from Sri Lanka. There were 13,772 persons from Sri Lanka settled in Norway according to the official statistics on 1 January 2010 (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2010). Of them, 7,214 live in Oslo and 1,130 live in Bergen, the two largest cities in Norway, but Tamils have settled in a large number of municipalities (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2010). One reason is that many arrived as refugees and were placed in municipalities all over the country. Of those 13,772 persons, 8,606 are immigrants, while 5,166 were born in Norway to immigrant parents from Sri Lanka (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2010). Of those 5,166, 802 have one parent born in Norway, in most cases a Tamil. Of the 13,772 Tamils settled in Norway, around 2,000 to 2,500 are Roman Catholics.

The immigration from Sri Lanka took place primarily after 1970, although the first Tamil from Sri Lanka to arrive was Antony Rajendram, who travelled on a motorbike from Sri Lanka to England, and arrived in Norway already in 1955. Rajendram was the first leader of the Tamils in Norway. He was a Roman Catholic and joined the Roman Catholic Church in Norway, but his stay in Norway became important for the later Hindu immigration from Sri Lanka. His purpose was not to settle in Europe but to develop projects that could help the poorest group of fishermen in the Jaffna area, many of whom were Christians and among whom alcohol use had become a problem. In England Rajendram met some Norwegian students who told him that Norway would be a better place for him to get an education in fishery. Rajendram then left for Norway and educated himself in the various aspects of the fishing industry, including fishing, fish processing and boat building. Rajendram and a few other Tamil youths who had joined him in Norway managed in 1967 to involve a Norwegian youth organisation that worked against alcohol use to collect money for a fishery project in Sri Lanka. With additional money from the Norwegian Government, the group bought land in Karainagar in Northern Sri Lanka and began boat building. Soon thereafter they also started the processing, production and sale of ice, as well as trawler fishing. Cey-Nor Development Foundation, as the organisation came to be called, was established in 1971 (*Report on the Mission* 1980). Cey-Nor established a fishnet factory in 1975. To educate workers in fishery activities they were given training in the fish factories of Northern and Western Norway. In the early 1970s the fishing industry in Norway lacked workers and many of the Sri Lankan Tamils who came to Norway decided to stay. Many managed to get work permits for family and friends. Those who applied for jobs in the Cey-Nor projects in Sri Lanka received assistance with their job applications for work in Norway, when there were no jobs available in the Cey-Nor project, and once a person had a job offer, he or she could get a visa (Fuglerud 1999). From 1975 immigration to Norway was restricted, but not for education at the *folkehøyskoler*, the private college system that offered one-year non-degree courses. These were small schools spread around Norway. During the 1980s the Tamils were by far the largest group of foreign students in this school system.[3] In addition, after the civil war broke out in Sri Lanka in 1983, a large number arrived as refugees. Many also arrived through the universities; the Tamils were one of the largest groups of foreign students in the universities in Norway in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Jacobsen 2005, Jacobsen 2008b).[4]

Rajendram's activities had opened up channels for Sri Lankan Tamils to come to Norway and he had made Norway known to the Tamils in Sri Lanka so that during the civil war Norway became a favoured choice for seeking asylum. From the early 1990s most of the Tamils settled in Oslo, the capital.[5] Because of the tragedy of the civil war in Sri Lanka, many of those who had arrived early were thankful to Rajendram, who had helped bring them to Norway as if he had foreseen the tragedy that would come to Sri Lanka. Rajendram played a significant leadership role for the Tamils in Norway. In addition to his activity with Cey-Nor, he founded the first Tamil school in Norway, one of the first in Europe, and also had leadership roles in other Tamil organisations.

While the largest Hindu population in Norway are the Hindus from Sri Lanka, around 11,000, the other Hindus are mostly from India (a few Hindus have also immigrated from Nepal, Singapore, Malaysia, Bangladesh and other nations). In January 2010, 9,747 Indians were living in Norway, of them 6,888 first-generation immigrants and 2,859 born of immigrant parents. Around 50 % of the Indians in Norway are Sikhs,[6] the rest mostly Hindus. The Hindus are mostly from Punjab, Haryana and the Delhi area (Jacobsen 2005).

The total Hindu population is around 15,000. However, Hinduism is not a homogenous tradition. Hinduism is a heterogeneous mosaic of regional religious and cultural traditions found mainly in India, neighbouring countries in South Asia, in some areas of Southeast Asia, and in the many South Asian diasporas worldwide. The term 'Hinduism' does not refer to a homogenous tradition, but to a conglomerate of rituals, art, music, narratives, institutions, theologies, artefacts, and activities. Hindu religious practice is often local, and gods, goddesses and divinities are often regional, while some are worshipped in temples worldwide (Jacobsen 2009).

The mosaic of Hinduism contains many clearly recognisable regional traditions. These differ in their ritual traditions and theological interpretations and often in the gods or goddesses that are the focus of worship. The style of the temple and worship differ, likewise the names of the gods. Even if Sanskrit is a sacred language in many parts of Hinduism, other than in the case of the recitation of the priests, the hymns, messages and speeches in the temples are often in vernacular languages such as Tamil, Hindu, Bengali and so on. Sanskrit is often written in the regional alphabets. Each regional tradition has hymns in the vernacular languages that often play a significant role in the worship.

Two Hindu regional traditions dominate Hinduism in Norway – Tamil traditions and Punjab Hindu traditions. The differences in temples, rituals and language mean that Tamil Hindus do not attend North Indian temples in Norway, and the North Indian Hindus do not attend Tamil Hindu temples. Most aspects of the Tamil temples appear foreign to the North Indians and vice versa. Also, the Sri Lankan Tamils are Shaivas, mostly following the Shaiva Siddhanta theology and temple rituals. Most of the North Indian Hindus in Norway are Vaishnavas, worshippers of Rama and Krishna and their families. The goddess Durga (Tamil: *Thurkai Amman*) is important for both groups, but her iconography and worship rituals differ. Also it should be noted that even though a temple usually has a main god, a plurality of gods are worshipped in the temples. The result of all this in the Hindu diaspora in Norway is that there are two clearly segregated forms of Hinduism, of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus and of the North Indian Hindus. There is hardly any interaction between the two groups. Although the consequences of the Government's leadership regulations have been the same for the Tamil Hindus and the North Indian Hindus in Norway and their temples are organised in similar ways, in this paper I will look at leadership structures only of Tamil Hindu temples.

2. Tamil organisations

Researchers writing about Hindu temples in the diaspora often exaggerate the significance of the temples for the community by not mentioning that the Hindus often have a number of other organisations. The researchers seem to suggest that the temples are the only organisations that provide opportunities for Hindu community building. In the case of the Hindus in Norway that is not true. Nevertheless, the government regulation demanding a Master's degree or equivalent of the leaders applies only to leaders of religious organisations.

Correctly, temples can partly be seen as attempts by the new immigrants to transport with them the culture from abroad, and reconnect it to a new place. As is typically argued, in their study of the Hindu temple in Malibu, California, Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009) maintain that their study "demonstrates how the creation of the temple, with its specific architectural elements as well as its ritual and sociocultural activities all helped to foster, integrate, and solidify a sense of community" (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009: 312). They further hold that "there exists an important relationship between religion and place, between sacred place making and community building and identity, and that sacred places not only express a group's religious identity, they can also play a significant role in the formation of community" (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009:315). This is certainly correct, as has been richly documented in the extensive literature on the Hindu diaspora communities.[7] However, at least in the case of Norway, though I assume in many other countries as well, the Tamils have founded many organisations in addition to temples to preserve their culture and traditions and to support the Tamil population. There is a need therefore, in the scholarship on Hinduism in the diaspora, for a balanced view of the role of temples and for the inclusion of secular organisations in the analysis of the communities. There are a large number of Tamil organisations in Norway and only a few are religious. In fact, while most of the organisations founded by Tamils in Norway are not religious, they fulfil many of the functions of fostering, integrating, and solidifying a sense of community usually ascribed to religion. One of the oldest Tamil organisations is Tamilsangam (*Tamilenes forening i Bergen & Hordaland*), a Tamil organisation in Bergen and Hordaland established in 1977 (Tamilsangam 2010),[8] and this organisation also founded the first Tamil school in Norway (in Bergen) in 1987. There are a number of Tamil schools in Norway and they are independent from the temples. Examples of other secular organisations include TRVS – The Tamil Resource and Guidance Centre founded in 1992 (Tamilsk ressurs og veiledningssenter 2010a),[9] with activities such as Tamil cultural events, advice to parents and children experiencing generational conflicts arising from the differences in Tamil and Norwegian culture, Tamil language education, help with homework, activities for elders, and so on (http://www.trvs.no/aktiviteter/index.shtml), through eight local chapters (http://www.trvs.no/avdelinger/index.shtml); the Tamil Youth Organisation (*Tamilsk Ungdomsorganisasjon*) founded in 2000 (Norway Tamil Youth Organization 2010), a Tamil women's organisation (*Tamilsk Kvinneorganisasjon*) founded in 2004, the Tamil cultural centre *Annai Poopathy tamilsk kultur senter* (http://www.annai.no/), a Tamil solidarity group (*Tamilenes Solidaritetsgruppe i Norge*), the Norwegian Tamil Health Organization (*Norsk tamilsk helseorganisasjon*) (Norsk tamilsk helseorganisasjon 2010), the Tamil Resource and Counselling Centre (*Tamilsk ressurs- og veiledningssenter*), the Interna-

tional Movement For Tamil Culture, Tamil Development Network of Norway, Tamil United Sports Club, and a large number of local organisations such as Asker & Bærum Tamilske Forening, and so on. Annual events with children's games and Kilithattu are organised.[10] A recently founded political group is the Norwegian Council of Eelam Tamils (NCET, *Landsrådet for Eelam Tamiler i Norge*) (http://tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=30599) that is part of the Global Tamil Forum (GTF), which is a collection of Tamil diaspora organisations (Global Tamil Forum 2010). The vision of GTF is to:

Evolve an independent, international organization which adheres to the principles of democracy and non-violence and derives its strength from grassroots organizations of the Tamil Diaspora that will work in solidarity with Tamils in Eelam and other communities in Sri Lanka to restore Tamil People's right to self-determination and democratic self-rule in their traditional homeland in the island of Sri Lanka that would lead to self-sufficiency, sustainability and equal opportunity to its people, through its political and economic successes by engaging the international community. (Global Tamil Forum 2010.)

One of the aims of GTF is to establish a state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.[11] The Tamils in Norway have also a large number of Internet sites such as *BergenTamil.com* which gives information about Tamil activities such as films, cultural events, sporting events, politics and so on.

These secular organisations offer a number of social services, such as Tamil language instruction for children, Norwegian for the parents, help with school homework, soccer tournaments and other sports activities such as yoga and karate, classes in physical and mental health, counselling services for parents and children, cultural events offering people the opportunity to perform in front of a large audience, music and dance, activities for elders such as trips, birthday parties for members, and information about health issues, youth clubs, and so on.[12] The number of activities offered by these Tamil organisations is impressive. The above-mentioned organisations are secular and their activities do not include religion, and the leadership structures of these organisations will not be discussed here. The point is that the temples need to be understood as only one among many Tamil organisations that engage in community building and compete for resources and members, and that offer opportunities for leadership development and privileges. However, only the temples need professionally trained priests to offer their services and priests are the only 'leaders' for whom a Master's degree or equivalent is required by the Norwegian Government. In the competition for resources and members, the temples have been hurt unfairly. None of the other organisations have restrictions on their leadership similar to the requirements of a Master's degree for priests.

There are two main clusters of Tamil religious organisations in Norway, Hindu and Roman Catholic.[13] Some Tamils are also organised in Pentecostal churches such as the Church of Living Word in Bergen (Church of Living Word 2010). The Tamil Catholics are organised within the Roman Catholic Church.[14] Hindu temples have greater autonomy than the Tamil Catholic organisations;[15] in principle anyone can open a Hindu temple. The religious organisation of the Hindus and Roman Catholics is therefore different, although they fulfil many of the same functions. However, the major difference with respect to the new government regulation is that since the Tamil Catholic priests have formal educations recognised by the state, the Tamil Catholics have not suffered from the new regulation of religious leaders. The regulation has hurt the Hindus, not the Roman Catholics.

3. Management of Tamil Hindu temples

Hindu temples are homes of the gods and goddesses and need resident priests to take care of the statues of the gods and goddesses. Each temple needs its own priest (or priests depending on the size of the temple and the schedule of worship) to perform the daily rituals. In Norway there are at least five Tamil Hindu temples with statues that need their own priests: three in Oslo, one each in Bergen and Trondheim. The largest one is Sivasubramaniyar Alayam of *Norges Hindu Kultursenter* (Norwegian Hindu cultural centre) that was opened in 1998. A goddess temple is the Sri Jeya Thurka Amman Alayam of Norges Saivite Hindu Kultur Senter (Norwegian Saivite Hindu cultural centre) opened in 2008. The smallest one is Sri Ganapathy Thurka Aalayam of a religious centre by the name of Norges Hindu Religious Service Senter, which was opened in 2009. Sri Tiller Ganesha Tempel of *Eelam Tamilar Sangam* in Trondheim opened in 2005 (http://www.tillerganesha.no/index-filer/Page380.htm), and *Eelumalai sithi vinayagar kovil* of the *Bergen Hindu Sabha* in Bergen opened in 2004 (http://bergenhindusabha.info/, http://bergenhindusabha.no/index.php/889908). *Bergen Hindu Sabha* is an older organisation founded in 1990. In general the temple organisations are older than the temples themselves. The groups that organised temple have often already met for some years in rooms in public buildings such as school buildings that were rented for each event before the temple was founded.

The temples offer a number of services, usually limited to religious ones. What they offer is religion, and for that they are critically important. Although most Hindus have a *puja* place for the worship of gods and goddesses in their homes, and Hindus do not have to go to a temple to worship, there is an ancient Tamil saying, according to which a land without a temple is cursed (*kovil illa oor paazh*). The temple offers Hindus a public place to worship their gods and goddesses. Those who go to temple on a regular basis are most often deeply religious and for them the temple is a sacred centre. Not all Tamils are devout, and not all Tamils consider the temple important. The leaders of the temple are very aware that the temple is only one of many Tamil organisations that are important for Tamil community building and they compete for members and resources. The temple offers people a place to worship and celebrate and to deal with issues such as sorrow, loss, and health problems. The temples do not offer counselling, how-

ever, because it is considered the task of friends and relatives. Tamil Hinduism usually does not convert new members, so they need to respond to the wishes of the Tamil community to be able to retain their membership.

The Norwegian Government considers the priest (*kuru* or *kurukkal*) to be the leader of the temple, but in reality the leader of the temple is the manager (*nirvaki* or *thalivar*), and it is the manager who hires the priest for the temple services. The temple is the employer and the priest the employee. That the Norwegian Government considers the priest the leader is probably because Lutheran ministers are the leaders of their churches, and the Government has made the assumption that this is the case also in Hindu temples.

3.1. The board

Tamil Hindu temples in Norway are all organised around a temple committee with a manager (in Norwegian: *forstander*) and a board. The manager is elected by the members together with a board to lead the temple at the general assembly (in Norwegian: *generalforsamling*) for a two-year period. This is the case also with temples in Sri Lanka, but in Sri Lanka there are also temples owned by the *nirvaki* or *thalivar* or by the priests.[16] When someone in Norway opened a temple as its owner a couple of years ago, few people joined, and he had to change the organisation of the temple to the manager and board model. Tamil Hindus in Norway only support this model, making it the standard for Tamil Hindu temples there.

The temple boards have between 10 and 15 members. The board at Sivasubramaniyar Alayam has 15 members and meets monthly. The members include a manager, secretary, treasurer, storehouse manager and a cultural coordinator (*kulturansvarlig*), a deputy for each of them, plus another five members without specific responsibilities.

The manager has the main responsibility for the daily running of the temple. A Tamil Hindu temple is a large organisation, the temple has a daily ritual schedule and a busy annual ritual calendar, and the job of manager involves a lot of responsibility (see below).

The cultural coordinator is responsible for the rituals, the *puja* system, overseeing that everything is done correctly, for organising the temple for wedding ceremonies (setting up etc.), sending the priests to people's homes to perform purification rituals (on the 31st day after a death or a birth in a family, to end the period when the family cannot enter the temple), and so on.

The storehouse manager buys the items needed in the rituals in stores in Norway and abroad. He checks prices and quality. Major items include coconuts, fruit and flowers. The rituals are costly and especially flowers are one of the biggest expenses of the temple.[17] The cost of the flowers for the 48-day *mandala puja* ritual that took place in spring 2010 was at least 3,000 to 4,000 NOK (500 EUR) a week. This ritual was performed after the *kumbhabhishekham* purification of the temple that has to be performed every 12 years.

The secretary is responsible for all the letters sent and received and serves as a contact person. He shares much of the work and responsibility of the manager. Also the treasurer is an important person on the board. In Tamil Hindu temples, visitors to the temple often pay to have the priest include their names in the *puja*. Different *puja* tickets are available. The treasurer keeps track every day of income and expenditure, pays the bills, the priests' salary, etc. A bookkeeper is hired to take care of the annual accounts. Since the temples have large incomes and expenditures, the economy of the temple can be a source of a lot of tension. In the temple in Bergen, the complete annual accounts and report from the bookkeeper are displayed and made available on the message board in order to avoid gossip and tension.

3.2. The manager *(nirvaki* or *thalivar)*

Being the manager of a temple is a time-consuming job. Managers of the Sivasubramaniyar Alayam not always seek election for a second term. Managers receive no compensation. When I asked the current manager of Sivasubramaniyar Alayam about the possibility of the manager's job being paid, the manager answered that then the job of temple manager would become meaningless, just a regular job.[18]

The most difficult task for the manager of a temple has become the responsibility for hiring priests. Without a priest a Tamil Hindu temple cannot function. The manager of the temple is not qualified to perform the rituals at the temple, but as the leader of the temple he is nevertheless responsible for their performance.

The Tamil temple managers, when asked about what they experienced as the most difficult and time-consuming tasks as temple managers, replied that it was having to deal with Norwegian bureaucracy. Religion is highly regulated in Norway and the Norwegian state supports religion financially as, in accordance to the ideology of the welfare society, it is considered part of the services the state should support. There are other problems beyond the difficulty of getting priests for temples, but only the latter has led to the experience of complete powerlessness. This is not least because the logic of the regulation is incomprehensible to the Hindu leadership. Other managerial tasks are related to rules that are viewed as rational. One is to maintain a list of members. The state and municipality support the temple financially with an annual amount per member, equal to the amount that the Lutheran church, which is the state church, receives per member from the state – around 400 kroner (50 EUR). Also the municipality supports the church financially and has to give the same amount per member to all religious organisations. Altogether religious organisations receive around 800 kroner (100 EUR) per member. This is a significant amount of money. One thousand members generate support of 100,000 EUR a year. In addition, the members of the temples themselves are often generous in their support. Gifts to the temple of up to 12,000 NOK a year are tax deductible. Another source of income is the *puja* tickets sold inside the entrance of the temples.

A regulation that has caused many problems and generated a lot of work for the managers is the rule that a person is only

allowed to be a member of one religious organisation. This exclusivist (and intolerant) attitude often makes no sense to Hindus (or others). When there are several Hindu temples, as is the case in Oslo, many Hindus visit several of the temples and feel that they should support all of them equally. Similarly, when Hindus visit the Catholic Church with their Tamil Catholic friends, they might also sign up on the lists at the church, showing support. Since according to Hindu belief all religions worship the same God, supporting the Catholic Church as a Hindu is entirely possible. This is all fine, but it becomes the responsibility of the manager to make sure that the members of the temple he reports to the state to receive financial support are registered only in the temple of which he is manager. Managers of Hindu temples have to call the Catholic Church and the other temples every year to check each member on their list to verify that they are not registered also in the Catholic Church or in other Hindu temples.

When bureaucratic regulations change, they can create new problems. When Norges Hindu Kultursenter in Oslo was preparing for the opening of their temple Sivasubramaniyar Alayam, they needed to raise a large sum of money and offered members the opportunity of life membership. The state, according to the manager, accepts only persons who pay the minimum of 100 kroner every year as members of the temple.[19] According to the manager, the temple cannot claim financial support for lifetime members unless they ask them to start paying membership again, which does not seem fair to those already promised a life-long membership.[20]

A condition imposed by the state for giving financial support is that the election of the manager and the board is approved by the Government. But the democratic nature of the election process means that it can easily become politicised. Those who did not get elected can complain to the state or municipality, claiming that the election was illegal. In the meantime, the financial support is halted while the case is investigated.

3.3. The priest *(kuru* or *kurukkal)*

The priest (or priests, depending on the size of the temple), called *kuru* or *kurukkal*, is hired by the manager and the board, which constitute the leadership of the temple. The temple offers religious services to the Tamil Hindus and the priest performs the rituals for the temple that employs him. The relationship between the manager/temple board and the priest is one of the employer and the employee. The priests are Brahmans from Sri Lanka. They are qualified because of their ritual purity as Brahmans and because they have received training as priests, most often by their family and in temples in Sri Lanka. Some also have a secular education and may have had different jobs previously. They perform services on behalf of the temple, and the payment for such services goes to the temple, not to the priest. This is also true of any services they perform outside of the temple in people's homes. The priests are not leaders of the temples, but perform its ritual services. They are highly respected for their ritual purity, and their job entails performing ritual services for the community and for people who request them.

Priests perform the daily *puja*. Tamil temples have a demanding daily ritual performance and also a busy festival calendar (Jacobsen 2004). Priests often live in the temple or nearby because their services in the temple are needed from morning to evening. Priests are responsible for making the floral decorations and much of the food offered in the temple, eaten by devotees at the end of worship. Tamil temples have an annual festival often lasting 12 days or more, with daily processions. During these festivals the temples help each other. Additional priests also come from Sri Lanka, Denmark and Germany for this ritual event (Jacobsen 2008a).

Most of the temples rely on priests who come directly from Sri Lanka. The priests need work permits and entry visas to be allowed to work as priests in Norway, and it is the manager's responsibility to secure work permits and visas for the priests. The tradition in Norway is to employ priests from Sri Lanka with two-year work permits. After that they return to Sri Lanka and new ones hired from there arrive to take their place. There are several reasons for this arrangement. One is that because of immigration policies, it is difficult to get work permits for longer than two years. But also the temple management supports this arrangement, because it gives more priests from Sri Lanka the opportunity to work abroad. After two years when the priests return to Sri Lanka, the temple pays them for their services, improving their economic situation in Sri Lanka. With regard to the temple, the arrangement also makes it absolutely clear that the priests are not the leaders of the temple. They are there only for a limited period.

The Norwegian Government changed the requirements for the approval of work permits and visas of religious leaders in 2007, and it was this change that created the current crisis for Hindu temples in Norway. The priest is considered by the Norwegian Government, mistakenly, a preacher and the religious leader of the temple. The obligatory education for a minister in the Lutheran church is a Master's degree in Theology. According to the new regulation, all leaders of religious institutions need a Master's degree to get a work permits. As a result, after the new regulation was enacted, the renewal of work permits for all Hindu priests in Norway were denied and work permits for new priests rejected. In letters from the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI, or *Utlendingsdirektoratet*), the requirement of a Master's degree was given as the single reason for denial of work permit. The UDI stated that since the education requirement for the applicant had not been fulfilled, the application was denied.[21] The manager of the Hindu temple Sivasubramaniyar Alayam has, with the help of a lawyer and other specialists, tried to convince the UDI and the Ministry of Labour (*Arbeidsdepartementet*), which handle the matter, first that there is no such thing as university education to qualify as a Hindu priest, and second, that the Hindu priest is not the religious leader of the temple. The priest is only employed by the temple to perform rituals and does not preach. The manager is the leader for the temple. But so far they have been unable to convince the Norwegian Government.

The Bergen Hindu Sabha experienced the same problem as Sivasubramaniyar Alayam in Oslo. In a letter to the Ministry they argued that they could not understand why the priest was considered a religious leader. They stated that the temple hires the priest as a performer of rituals and not as leader of the religious group.[22] They emphasised that the priest is someone hired by the temple to perform services. The state had used the concept of the Lutheran minister or Muslim leader as normative for all religions. Bergen Hindu Sabha writes in their letter to the state:

The most important job [of the priest] is, as before, to carry out the traditional ceremonies and rituals that are central to Hindus. He is not a scribe or learned in the law, supposed to present and interpret religious texts, as it to some degree is done by priests of the three "book religions" with roots in the Middle East.[23]

The Bergen Hindu Sabha also remarked in the letter, correctly, that the requirement of a Master's-level education for priests entails a structural discrimination of Hindus and other religions which focus on rituals instead of sacred texts.

4. Conclusion

The most demanding task of managers of Hindu temples in Norway is dealing with Norwegian bureaucracy and the power of the state. Religious pluralism and immigration have led to an increased bureaucratisation of religion in Norway. The state has a tradition of controlling religion, an aspect of religion in Norway that has only strengthened. As state regulations are aimed at regulating Christian and Muslim groups, the rules do not fit Hinduism and result in a lot of work for temple management and create many difficulties and in some cases unsolvable obstacles. Currently (Fall 2010) both the major Sri Lankan Hindu temples and the North Indian Hindu temples are struggling to get priests, and there is a feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness as the situation becomes more severe. The Government's regulations, aimed at controlling the religious leaders of minority religions, have victimised the Hindus, a religious group that has been mostly invisible in Norway. The invisibility and peacefulness of the Hindu community has allowed the state to disregard it. The regulations for work permits for priests and the denial by government officials to grant work permits to Hindu priests are based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the training process of Hindu priests, and about who leads the temple and what constitutes the leadership of a Hindu temple. The managers are struggling with Norwegian bureaucracy to get them to understand the process of education of Hindu priests. But since these matters are now dealt with by the institutions that handle immigration in Norway, the fear is that it can take years to reach a solution. Politicians and Christian theologians interested in religious leadership and education of religious leaders seem to think only in terms of the two Western religions Christianity and Islam and to be blind to the fact that religious pluralism includes a number of other religions that are often quite different from them.

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Notes

1 These regulations of course have consequences also for Muslims, but I do not deal with that issue in this paper.

2 1.1.2010, 11.4 % of the population of Norway were immigrants or born in Norway to immigrant parents. There are 459,000 immigrants living in Norway, and 93,000 persons born in Norway of immigrant parents. These two groups together constitute 11.4 % of the population. (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2010).

3 In the school year 1986–87, 338 Tamils attended the *folkehøyskoler*, 286 in 1985–86, and 167 in 1984–85 (Fuglerud 1999:56).

4 For statistics see Jacobsen 2005:98.

5 For further details see Jacobsen 2003:363-377.

6 For the Sikhs in Norway, see Jacobsen 2006, and Jacobsen forthcoming 2011.

7 For a review of much of this literature see Bauman & Saunders 2009:116-135.

8 For a history of the organization, see Tamilsangam 2010b.

9 The purpose of TRVS as stated on its homepage is:
"Guide Tamils in Norway so that they learn about their language, culture and about the Norwegian society" ("Veilede tamiler i Norge slik at de tilegner seg kunnskaper om sitt språk, kultur, historie og om samfunnsforhold i Norge").
"Guide the young to become well educated, and secure a good career in Norway" ("Veilede de unge til å bli godt utdannet, og at de får seg en god karriere i Norge").
"Secure a good relationship to the Norwegian society at large and other minorities in Norway" ("Opprettholde et godt forhold til det norske storsamfunnet og andre minoriteter i Norge.")
"Secure a good relationship and exchange of resources with Tamils in traditional homelands and with the Tamil diaspora." ("Opprettholde et godt forhold, og utveksle ressurser med tamiler i tradisjonelle hjemland, og med den tamilske diasporaen.")
"Goal-driven work to improve the living conditions for women, youth and the elderly." ("Arbeide målbevisst for å bedre levekår blant kvinner, ungdommer og elder.")

10 For Tamil traditional games, see http://patriciannorway.com/frdavidcup_filer/Tamilske%20Tradisjonelle%20leker.pdf

11 To use all resources available to the Tamil Diaspora to establish the Tamil people's right to self-determination and their right to re-establish their nationhood, which was taken away from them by force by the succeeding colonial powers, including the Sri Lankan government (Global Tamil Forum 2010).

12 For an overview of the activities of one of these organisations (TRVS), see Tamilsk ressurs og veiledningssenter 2010b.

13 For the Roman Catholic Tamils in Norway see Jacobsen 2008.

14 The Catholic Tamil Welfare Association is a Tamil welfare association and is part of the Tamil Catholic Mission, Oslo.

15 In this essay only the Tamil Hindu religious organisations will be discussed.

16 Rohan Bastin writes: "Many Sri Lankan Tamil temples are run by management trusts made up of interested local people and sometimes outsiders who inherit their position through family ...' (Bastin 2002:34).

17 Interview with Vaman Kuddithambi, 2 June 2010.

18 Interview with Vaman Kuddithambi, 2 June 2010.

19 Interview with Vaman Kuddithambi, 2 June 2010.

20 Interview with Vaman Kuddithambi, 2 June 2010.

21 The refusal was argued by UDI in the following way: Special considerations need to be taken for religious leaders. For this group education of a Master's level is required, or qualification equal to a Master's level. ("Det følger av direktoratets rundskriv 2007-026 (faglært/spesialist) punkt 2.2.1 at særlige hensyn foreligger for religiøse ledere. For denne gruppen kreves utdanning på masternivå, eventuelt kvalifikasjoner som tilsvarer utdanning på masternivå".)

22 The new priest will be an employee and 'master of ceremonies' as the previous priests and not the leader of the religious organisation ("den nye presten vil bli en ansatt medarbeider og 'seremonimester' som tidligere prester og ikke leder for trossamfunnet") (Bergen Hindu Sabha 2010).

23 "Den viktigste oppgaven er som før å gjennomføre tradisjonelle seremonier og ritualer som er sentrale for oss hinduer. Han er ikke en skriftlærd eller rettslærd som skal legge fram og fortolke religiøse skrifter, slik det i noen grad gjøres av prester i det tre 'bokreligionene' med rot i Midtøsten." (Bergen Hindu Sabha 2010).

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Mindful Medicine: The Growing Trend of Mindfulness-Based Therapies in the Swedish Health Care System

Abstract

The article provides a short background to Buddhism in Sweden, focusing on observable trends among Buddhist groups before giving a descriptive account of how Buddhist meditational techniques, as taught in mindfulness-based therapies, have been integrated into the Swedish health care system. This trend of "non-religious" or "therapeutic" Buddhism seems to be of major importance when considering the impact Buddhism has had on the majority populations. Mindfulness-based therapies have been introduced by a handful of Swedish medical proponents (authors, doctors, educational institutions and individual therapists) who have facilitated their use within the health care system. Outside clinical settings, a wide range of institutions offer courses in mindfulness as a general life skill. Some of these also are aimed at medical professionals. The article asks whether mindfulness based therapies, viewed as knowledge capital, can have a bridging capacity or linking character, and ends with a discussion of the potential challenges involved when mindfulness is promoted as something that can be taught, and sold, as a commodity.

Keywords: Buddhism, meditation, mindfulness, therapy, health care

1. Introduction

Asian Buddhist communities have come to establish their presence in Swedish society as diasporic communities due to migration from South and Southeast Asia since the 1980s. Today, in 2010, Thai, Vietnamese, Sri Lankan and Chinese Buddhists clearly outnumber convert Buddhists, but they are still mostly invisible in the social and public sphere (Plank 2005, 2008 and 2009a). Unlike research on Islamic traditions and groups in Sweden (see Larsson 2004), there is a lack of basic research on Asian Buddhist groups. Extensive fieldwork would be needed to explore questions relating to the groups' social engagement, and/or the second generation's involvement in civil society. However, initial observations indicate activities of bridging and linking character in (at least) Thai Buddhist communities.

Given the lack of empirical observations among Asian Buddhists, in this article I will instead turn to a specific question: What is the contribution of Buddhism to new forms of spirituality and religiosity among the majority populations? I will argue that there is a new and growing trend of what could be termed "therapeutic" Buddhist influence, and I am specifically thinking of the use of mindfulness-based therapies in the Swedish health care system. Some of these therapies have been developed to be implemented in a clinical setting, to work with patients who suffer from specific disorders such as borderline personality disorder and recurrent depression, while others promote mindfulness as a general "life skill" to improve one's professional and personal life. Drawing on Buddhist meditation practices, most of the mindfulness proponents nevertheless emphasise a non-religious heritage, downplaying soteriological, cosmological as well as moral aspects

of Buddhist meditation. This article aims to give a descriptive account of how mindfulness therapy has found its way into the Swedish health care system, and how it is used in clinical settings or taught as a general life skill. The article asks whether mindfulness-based therapies, as knowledge capital, can have a bridging capacity or linking character, and ends with a discussion of the potential challenges involved when mindfulness is promoted as something that can be taught, and sold, as a commodity.

Given the scarce research on Swedish Buddhist groups and traditions, I will first provide a short background to Buddhism in Sweden, focussing on observable trends among Buddhist groups before I turn to the development of mindfulness-based therapies, and their main Swedish medical proponents (authors, doctors, educational institutions and individual therapists), who have facilitated the clinical use of mindfulness therapies within the health care system.

2. Buddhism in Sweden – observable trends

In Sweden, as well as in other European countries, there is a long tradition of importing Buddhist and Hindu thought. Among the early Swedish exponents for (a theosophically influenced understanding of) Buddhism and Hinduism one finds prominent intellectuals like the agitator Kata Dalström (1858–1923), author August Strindberg (1849–1912) and poet Dan Andersson (1888–1920).[1] From the 1950s and onwards converts have been interested in Buddhist meditative and religious practices, and as dharma teachers they have had an important role in bridging Buddhist meditation techniques to non-Buddhists in the wider society.

2.1. From unity to diversity

The early (Swedish Buddhist teachers') emphasis on unity seems to have been replaced by a variety of groups and traditions. Today, in 2010, Sweden has Asian Buddhist communities originating in Thailand, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and China, as well as many smaller convert groups. An estimate by the Swedish Buddhist Union in 1996 held that there were between 10,000 and 15,000 Asian Buddhists, and a couple of thousand convert Buddhists. This number is probably higher today (perhaps almost twice as high), considering the migration of Thai women to Sweden in recent years. The early (convert) Buddhist teachers (the nun Amita Nisatta/Ingrid Wagner and layman Tao Wei/Marcel Sirander) emphasised unity, drawing on doctrines and practices from different Buddhist traditions. They left a legacy of collective Vesak celebrations in Stockholm and Malmö for many years, but this Unitarian approach seems to have been replaced by a stronger adherence to each tradition's own uniqueness. Today, no common Vesak celebrations are organised. Few, if any, intra-Buddhist activities take place in Sweden. The diversity can also be seen in the composition of the Swedish Buddhist Union, where only one organisation, based in Luleå, tries to accommodate both Asian and convert Buddhist needs, all other groups belong to independent traditions and organisations with specific Asian or European origins.

2.2. Expanding Thai Buddhist communities

Among the Asian Buddhist communities, the Thai Buddhists seem to be the most active in establishing local temples in different parts of Sweden. During the 1980s and 1990s only two Thai temples existed in Stockholm. The last ten years have been marked by expansion, and today Thai temples can be found in the cities of Göteborg (two temples), Borås, Karlstad, Fredrika, Eslöv, Borlänge and Linköping. This is due to a large migration of Thai women; Statistics Sweden (SCB) demographic data for 2009 show that 22,425 women born in Thailand are now living in Sweden (compared to only 6,312 men born in Thailand living in Sweden)[2], and most of them have come as a result of a relationship with Swedish men.

2.3. No Vietnamese or Chinese temples are members of the Swedish Buddhist Union

At present few Asian Buddhist communities are members of the Swedish Buddhist Union; four Theravada temples of Sri Lankan and Thai origin are represented in the union, but no Mahayana temples belonging to the Vietnamese or Chinese traditions. A majority of the Thai temples have not yet become members. This has partly to do with a lack of administrative resources to conform to the demands set by the Swedish Buddhist Union and SST, the Swedish Commission for Government Support to Faith Communities (an authority serving under the Ministry of Culture, which gives financial support to Faith Communities). As the first non-monotheistic community, the Swedish Buddhist Union and its members started receiving such state grants in 2005 and therefore have to follow the standards set by SST when accepting new members. Partly the non-involvement can also be explained by the way the *sangha* is organised in Asian countries, where it relies more on the financial support of individuals than of the state, and where "congregational membership" is unheard of. In the case of Vietnamese communities, one can also expect to find a strong scepticism towards governmental funds and involvement, due to their experience of the Vietnamese communist regime's oppression of religious dissidents.

2.4. Asian Buddhists are (still) mostly invisible in the social and public spheres

Based on my initial research findings, I would argue that Asian Buddhists and Asian Buddhist traditions are still rather invisible in Swedish society. One exception is the growing Thai community, which has led Swedish media to raise questions on the backside of the "imported brides" phenomenon. The lives of Thai women living in the northern region of Sweden have also been documented by freelance photographer Elin Berge in an exhibition called *Drottninglandet*, Land of

the Queen. There has also been media coverage of the large-scale Thai Buddhist building project for the largest Thai temple in northern Europe, close to the small northern Swedish town of Fredrika. Being a depopulated area, local politicians hold high hopes of bringing future religious tourism and economic growth to Fredrika, and have therefore been actively involved in raising funds for the establishment of a temple in the region. The project has come to a halt, and it seems unrealistic that it will be completed in the near future.[3]

The American researcher Alex Stepick and his team use the analytical perspective of "civic social capital" to investigate how immigrant religious communities generate and embody social capital; they focus on social relationships that not only have economic benefits or material consequences, but also include activities that are civic (Stepick 2009:13-14). These examples from the Thai Buddhist communities indicate activities that go outside the bonding group, i.e. the temple community network where Thais can share their cultural identity or ethnicity and religion with other diasporic individuals in a homogenous setting. The aim of bringing tourists to the future Fredrika temple can be seen as an investment in both "bridging" and "linking social capital", since it aspires to bind socially different people together but also entails aspects of being unequal in regard to power and resources. This also applies to the media coverage of the temple, as well to a documentary of it, and as such it constitutes examples of civic social capital generating from Thai Buddhist communities.

3. Mindfulness therapies

Meditation, or mental culture (pali: *bhavana*), is the single most important constituent of Buddhism's input to new forms of spirituality and religiosity among the majority population of Swedes. Buddhist converts generally show great interest in Buddhist meditative practices, and there is a wide range of opportunities in Sweden of learning Buddhist meditation from different traditions and teachers of Zen, Tibetan and Theravadin origin. Convert Buddhists usually tend to sympathise with modernistic interpretations of Buddhism, and few interact with the diasporic communities who tend to represent traditional Buddhist interpretations and practices (Plank 2009). Although there are good reasons to speak about "two Buddhisms",[4] the span between traditionalism and modernism is rather diversified, and should rather be looked upon as a "variegated continuum" (McMahan 2008).[5] Not only converts tend to emphasise meditation; widespread lay meditation is also an important development in modernised Asian Buddhism, from where it originated before spreading to the West. (See e.g. Jordt 2007, Houtman 1990, as well as Sharf 1995.) Buddhist meditation has, since the 1950s and onwards, become intertwined with psychology. Today, McMahan (2008:185) notes: "More than any other facet of Buddhism, meditation and mindfulness are presented as psychological, spiritual, or scientific techniques rather than as religious practices." McMahan argues that meditation has become privatised, deinstitutionalised and detraditionalised, and that this poses a significant development in the history of Buddhism in the West:

If psychoanalysis has aided in the demythologization of Buddhism, recent practical psychotherapies have helped to detraditionalize it, allowing meditation to operate in non-Buddhist therapeutic settings, often for non-Buddhist goals and without requiring commitment to explicitly Buddhist values. Rather than an integral part of monastic life bound up with its rituals, ethics, and cosmology, meditation has become something not only for lay Buddhists but for all those of any religion or none. The goals of Buddhist-influenced psychotherapy are usually stated in terms of western psychotherapeutic tradition: alleviation of symptoms, overcoming of depression, mitigation of obsessive thoughts, integration of the person, self-realization, and so on. Often Buddhism serves as a reservoir of techniques that might be useful to accomplish such extra-Buddhist goals. Psychotherapy is one of the most visible arenas where Buddhism is transforming around the edges, as it were – where Buddhism blends into non-Buddhism. (McMahan 2008:57)

Within Western psychology, Buddhist theories and meditative practices have been tested and used for a couple of decades. It is only in the last, say, ten years that Buddhist influence can be seen within the analytical and the scientific strands of psychology, and within neurobiology. Mindfulness-oriented psychotherapy integrates mindfulness in several ways:

- a therapist can privately make use of mindfulness without this being noticeable in his or hers clinical work,
- it can be "mindfulness-informed", i.e. it draws upon, or borrows ideas from both Buddhist and western psychology (as do authors and psychologists Mark Epstein, Barry Magid, David Brazier, Jeremy Safran, Robert Rosenbaum)
- it can also be "mindfulness-based" psychotherapy, developed within cognitive and behavioural psychology where the client is taught to develop skills in mindfulness. (Germer 2005:18-19)

It is within this third strand, the "mindfulness-based" scientific psychology, that Buddhist meditation techniques have been tested and implemented. The term "mindfulness" began to be widely known in 1990, when medical doctor Jon Kabat-Zinn published his book *Full Catastrophe Living*. At the University of Massachusetts, Kabat-Zinn had developed a programme to treat chronic pain and stress, called Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR).[6] From MBSR psychologists have developed other programmes, like MBCT, Mindfulness Based Cognitive Therapy, to treat patients who have experienced three or more depressions to prevent them from becoming depressed again. Another mindfulness-based therapy is DBT, dialectical behavioural therapy, which aims to help borderline persons to decentralise from their thoughts and emotions (Dryden & Still 2006).[7] DBT was developed by Marsha

Clinical use	"Life skill"
Therapies developed specifically for clinical psychology to work with borderline and depression, or as medical treatment for pain, tinnitus and insomnia	Stress reduction, and general health improvements, focusing on betterment of social relations as well as efficiency at work
– DBT (developed by Linehan, Zen Buddhist influence) – MBCT (based on MBSR, drawing more on insight meditation) – MBSR developed on the basis of Kabat-Zinn (mixing Vipassana, Dzogchen and Zen*)	– MBSR developed by Kabat-Zinn – "Here and Now" ("Här och nu") adopted from MBSR by Schenström – Awareness meditation ("Uppmärksamhetsmeditation) adopted from MBSR by Kroese
* Vipassana is a Theravadin insight meditation practice; Dzogchen is a Tibetan practice aiming at finding a natural or primordial state of mind; Zen – like Vipassana – is an insight practice, favouring direct experience and downplaying theoretical knowledge.	

Linehan during the 1980s, and is based on her experiences of mindfulness and Zen practice as a student of the Benedictine monk and Zen master Willigis Jäger (Butler 2002).[8]

This new and growing trend of what could be termed "non-religious" or "therapeutic" Buddhist influence has come to find its way into the Swedish health care system. One can find two different approaches and uses. (see table above)

Both MBCT and DBT are used in strictly clinical settings with developed methods for treating depression and patients diagnosed with borderline personality disorder. MBSR is used medically to treat pain, tinnitus and insomnia. There is, however, another growing trend of presenting mindfulness as a "life skill" that can be used by all sorts of professionals, to increase the capacity for working and dealing with stress, or to improve relationships with patients, colleagues, friends or family. Within both these strands, medical doctors and professional psychologists/therapists have been crucial in introducing and spreading the techniques both in Sweden and abroad.

4. Emerging institutionalisation

To what extent are therapies like MBSR, MBCT and DBT offered to patients, seeking help within the public Swedish health care system? It is not yet possible to give an accurate estimation of the extent to which mindfulness-based therapies have been integrated to the health care system. Lars-Gunnar Lundh, professor of clinical psychology at Lund University, confirms the trend of increasingly interest. Lundh states that both mindfulness-based methods (like MBSR and MBCT) are used, and therapies that have integrated mindfulness exercises (like ACT[9] and DBT). Research is carried out on the effect these methods might have, as well as regarding the question of whether therapists using mindfulness achieve better results with their clients.[10]

A few institutions, like the psychiatric ward Solhem in Borås, and Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, seem to have developed treatment programmes based on mindfulness therapies. Others, like some psychiatric wards in Skåne, offer MBSR to all their patients. Mindfulness-based therapies can also be offered by individual therapists working at private practices.

Mindfulness-based therapies have become widespread within the health care system, holds Robin Åkerlund, psychologist and mindfulness teacher at a centre for cognitive-based therapies in Lund, Sweden (*Kognio – Centrum för KBT*): "I would say a large proportion of those professionals trained in CBT who work within the public health care system today use mindfulness on a more or less regular basis with their patients. It is also not uncommon to offer group sessions with MBSR or MBCT. An interesting aspect of this has to do with the possibility of replacing a large part of the required personal therapy in CBT training programmes with mindfulness, for example in the form of an instructor course in MBSR or MBCT. This is becoming increasingly common at CBT educational settings, to the effect that most future CBT-practitioners will have had a personal experience of MBSR or MBCT. I think it will greatly contribute to the future spread of mindfulness-based therapies in Sweden."[11]

According to one of the two Swedish national organisations that gather CBT-therapists, Sweden has had a rather slow development regarding cognitive behavioural psychology. In the United States, Canada, Britain and Australia, CBT has a stronghold among psychologists, psychotherapists and those working within psychiatric care. In Sweden this is now changing, and CBT is advancing. In the national guidelines, provided by the National Board of Health and Welfare (*Socialstyrelsen*), a government agency in Sweden under the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, CBT is the first recommended treatment, even before medicine, for many depression and anxiety conditions. (Socialstyrelsen 2010.) This has led to a greater demand than can be offered. Some county councils lack professionally trained behavioural therapists, and fail to offer specialist care.[12]

Mindfulness-based therapies are becoming accepted and there is an emerging institutionalisation. One indication of this growing trend, of the general acceptance of the efficacy of mindfulness-based therapies, is that the leading medical university in Sweden, Karolinska Institute, offers a course in mindfulness-based stress reduction, MBSR. This course has been offered since 2007. Another indication is that the general psychiatric and psychological educational programmes at Swedish universities also seem to include orientations on mindfulness in their literature, indicated by newly published academic literature. (E.g. Herlofson 2009.)

5. Proponents for mindfulness-based therapies in Sweden

A handful of persons, all with a medical background, have been instrumental in giving legitimacy to mindfulness-based therapies and introducing them to the Swedish health care sector. They share some characteristic features: they have trained with American front figures, and they (all but one) have authored books in Swedish, in which they promote the use of mindfulness as a method of stress reduction, or to be used in a clinical setting.[13]

One of the well-educated health professionals, who have been influential in introducing mindfulness-based therapies in Sweden, is Camilla Sköld. She has not (yet) authored a book; however, she is responsible for taking the initiative to introduce the course at the medical university, Karolinska Institute. Sköld is MD in neuroscience and physiotherapist, and is trained in both the Kabat-Zinn method of MBSR and the MBCT programme developed by Williams. She works at Empatica, an organisation offering mindfulness courses and cognitive training.

One of the earliest proponents of mindfulness is Norwegian Andries Kroese, whose book *Minska din stress med meditation* ("Reduce your stress through meditation") was published in 2000. Kroese is a retired professor of vascular surgery at Oslo University. He has trained with Kabat-Zinn, and draws most of his approach from this method. Kroese is the director of Scandinavian Centre for Awareness Training (SCAT), based in Oslo. His courses are marketed in Sweden by the organisation Expo Medica that especially targets the health care sector.

Another important proponent for mindfulness is the physician Ola Schenström. He worked as a general practitioner at health care centres in northern Sweden for some thirty years, encountering many stress-related illnesses. Schenström took interest in mindfulness, and has developed his own programme, called *Here and Now*, which is a 10-week educational programme similar to the Kabat-Zinn MBSR-programme. Schenström indicates in his book, *Mindfulness i vardagen* ("Mindfulness in ordinary life") that he is the only Swedish physician who is engaged in mindfulness work full time. He presents mindfulness as a way of better dealing with stress, insomnia, pain, and as a way of becoming a better leader.[14]

Schenström, Kroese and Sköld all provide courses which lead to a so called "instructor" qualification, enabling one to teach others mindfulness as a general life skill.

In the clinical approach to mindfulness, two individuals with university affiliation have been important in introducing DBT as a therapeutic method: Anna Kåver, psychologist and psychotherapist, and Åsa Nilsonne, professor in medical psychology and a physician. They have trained with Marsha Linehan, and have thereafter been responsible for introducing DBT in Sweden. They are, both together and individually, authors of several books on mindfulness, acceptance and compassion, as well as DBT. (See Kåver 2002, 2006, 2007, 2009, Nilsonne 2004, 2009, Kåver & Nilsonne 2007.)

As authors, Kåver and Nilsonne are aiming at broader audiences outside clinical and evidence-based interventions. Their books therefore tend to slide into the other area of use, where mindfulness is seen as a "life skill" for improving one's life in general. Åsa Nilsonne writes in her book, *Vem är det som bestämmer i ditt liv* ("Who is in charge of your life"), that the difficulties ordinary people encounter in life are rather similar to those her patients struggle with. She holds that psychiatric patients and non-patients can benefit from the same methods, and that it is only a question of "degree rather than art" when it comes to how problems affect individual lives (Nilsonne 2004:9).

This handful of individuals has been instrumental in providing legitimacy to mindfulness as a method used in therapy or as part of medical treatment, thereby making it acceptable within the Swedish health care system. They have trained with the foremost international mindfulness proponents like Marsha Linehan (who developed DBT) and Jon Kabat-Zinn (MBSR). Through their professional backgrounds, Kåver and Nilsonne, being involved with both psychiatric research and clinical work, are well known in psychological and psychiatric circles, and their books on mindfulness have been important in introducing mindfulness in Sweden to a larger public outside professional circles. Like Sköld, Kåver and Nilsonne combine mindfulness with cognitive behavioural psychology, which Schenström and Kroese do not.

6. Mindfulness as knowledge capital with bridging capacity or linking character

Would it be possible to adopt the analytical perspective of Stepick et al., when trying to understand the use of mindfulness-based therapies? In Stepick's use of "civic social capital", this is understood as an individual attribute, which arises from one's social relations. Social organisations, such as religious congregations, are potential sites for promoting and creating civic social capital (2010:16). Thus, Stepick does not apply civic social capital on objects or knowledge. I would therefore prefer to look at meditation as a form of knowledge capital with either bridging or linking capacity.

The non-religiously oriented mindfulness meditation therapies were developed by Linehan and Kabat-Zinn after their individual involvement with different Buddhist traditions, and they both seem to share the aim of reaching out to a broader segment of society, and specifically to alleviate those in great distress due to specific illnesses or conditions. One interpretation would therefore be to view the clinical use of mindfulness as having a bridging capacity with a civic dimension, as the meditation techniques aim to improve the situation of the patients. Buddhist meditation techniques are thus medicalised in a non-religious costume and used therapeutically.

Since there is a lack of professionally trained CBT therapists, especially at health care centres, patients are more likely to encounter mindfulness in other forms, outside the clinical setting. An increasing number of institutions and organisations, arranging courses for both the medical sector as well

as other professionals working with human relations or social services, tend to present mindfulness as a general life skill. Their course fees range from SEK 10,000 to 20,000 for a five- or six-day instructor course in MBSR, which qualifies the participant to teach others mindfulness. To give but one example out of many similar presentations:[15] Expo Medica, an educational institution targeting health care professionals, physicians, physiotherapists, nurses, psychologists and psychotherapists, offers courses in learning how to develop mindfulness. Here, mindfulness is presented as a method to achieve improved productivity and service, leading to more joy at work, and making wise decisions, both in regard to one's professional and in one's social relations:

How do you feel about a surgeon, taxi driver, dentist, colleague, friend or partner who is not attentive? If you are not attentive to the stress in your life, if you do not exercise, if you have bad eating habits, you risk illness. With Mindfulness, or Attentive Training,[16] as a tool, you will achieve better productivity, service, joy at work, and wiser decisions. You will learn to achieve more with less stress. You will reach your goals both in your career and in your social life when you learn how to use your stress energy in a useful way. (...) This competence can be used in different situations at work and by professionals, and it is particularly suitable for implementation in health care and psychology, business, education, culture and sports. The course is suitable for people in different occupations, such as doctors, psychologists, behavioural scientists, physiotherapists, social workers, nurses, coaches, those working in human relations, staff development, or stress management, and management consultants.[17]

Is there any evidence to support these claims?

In a comprehensive review and meta-analysis of 64 empirical health-related studies related to MBSR, Grossman et al. (2004) found that only 20 reports met criteria of acceptable quality or relevance for inclusion in the meta-analysis. Acceptable studies covered a wide spectrum of clinical populations (e.g., pain, cancer, heart disease, depression, and anxiety), as well as stressed-out nonclinical groups. Their conclusion was that although derived from a relatively small number of studies, these results suggest that MBSR may help a broad range of individuals to cope with their clinical and nonclinical problems. The empirical studies of good quality have focused on specific diseases and general stress, *not* on improved professional efficiency or betterment of social relations. Hofman et al. (2010), in a meta-analytical review of the effect of mindfulness-based therapy on anxiety and depression, conclude that "results *suggest* [my italics] that MBT [i.e. mindfulness based therapies] improve symptoms of anxiety and depression across a relatively wide range of severity and even when these symptoms are associated with medical problems" (2010:179). Hofman see a *possibility* "that MBT is associated with a general reduction in stress, perhaps by encouraging patients to relate differently to their physical symptoms so that when they occur, their consequences are less disturbing" (2010:180). Mindfulness-based therapy has become a popular treatment; however, little is known about its efficacy (2010:169).

This increasing trend[18] of promoting mindfulness as a quality that improves one's professional attitude, and the growing amount of courses offered, will without doubt lead to many patients encountering a doctor, midwife, social worker or nurse who has attended one of these mindfulness courses as part of continuing their professional training. Promoting mindfulness as a "life skill" can be viewed as a form of knowledge capital with a linking character. Stepick clarifies that linking is a form of status-bridging, which entails an unequal relation in regard to power and resources. As compared to mindfulness-based therapies used in clinical settings, where patients only pay the normal patient fee for treatment, the courses offered by educational institutions are rather high. (This could also be compared with the general attitude among Buddhist communities of giving the teachings freely, with no costs attached to meditation instructions or dharma teachings.)

7. Mindfulness commodified

Perhaps a little contradictorily, proponents of the non-religious or therapeutic use of mindfulness, like New Age authors, often appeal to Buddhist or Asian wisdom tradition when promoting mindfulness.[19] Jeremy Carrette and Richard King (2005) have analysed and criticised the way many popular New Age interpretations of Asian religions tend to exploit the historically rich and complex religious traditions, by a "re-packaging" of the traditions and presented (or even sold) as "the real thing". According to Carrette and King (2005:87), "The result is that the wisdom of diverse ancient civilisations becomes commodified in order to serve the eclectic interests of 'spiritual consumers' in the contemporary New Age marketplace of religions." Carrette and King point at the risk of being misled, when these teachings imply "an accommodation to one's individualistic desires and the world as it is. Buddhist teachings aim at undercutting our individual 'religions of the self' by deconstructing the 'self' that is the object of our devotion. (…) [This] reflect a very western cultural obsession with the individual self and a distinct lack of interest in compassion, the disciplining of desire, selfless service to others and questions of social justice" (Carrette & King 2005:114).

It seems that the use of mindfulness, presented as a life skill, tends to be commodified in a similar way, not in a religious or spiritual setting, but within a medical framework. Here medical professionals (physicians, nurses, midwives, physiotherapists), as well as professionals working in the public sector (for example social workers and teachers) are addressed, and they are exposed to mindfulness as a way of improving themselves as well as the life of their clients,

patients or students. From the perspective of Buddhist traditions, this consumerist aspect of selling meditative methods, stemming from the practice of *sati*, mindfulness, has been widely criticised (see for example Bodhi 2010, Loy 2008). Selling mindfulness as a commodity implies there is a desirable result that can be bought, and this underlying assumption of gaining results goes against an important feature of most Buddhist meditational training: that of learning to let go of aspirations or expectations.

When mindfulness is presented as a ratified technique, it faces the risk of being diluted, claims Rosenbaum, who has addressed this problem in his article *Empty Mindfulness in Humanistic Psychotherapy*, where he warns of the danger of divorcing mindfulness from its Buddhist foundation:

Living as we do in a society enamored of technology, we are apt to meet medical and insurance systems on their own grounds in an attempt to "sell" our mindfulness "technology" on a cost-effective, empirically verified basis. But although several thousand years of Buddhist practice have led to a myriad of helpful mindfulness practices, these are practices: skilful means, not techniques. Offering classes in techniques may be cost-effective, but may not be skilful in terms of meeting the needs of the participants, each of whom is unique and may require something other than the standardized "package" the teacher is trained in. (Rosenbaum 2009:208)

This is linked to the overall tendency of western psychology to incorporate research findings almost exclusively within a western psychological framework. Thereby, the diversity and richness of other meditative systems tends to be ignored. This tendency of western psychology can be viewed as a "colonisation of the mind" which both undermines and overlooks much of the uniqueness of meditative disciplines. The result: it becomes more difficult for other and alternative psychologies to gain credibility. Psychologists and meditation researchers Roger Walsh and Shauna Shapiro (2006:228) have noted that there is "little appreciation of the major implications that meditation holds for an understanding of such central psychological issues as cognitive and attentional processes, mental training and development, psychological capacities and potentials, health and pathology, and therapeutic and social practices."

I wish to make clear that I do not criticise or condemn the many sincere therapists who teach mindfulness in therapeutic and clinical settings. However, I do think it is important to raise questions regarding the potential challenges involved in this development, especially when mindfulness is presented as a general life skill. The important question to address is not whether or not Buddhist meditation should be integrated with psychotherapy or used as medical treatment, but how to develop respect and understanding for the complex models and methods of Buddhist traditions. Here, I find it important that we who are involved in the study of religions intervene and shed light on this development.

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Notes

1 For a portrait of Kata Dalström and her interest in Buddhism, see Plank 2009b.

2 See http://www.ssd.scb.se/databaser/makro/Visavar.asp?yp=tophi&xu=90148001&huvudtabell=UtrikesFoddaR&deltabell=01&deltabellnamn=Utrikes+f%F6dda+i+riket+efter+f%F6delseland%2C+%E5lder+och+k%F6n%2E+%C5r&omradekod=BE&omradetext=Befolkning&preskat=O&innehall=UtrikesFodda&starttid=2000&stopptid=2009&Prodid=BE0101&fromSok=&Fromwhere=S&lang=1&langdb=1, last accessed 10.06.2010.

3 Recent media coverage exposed what could have developed into a real scandal had it not been uncovered. The local politicians and leading monk had agreed to let an anonymous man to lead the project, failing to realise that the man was a convicted impostor trying to swindle the project. The temple project has come to a halt, lacking financial resources, and it is unclear whether the Thai community involved (a Mahanikay sect) will ever be able to collect the necessary funds. See for instance Västerbottens-Kuriren, 030210, http://www.vk.se/Article.jsp?article=328343 and SVT, 040210, http://svt.se/2.33919/1.1876314/bakgrund_mannen_som_lurade_asele.

4 Prebish (1979) noted two distinct lines of development for Buddhism in America, which he later (1993) would typologise as "ethnic Asian-American Buddhist groups" and "mostly members of European-derived ancestry" (Prebish 1993:189). Other scholars, like Numrich (1996), Fields (1998) and Seager (1999), have named these "immigrant" and "convert" groups. Baumann (2002) argues, as McMahan does, that there are instead different strands of traditional and modernist Buddhism which affect both Asian Buddhists and converts. These strands are very different in their form and focus, and can be found within every major Buddhist tradition. As Lopez (2002:xli) puts it: "One may be a Chinese Buddhist and also be a modern Buddhist. Yet one may also be a Chinese Buddhist without being a modern Buddhist."

5 McMahan depicts five different types of practitioners, to illustrate the possible ways of being Buddhist in the late modern world, who can be found on this continuum between traditionalism and modernism: the western sympathiser, the Thai lay woman, the American *dharma* teacher, the traditional monk, the Asian moderniser. Their interpretations and practices vary in profound ways, and sometimes also intertwine. See McMahan 2008:27-42.

6 MBSR is taught as a 8–10 week programme, within a group of approximately 30 persons. They meet once a week for 2–2.5 hours. During these meetings, the participants are given instructions and exercises, and they participate in discussions regarding stress and coping strategies. The participants are given home work, and they are encouraged to practice every day. A couple of mindfulness meditations are taught: a body scan when laying down with closed eyes; sitting meditation focussing on breathing and sensations; hatha yoga postures including gentle movement and stretching; learning how to be mindfully present in day-to-day activities, like walking, eating, standing (Baer 2003:126).

7 MBCT has been developed to stop negative thoughts from escalating, and thereby prevent recurrent depression. Like MBSR, MBCT is also taught from a manual in groups as an 8-week programme. Based on MBSR, MBCT has incorporated elements of cognitive therapy to make it easier for the client to learn to decentralise from thoughts, emotions and bodily sensations (Baer 2003:127).

8 The therapy programme of DBT is at least one year long. It includes group meetings every week as well as individual sessions with a personal therapist. Based on a dialectic understanding of the world, the central theme focuses on change and acceptance. The treatment programme of DBT has a wide range of cognitive and behavioural treatments with the aim of altering thoughts, feelings and behaviour. There is no standardisation of either frequency or duration of meditation, like in MBSR. Instead, meditation is highly individualised, and the patient, together with the therapist, chooses from a variety of mindfulness instructions adopted from the Vietnamese meditation teacher Thich Nhat Hahn (Baer 2003:127).

9 ACT, Acceptance and Commitment Therapy, was developed by Steven Hays. It uses strategies similar to the other mindfulness-based therapies: the patient aims to overcome his or her need to control feelings and thoughts, and instead observe them without judgment and thereby developing acceptance. By doing so, the patient can start changing behaviour and improve his/her life (Baer 2003:128).

10 ”Det förekommer idag både mindfulness-baserade metoder (som MBSR och MBCT) som använder regelrätta meditationsövningar, och ett antal terapiformer som integrerar förenklade former av mindfulness-övningar (t.ex. ACT, DBT). Det pågår också forskning, inte bara om effekterna av dessa metoder på de problem som klienter söker för, utan också om terapeuter som praktiserar mindfulness når bättre resultat med sina klienter. Det är svårt att uppskatta hur vanligt förekommande dessa metoder är inom vården, men att intresset ökat kraftigt de senaste åren står helt klart” (Lundh 22.04.2010 written communication).

11 Personal communication 22.04.2010.

12 http://www.kbt.nu/kbtinfo/historiskt.asp?sida=historiskt, last accessed 14.09.2010.

13 Beyond the persons mentioned in the article, one can also find several new publications in Swedish, aiming at a broader audience (not professionals), promoting mindfulness as a life skill to be used in parenting, giving birth, as a method to apply in school in children’s learning, or just as a general way of improving one’s happiness and reducing stress. Most of these other authors seem to base their presentation on the MBSR method of Kabat-Zinn.

14 http://www.mindfulnesscenter.se/start.aspx, last accessed 06.11.2010.

15 See also other educational institutions or organisations, targeting health care professionals: LevNU http://www.mindfulnesskurser.se/mindfulness_kurser.html ; Meddoc http://www.meddoc.se/kurser/; Hälsoakademin http://www.haeu.se/ha/kmm.html ; Sednasolutions http://www.sednasolution.se/workshops/mindful_utb.shtml; Essecoaching http://www.essecoaching.se/mindfulness.shtml; Empatica http://empatica.se/148/sv/Motet_i_varden_KF_MBF; Mecora http://www.mecora.se/; Kroppsvisdom http://www.kroppsvisdom.se/utbildning.html; WIMAB http://www.wimab.se/default.aspx?nodeid=1169. (Sites last accessed 10.06.2010.)

16 There is an interesting question regarding whether or not mindfulness, when it is presented as a general life skill, can be said to correspond to the very complex notion of *sati*, the Buddhist term for mindfulness. According to Analayo, there is an important qualitative distinction between “right *sati*” (*samma sati*) and *sati* as a general mental factor; “right *sati*” includes an awareness of the transient aspects of life. He notes that several *suttas* mention *miccha sati*, wrong *sati*, which can be an indication that there are different kinds of *sati*. If *sati* is to be “right *sati*”, it has to be accompanied by *sampajanna*, a clear awareness or knowledge of all bodily activities, as well as *atapi*, diligence (Analayo 2002:52-54). To phrase this differently: the focusing aspect of mind is used to develop meta-awareness (Lutz, Dunne & Davidson 2007:507), and it seems to me that mindfulness, when presented as a general life skill, does not include meta-awareness.

17 Translation by the author. Original in Swedish: ”Vad tycker du om en kirurg, taxichaufför, tandläkare, en kollega, en vän eller en partner som inte är uppmärksam? Om du inte uppmärksammar ditt leverne med för mycket stress, för lite motion och dåliga ätvanor riskerar du att bli sjuk. Med Mindfulness eller Uppmärksamhetsträning som verktyg kan du uppnå bättre produktivitet, service och arbetsglädje samt klokare beslut. Du lär dig att uppnå mer med mindre stress. Du uppnår dina mål både i karriär och socialt då du lär dig att använda stressenergin på ett förnuftigt sätt. (...) Denna kompetens kan man använda i arbetssituationer och yrken och det är särskilt lämpligt för tillämpning inom hälsa och psykologi, affärslivet, undervisning, kultur och sport. Kursen passar för olika yrkesgrupper såsom läkare, psykolog, beteendevetare, sjukgymnast, kurator, sjuksköterska, coach, verksamma inom personalvård, personalutveckling och stresshantering samt managementkonsulter.” http://www.expomedica.se/Listing.asp?id=721, last accessed 14.09.2010.

18 The trend of presenting mindfulness as a way of improving one’s life can also be seen outside the health care sector. Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan, a non-formal adult education establishment with study associations all over Sweden, offers 45 courses on the theme of mindfulness and increasing wellbeing in daily life.

19 Schenström, for example, notes that his programme is “inspired by Buddhist meditation and life philosophy”, as well as being evidence based (http://www.mindfulnesscenter.se/start/vad-aer-mindfulness.aspx). Kroese states that meditation “originally had a spiritual aim”, but “really, meditation has no goal” (2000:44). Nilsonne refers to mindfulness as stemming from Zen Buddhist tradition (2004:16), and holds that mindfulness originally “was developed as a tool for every human being to cope with everyday life” (2009:20). Kabat-Zinn promotes mindfulness as a key feature of both Buddhism, Daoism and Yoga and that it can be found within western philosophical tradition and within North American Indian philosophy (2005:23).

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Western Hindus and 'Global Hinduism': Discourses on Conversion to 'Hindu Religions', Acceptance of Converts, and Social Engagement

Abstract

The paper deals with the problem of (the often supposedly impossible) conversion to "Hinduism". I start with an outline of what I call the 'no conversion possible' paradigm, and briefly point to the lack of reflection on acceptance of converts in most theories of religious conversion. Then, two examples are presented: Firstly, I consider conversion to ISKCON and the discourse on the Hare Krishna movement's Hinduness. Secondly, I give a brief outline of the global *sanatana dharma* movement as inaugurated by Satguru Siva Subramuniyaswami, a converted American Hindu based in Hawai'i. In the conclusion, I reflect on (civic) social capital and engagement in global networks as a means to gain acceptance as converts to Hinduism. I argue in line with Stepick, Rey and Mahler (2009) that the religious movements' civic engagement (in these cases engagement in favour of the Indian diasporic communities and of Hindus in India) provides a means for the individual, non-Indian converts to acquire the social capital that is necessary for gaining acceptance as 'Hindus' in certain contexts.

Keywords: conversion, Hinduism, ISKCON, globalisation, Subramuniyaswami

1.Introduction

This paper deals with matters of conversion to 'Hinduism', acceptance of converts and the mutual relations of 'ethnic Hindus' and converts as exemplified by various activities of engagement of convert organisations for Hindus both in India and the diaspora. I start from a short analysis of the assumption that conversion to Hinduism is not possible, an assumption that is nearly ubiquitous in both academic and non-academic discourses on Hinduism. This assumption will be contrasted to the fact that a number of so-called new religious movements of Indian origin (here: ISKCON) have tended to convert Western people to what they (have come to) consider to be a strand of Hinduism. By asking about discourses and conditions of acceptance of such converts by 'ethnic Hindus', I make reference to interactions between ISKCON and the growing Hindu diasporas in western countries. Furthermore, I shall point to attempts at (re)uniting all these strands in a global *sanatana dharma* movement inaugurated, for example, by converted Shaivas from Hawai'i.

After a short outline of my usage of terminology (Hinduism, Hindu religions, conversion, social capital), I start with an outline of what I call the 'no conversion possible' paradigm. I shall also briefly point to the lack of reflection on acceptance of converts in most theories of religious conversion. Then, I will present two examples: Firstly, I will consider conversion to ISKCON and the discourse on the Hare Krishna movement's Hinduness. Secondly, I shall give a brief outline of the global *sanatana dharma* movement as inaugurated by Satguru Siva Subramuniyaswami, a converted American Hindu based

on Kauai, a neighbouring island of Hawai'i. In the conclusion, I shall reflect on (civic) social capital and engagement in global networks as means to gain acceptance as converts to Hinduism. I will argue in line with Alex Stepick, Terry Rey and Sarah Mahler (2009) that the religious movements' civic engagement (in this case in favour of the Indian diasporic communities and of people in India) provides a means for the individual, non-Indian converts to acquire the social capital that is necessary for gaining acceptance (as 'Hindus' among 'ethnic' or 'born Hindus').

At the outset, I should briefly deal with my usage of the terms 'Hinduism' (as a singular word) and 'Hindu religions' (in plural). It is mainly based on Kim Knott's (2000) and Gavin Flood's (1996) twofold understanding of 'Hinduism' as laid out in their respective introductory books. Flood (1996:8) says that with the word 'Hindu' he refers 'not only to the contemporary world religion, but, with the necessary qualifications, to the traditions which have led to its present formation'. In a similar manner, Knott (2000:152) defines 'Hinduism' as both 'a dynamic phenomenon of the contemporary world that develops out of the common imagination of many individuals and groups, Hindus and non-Hindus' and as 'the sum of its parts – its traditions, myths, institutions, rituals and ideas – its many Hinduisms'. In order to keep the two notions separated, I shall speak of 'Hindu religions' when referring to the above-mentioned variety of traditions, religions, etc., and of 'Hinduism' when alluding to 'the contemporary world religion' that has been coming into existence mainly as a discursive entity since the 19th century, but has since become more and more of a social reality as well. I assume that with the latest thrust of globalisation since the late 20th century (Osterhammel & Petersson, 2007), 'Hinduism' in this sense has also gained new momentum in the form of what I call 'global Hinduism'.

From here, we can now move to 'conversion' which is here most generally understood as the conscious step of an individual or a group from one 'religion' to another, implying, of course, a strong notion of religion as somehow delineable in the view of the converts and of the observer. Further implications of this notion will be dealt with in a later section of this paper. In view of the notions of Hinduism and Hindu religions as outlined above, conversion then is possible both to one of the many Hindu religions (e.g. Gaudiya Vaishnavism or even a *sampradaya* of the same) and to Hinduism understood as a world religion. In the two examples to follow, both notions are present and being referred to by the converts in different contexts.

In addition to questions regarding the individual decision to convert to 'Hinduism' or a Hindu religion, and the steps taken in this direction, I shall highlight the question of who accepts the claims of the converts to consider themselves now part of their new religion, and how such acceptance is gained. I will argue that, to answer this question, the notions of social capital and civic social capital can be rendered fruitful tools. For the general notion of social capital, I refer to Pierre Bourdieu's (1992:63) definition of it as 'the totality of actual and potential resources connected with owning a permanent network of more or less institutionalized relations of acquaintance and acceptance'. Furthermore, I agree with Bourdieu (1992:61) that these resources can only be regarded as capital as long as they are 'appropriated and used as weapon and stake' in social conflicts. Debates about acceptance of converts can be regarded as such conflicts in which converts and their religious institutions use social capital that has often been appropriated by means of engagement for and with 'ethnic Hindus'. Here, Alex Stepick, Terry Rey and Sarah J. Mahler's (2009) notion of civic social capital comes into play. It concentrates, firstly, on social capital as owned by groups and institutions rather than individuals only.[1] The authors focus on immigrant religious organisations as mediators between an assumed wider social body (American civic society as a whole) and their individual members, as they "enable or deter social relationships with the broader civic society". (Stepick, Rey & Mahler 2009:14). Civic engagement in society, they further claim, is an important means for religious institutions to acquire and widen social capital that is in turn profitable for the individual members.

Starting from these preliminary definitions, I will analyse in the passages to come how the Hare Krishna movement's and the Himalayan Academy's engagement for Hindus in India and the global Hindu diaspora extends their (civic) social capital, which in turn helps their individual members who are mostly converts to the respective Hindu religion, and (contextually) to 'Hinduism' as a world religion, to be accepted as 'Hindus'.

2. The 'no conversion possible' paradigm

Introductions to Hinduism tend to start from two explicit, basic assumptions. The first of these is that there is no such thing as 'Hinduism'. This is why a number of scholars instead speak of Hindu religions (Stietencron 2000) or Hindu religious traditions. However, it must be acknowledged that there have been important attempts at defining the identity of 'Hinduism' both by scholars and – more relevantly – by a huge number of Hindu religious movements (see e. g. Zavos 2001 for the late 19th and early 20th centuries). The second assumption is that a Hindu can only be one who is born as such, whereas conversion to 'Hinduism' or 'Hindu religions' is not possible, the only exceptions being whole groups (mostly 'tribes') that were incorporated into the body of 'Hinduism' in the course of the 'hinduisation' or 'sanskritisation' of the Indian subcontinent and later in the course of the *shuddhi* ceremonies conducted by the Arya Samaj and Sanatana Dhamra Movements from the 1880s through the 1920s (Zavos 2001:117-120). The reason most frequently given for this impossibility is the existence of the so-called 'caste system'. Thus, for example, Indologist Thomas Oberlies writes in his introduction to Hinduism that one usually belongs to Hindu religions by birth. The caste system, he says, is an integral part of Hinduism by which it is legitimised and stabilised

at the same time. 'And one can only belong to that system by birth' (Oberlies 2008:9). An interesting attempt to distinguish between Hinduism as a religion to be individually opted for and the caste system as a matter of birth was made in 1924 in respect to conversion to 'Hinduism/*sanatana dharma'* in the Hindu Dharma Mahasabha's reaction to the Arya Samaj's petition (1923) to accept converts[2]: It was contended that 'any non-Hindu was welcome to enter the fold of Hinduism, though he could not be taken into any caste' (quoted in Zavos 2001:119).

Other examples for the repetition of the 'no conversion possible' paradigm in German academic writing about Hinduism include Glasenapp (2001:17-19), Michaels (1998:29-32), Schneider (1989:1), Schreiner (1999:10), and von Stietencron (2000:99-100). A further indicator is the fact that the Hindu new religious movements and the history of 'Hinduism' after 1947 are only dealt with in passing in most introductory books. Even Paul Hacker's (1983) famous thesis of Hindu inclusivism can be read as a reflection on the same topic: Conversion to Hinduism, he says, does not and cannot take place, but originally non-Hindu religions that developed in or immigrated to India have regularly been incorporated into the spectrum of Hinduism, 'inclusivism' thus being a central character of 'Hinduism'.

As a consequence of the paradigm, 'ethnic Hindus' are usually considered as the only authentic Hindus. This is also to say that claims to authenticity by converted Hindus are considered as basically unfounded. Even more, their representations of 'Hinduism' or '*sanatana dharma*' are often not considered worth studying for reasons of lacking authenticity. This, I underline, omits an important strand of the contemporary global discourse about Hinduism. Following the idea that conversion to Hinduism is not possible, then, even the historically verifiable conversions or 'purifications' (*shuddhi*) of Christian or Muslim communities to 'Hinduism' by the Arya Samaj and Hindu nationalists in the 19th and 20th centuries were interpreted in accordance with the respective object-level discourses as re-conversions of former Hindu communities that had lost their Hindu 'home' by converting to Christianity or Islam, but had never lost their 'true Hindu identity' which they had gained by virtue of having Hindu ancestors, be it several generations ago. This amounts to a strengthening of 'Hindu' as an ethnically or even racially constituted category to which the notion of conversion is inapplicable.

Only few scholars have as yet paid attention to the fact that there are a number of Hindu movements that consist mainly or to a considerable extent of non-Indian members. Kim Knott (2000:135-137) lists ten such movements, among which are ISKCON, the Sai Baba Movement and Iyengar Yoga, and she rightly points to the highly controversial question as to whether or not the 'converts' can be considered 'Hindus'.[3] Answers to this question will, of course, have a certain impact on the politics of individual and collective identities. Therefore, most answers will tend towards a clear – and politically motivated – Yes or No. Before returning to these issues, I shall briefly point to what I conceive as a serious lacuna in theory-building about conversion, at least when it comes to Hindu religions.

The phenomenon of religious conversion has become a focus of religious studies in the last 50 years, triggered not least by the emergence and spread of so-called new religious movements. But the topic also gained relevance through global migration processes. More recently, the growing number of western converts to Islam and their alleged tendency towards Islamic radicalism has become a new field of interest. Studies on conversion usually take the term to denote a process of an individual changing his or her religion. The steps toward the actual entrance into the new faith include a time of doubts and hesitations with the 'old' religion, a crucial encounter with the new religion and a ritualised procedure of conversion as expressions of a sudden (Travisano 1970) or a procedural, radical change (Zinnbauer/Pargament 1998). Research has mainly concentrated on four areas of research:

1. A quest for the causes of conversion (e.g. Lofland & Stark 1965, Zinnbauer & Pargament 1998).
2. Attempts to differentiate conversion from other forms of religious change (e.g. Heirich 1977, Travisano 1970).
3. Qualitative studies on palpable conversion processes mostly by analysing biographical narratives of converts (e.g. Wohlrab-Sahr 1999).
4. Functions of conversion for individuals and collectives (e.g. in Wohlrab-Sahr 1999:358f).

The focus of research is usually on the individual decision for a new or a different religion. This strand of research, doubtlessly, brings forth valuable insights into these processes. However, little attention is paid to the question of acceptance of this step by officials and members of the 'new' religion. This becomes especially interesting when it comes to the discourses about Hindu religions and Hinduism.[4] Focusing on the discourse on the authenticity of converted Hindus may help to gain new insights into processes of conversion and shed light on discourses of acceptance. In some of the so-called 'world religions'[5], these discourses are restricted to a simple rule stating what has to be done to become a member of the community of believers or to set oneself on the path to salvation. For Islam, for Buddhist and for Christian religions, for example, such rules or ritual procedures can easily be identified. For Hindu religions in general, neither such a rule nor an institution with the task of accepting converts can be identified. However, in some new religious movements with a Hindu background, there are procedures of conversion. While in ISKCON, so-called *First Initiation* serves as the threshold into the community, Subramuniyaswami, the American Shaiva whose group is now based in Hawai'i, has described a name-giving ceremony as a ritual step into Hinduism in his book *How to Become a Hindu*. Both approaches will be described in the next two sections with a focus on the claim of 'Hinduness' made or created by those movements and on the discourses about their acceptance as Hindus.

3. Vaishnavism, Hinduism and conversion issues in ISKCON[6]

One of the most active new religious movements of Indian origin in the west is the Hare Krishna movement or International Society for Krishna Consciousness, ISKCON (cf. among a number of studies, Knott 1988, Squarcini & Fizzotti 2004, Rochford 2007, Neubert 2010a). However, it has always been disputed whether or not ISKCON is a Hindu movement and whether or not the western Hare Krishnas are to be considered Hindus at all. First of all, it seems that Prabhupada himself and the early members of the Governing Body Commission (GBC) sometimes clearly dismissed any ideas of ISKCON being a Hindu movement as unfounded. Krishna Consciousness, they would often claim, is a thousands of years old Vedic tradition, and thus much older than Hinduism. Together with the argument that 'Hindu' was a term invented by foreigners, these statements point to Prabhupada's and his disciples' acquaintance with Western academic conceptions of Hinduism, for many of whom Vedic religion was an ancestor of classical Hinduism. The deconstruction of the term as foreign to 'Hindus' themselves has been a basic premise to nearly all works about Hinduism from the very beginning. A third argument used by Prabhupada and his followers was that Krishna-consciousness is a universal system standing above all religions. However, this strict negation of being Hindu has developed into a more open attitude in the last two decades. E. Burke Rochford, a long-term observer of ISKCON, has even referred to this process as the 'hinduisation of ISKCON's religious culture' (Rochford 2007:194-200). At least three reasons can be named for these processes:

1. From the very beginnings, Indian migrants have taken part in the temple ceremonies performed by ISKCON (cf. Zaidmann 2000). Most of them think of themselves as 'Hindus' and consider the ISKCON temples as temples of their own religion.
2. The texts considered sacred by ISKCON are classified as Hindu texts by academics from Indology and the Study of Religions. Furthermore, scholars have treated ISKCON as a Hindu movement from the very beginning. ISKCON itself sought proximity to the academy in the course of the so-called cult controversies (cf. Neubert 2010a). A large number of members became scholars in those fields themselves. Thus, they had to follow the respective scholarly standards.
3. In the last years, ISKCON members have taken part in many events of interreligious dialogue, often as representatives of Hindu religions, as was the case in a meeting of one member with Pope Benedict XVI during his visit to the United States. Similarly, the movement is supported by a number of Hindu umbrella organisations, in whose formation ISKCON members have often played an important role.

From these developments, we can for the moment safely conclude that initiated ISKCON members with a western background in a number of specific contexts that include communication with other religious movements, courts, anti-cultists, or scholars of religion, actively present themselves as Hindus and want to be accepted as such. In what ways, however, do the converts strive for acceptance as Hindus? Judging from statements about ISKCON by 'ethnic Hindus' as well as their behaviour towards and interactions with ISKCON members and temples both in India and in the 'west', such acceptance has been gained at least in a number of specific contexts. The positive attitude of a large number of diaspora Hindus towards the western ISKCON temples from the late 1960s onward certainly points to a far-reaching acceptance of the temples at least as a kind of temporary place of Hindu worship while outside India (cf. Zaidman 2000). When the diaspora developed into stable communities that started running their own temples, a segment of Indian Hindus did not stop visiting ISKCON temples at least from time to time. A considerable number of diaspora Hindus even joined the movement or its life-membership programme. The latter had been founded in the mid-1970s to serve the needs of exactly those Indians who were and are not willing to receive initiation but interested in supporting the movement. Most of the money for the large and pompous ISKCON temples in India (e. g. the Bangalore temple and its branches in other Indian cities) did and does indeed come from non-resident Indian members of ISKCON. With their donations, they explicitly support ISKCON's attempts to reinstate what they perceive to be 'original Vedic culture' in 'its ancient homeland', where it had supposedly rotted and been forgotten in the course of time. However, Nurit Zaidman has already shown that such engagement of 'ethnic Hindus' from the diaspora communities tends to be directed merely toward the movement's activities in India or toward activities for the benefit of diaspora members. Active support for the temple inhabitants and other Western devotees is still rare (Zaidman 2000:215). Similar findings were stated for the Swiss context, where Hindu migrants entertain only weak networks with western converts to neo-Hindu movements (Eulberg 2008:14). However, there are ties between Tamil Vaishnavas and ISKCON, instituted in the *Swiss Tamil Krishna Society* that is connected with the movement's temple in Zurich. In other countries, the ties seem to be stronger. In the UK, for example, ISKCON's centre Bhaktivedanta Manor has become a meeting point not only for Hare Krishnas, but also for other Hindus living in the region. This became evident, when ISKCON's campaign to save the Manor in the 1990s was supported by a wide range of Hindu movements. Furthermore, ISKCON has in some regions taken the lead in 'Hindu' participation in all kinds of 'interreligious dialogue'. Thus, the movement has become one motor in processes of what may be called a global unification of 'Hinduism' (cf., e. g., Knott 2010:103, Neubert 2010b).

In India itself, the movement grows rapidly, as demonstrated by a number of temple building projects and the growing number of life members, initiated devotees and visitors to the ISKCON temples in the pilgrimage centres such as Vrindavan and Mayapur. The fact that most of the money for the

new temples comes from donations made by Hindu life members living or having lived in the west seems to suggest that the connections between Hindu migrants and ISKCON in the west are stronger than can be empirically measured in terms of active religious participation. Similarly, ISKCON's *Food For Life* program is sponsored mainly by NRI supporters of the movement. Again, the movement's civic engagement in India and for Indian people is highly valued, whereas there is considerably less support for its infrastructure and western initiates in the United States or Europe.

4. Satguru Siva Subramuniyaswami and global Hinduism

My second example will be shorter. It concerns the American-born Shaiva Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami (see *Hinduism Today* 2002). Born in 1927, he converted to Hinduism in Sri Lanka under the spiritual guidance of Yogaswami. Later, he founded the Himalayan Academy with the Shiva temple on Kauai, a neighbouring island of Hawai'i. From there, he started editing a journal named *The New Shivite World* which was later renamed *Hinduism Today* and is now a successful magazine all over the world, especially among members of the diverse Hindu diasporic groups and communities. According to the current editor-in-chief, Paramacharya Palaniswami, the magazine is published with an edition of 14,000 to 20,000 copies a month, sent to 61 countries. In addition, there are a monthly 8,000 to 10,000 downloads of the free PDF version as well as a few thousand views of the YouTube video summaries (personal email communication, 6 September 2010). Thus, the journal serves as a communicative link between various Hindu communities and individuals, and it actively and consciously helps develop a 'global Hindu consciousness'. The latter is consciously and actively demonstrated in the magazine's editions. One example is the memorial volume for Subramuniyaswami which appeared in 2002 (*Hinduism Today* 2002), a year after his death. Here, people from various traditional backgrounds and from communities all over the world paid tribute to the *Satguru*, and there were articles on a variety of topics relating to 'global Hinduism' on which he was influential: the renewal of Yoga, the establishment of 'global fellowship', Hindu Mission, 'Interfaith Matters', the Tamil diaspora, etc. Another example to be analysed elsewhere (Neubert forthcoming) is the yearly award of the title 'Hindu of the Year'. Since 1990, this title has been awarded to scholars and religious leaders from a wide variety of traditions and schools, including Gaudiya Vaishnavism, the Sai Baba movement, Shaivism, the Divine Life Society, and the Ramakrishna Mission, to mention but a few.

The editors of Hinduism Today, with their new leader, the Satguru's successor Bodhinath Veylanswami, refer to their explicit global mission that is printed in each edition of the magazine and can be found on the journal's website (*www.hinduismtoday.org*), namely

1. To foster Hindu solidarity as a unity in diversity among all sects and lineages;
2. To inform and inspire Hindus worldwide and people interested in Hinduism;
3. To dispel myths, illusions and misinformation about Hinduism;
4. To protect, preserve and promote the sacred Vedas and the Hindu religion;
5. To nurture and monitor the ongoing spiritual Hindu renaissance;
6. To publish a resource for Hindu leaders and educators who promote *Sanatana Dharma*.

All members of the editorial board are part of the Himalayan Academy, and all of them were converted to Hinduism by the Satguru according to the name-giving rite he prescribed. He had authored a book entitled *How to Become a Hindu* (originally: *Saivaite Names*) in 1989.[7] Already in 1990, an article in *Hinduism Today* took up the issue of accepting western converts to 'Hinduism' and claimed that 'There Are No "Alien Hindus"' (Maa 1990). The author stated that 'Hinduism is becoming a moving force around the world. […] By acknowledging the validity of our religious teachings and their practical applications in life, people are really working for world peace and enlightenment. Shall we discriminate against them because hey [sic] are practicing what we preach?' (Maa 1990). In his book, Subramuniyaswami had laid out the ritual of *nama-karana* or name giving as the step of ritual conversion to Hinduism. He started from the assumption that Hinduism is a religion, and, as he writes, 'There are two ways to enter a religion. The first is to be born into the religion. The second way is through adoption or conversion, and today this process is formalized and made complete through the name-giving sacrament' (Subramuniyaswami 2000:115). It is interesting to note the diverse parallels to Christian forms of baptism, ISKCON's first initiation and rites of acceptance as a guru's disciple in a number of Hindu movements. Asked about the issue of acceptance, Satguru answered: 'Hindus are happy to include any sincere man or woman in their worship services' (Subramuniyaswami 2000:116). Thereby, he includes himself and his group of disciples very obviously as Hindus. Acceptance he and his group do find mainly through their activities around *Hinduism Today*, which is interpreted as service to Hindu communities all over the world. Besides, the Himalayan Academy runs a number of social service projects that raise money especially for the needy in India and for Hindus abroad needing support. The donations are bundled in the Hindu Heritage Endowment (http://www.hheonline.org) that lists 65 separate endowments, among them the Hindu of the Year Fund supporting the respective award. Furthermore, the magazine's success and a successful strategy of inclusion of various Hindu religious traditions have helped them be accepted as Hindus.

5. Concluding reflections: engagement, social capital and acceptance of converts

Of course, one would have to delve more deeply into the matter to draw valuable conclusions. I want at last and at least to come to the second, central topic of this article, namely that of social capital. It seems that it is especially the networks of the two movements under consideration with other Hindu groups and a specific kind of engagement for them and for people in India – understood in accordance with Hindu nationalist movements as a 'Hindu nation' (see Zavos 2001) – that provides chances for the individual converts, and the movements to which they belong, to be accepted as Hindus. ISKCON temples provided and still provide space for (mostly North Indian) Hindus to conduct their religious activities, the movement itself built successful temples in India and it runs a highly regarded charity programme in India. Furthermore, ISKCON has come to present itself (and to be accepted) as speaker for Hindus in general in a number of national contexts, including in the UK, Russia, United States[8], and other countries where the movement is active. In India, no such claims have been made yet, although ISKCON is quickly growing there, both in members and in public recognition as a religious movement (see Neubert 2010a:110f). Note in this respect the fact that in 1997, the President of India, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, inaugurated the new ISKCON temple in Bangalore. The Himalayan Academy runs a number of charity organisations for Hindus worldwide, as well.[9] Furthermore, their magazine *Hinduism Today* is widely read among Hindus in India and in the worldwide diaspora. Thereby, the movement provides an important means for worldwide networking, which is widely acknowledged. These civic activities seem to be crucial for the movements in the process of gaining acceptance as 'Hindu' movements, as they link them with existing Hindu networks. Thus, they gain social capital that is beneficial not only to the groups but also to their individual members.

According to Stepick, Rey and Mahler (2009), such engagement serves to broaden the social capital held by religious institutions. In the cases of ISKCON and the Himalayan Academy, the target group of civic engagement are Hindus both in the diaspora and in India. Close ties with these groups are also beneficial for the individual members of the movements for whom it thus becomes easier to gain acceptance as converted Hindus. For these processes of acceptance, the preliminary findings in this paper show that religious organisations and their activities do influence the social capital of the individual members. The social relationships based in the religious organisation and developed through its engagement for 'Hindus' in India and for the 'global Hindu community' certainly affects individuals' relationship with the broader civic world' (ibid.), whereby we could here delimit the latter to 'the broader Hindu world'.

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Notes

1 I do not, however, agree with them in the perception of Bourdieu's notion as referring only to individuals. Rather, Bourdieu refers to actors in social fields, and this can be groups or institutions as well as individuals.
2 It is not quite clear whether Swami Shraddhananda's petition to the Mahasabha was intended to include Europeans as potential converts as well, or whether it was restricted to the reconversions in the course of the *shuddhi* rituals. For a short summary, see Zavos 2001:119).
3 Some of these movements (such as the Sai Baba movement) even refuse to use the term 'Hindu' in reference to their own religion. Nevertheless, they are usually treated as Hindu religions by scholars and by other Hindu religions. Thus, for example, Sathya Sai Baba was awarded the title of 'Hindu of the Year 1996' by the Himalayan Academy.
4 It must, of course, be noted that such discussions do exist in reference to conversion to 'Judaism'.
5 See Tomoko Masuzawa's (2005) excellent study on the history of this concept and the problems that it creates. This study is highly relevant to the analysis of conversion, as it seems that speaking of conversion from one 'world religion' to another one is only possible in the context of an affirmative 'world religions' discourse.
6 On the following, see Neubert 2010a, esp. Chapters 3 and 8.
7 The book is available online as a complete text. See http://www.himalayanacademy.com/resources/books/hbh/hbh_table_of_contents.html, my last access 23 August 2010.
8 In the U.S., ISKCON has only recently begun to present itself more actively as a representative of Hindus. An obvious example can be seen in the ISKCON News headline "ISKCON Scholar Greets Pope On Behalf Of US Hindus"' in 2008 that stated that an ISKCON member and religious studies scholar met Pope Benedict XVI 'on behalf of the Hindu American community' (http://news.iskcon.org/node/991/2008-04-18/iskcon_scholar_greets_pope_behalf_of_us_hindus, accessed on 10 August 2010).
9 See the list of endowments at http://www.hheonline.org/cgi-bin/hheFundDescriptions.cgi (accessed 23 August 2010).

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Religious-Ethnic Differences in Alcohol Consumption and Abstinence among 15–17-Year-Old Adolescents Attending School in Turku, Finland

Abstract

Ethnic minority adolescents are still underrepresented in alcohol research in Finland. The aim of the present research was to study religious-ethnic differences in alcohol consumption and abstinence among 15–17-year-old native Finnish (n=424) and ethnic minority (n=121) adolescents living and attending school in Turku, Finland. The data was collected from April to May 2006, in class, from 545 adolescents in the eighth and ninth grades using self-administrated questionnaires. The response rate of the study was 72 %. A substantial share of the native Finns, i.e. 86 %, was affiliated to the Lutheran Church, compared to 5 % who had other religious affiliations. Among the ethnic minorities, 54 % were Muslim, 28 % were Christian and 9 % were affiliated to other religions. A total of 8 % in both groups reported no religious affiliation. In all, 85 % of the native Finns and 64 % of the ethnic minorities were consuming alcohol, compared to 15 % of native Finns and 36 % of ethnic minority adolescents who either abstained or left this question unanswered. Among the ethnic minority adolescents, Islam was a significant factor in abstaining from alcohol.

Keywords: Alcohol consumption, Adolescence, Religion, Survey Research

Introduction

Previous studies have reported on the differences in alcohol consumption behaviour among various religious and ethnic minorities. In this article an ethnic minority is understood as a group of people who report a country of birth or native country other than Finland. Previous studies, mostly carried out in the United States, have revealed substantial use of alcohol by major Christian religious subgroups such as Catholics and Protestants and several ethnic groups such as Native Americans, Western and Eastern European descendants, West Indians, African-Americans and Latinos (Ullman 1958, Haberman & Sheinberg 1967). A very high rate was also found among Canadians. Wechsler et al. (1970) found that Jewish males drank most frequently, but with a significantly lower rate of problem drinking than their Catholic and Protestant peers. Similarly, although Italian Americans were not ranked lowest in that study, they manifested a below-average rate of excessive drinking. Some religions and particularly Islam, Sikhism, Jainism, the Baha'i faith, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Seventh Day Adventists, the Nikāya and most Mahayana schools of Buddhism, some Protestant sects, and other Fundamentalist Christian groups forbid, discourage or restrict the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

The relationship between religious affiliation and alcohol consumption has been studied in many cultures (Mullen et al. 1986, Mullen & Francis 1995, Engs & Hanson 1990). Engs et al. (1990) argued that the extent of an individual's affiliation to a certain religious group is adversely related to his/her alcohol drinking. Although this relationship has been shown to

hold across religious denominations, the strength of the relationship varies according to religious participation, the religion's attitude (liberal or fundamental) toward drinking, and the social-family environment's permissive or prohibitive attitudes toward alcohol. Engs et al (1990) found that students of Catholic schools drank less compared with Protestant students, but among Protestants, those who attended church were likely to drink less than Roman Catholics.

In Finland, where 82 % of the native Finnish adolescents in 2006 reported an affiliation to the Lutheran Church (http://evl.fi/EVLen.nsf/), Karvonen et al. (2002) found that religious adolescents use less alcohol than the non-religious. From a sample of a U.S. student population, Nusbaumer (1981) found that Catholics recorded abstinence rates much lower than Presbyterians. Another study comparing American and Canadian students indicated that American Roman Catholic and mainstream Protestant students consume more alcohol compared to Canadian students within the same religious groups (Engs et al. 1990). Jessor and Jessor (1977) have also argued that those affiliated to a religious group that either formally or informally encourages abstinence from alcohol drink less than those affiliated to religious groups that permit followers to drink alcohol.

In their study on the influence of race and religion on abstaining from alcohol, Wallace et al. (2003) found that in the U.S., white adolescents tend to consume more alcohol than black adolescents. According to the authors, plausible explanations for differences associated with the role of religion and drinking among black and white adolescents were (1) that black adolescents are more likely than white youths to abstain due to their religiousness and (2) that black adolescents attend religious services and pray more frequently than white adolescents.

A report from the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (2006) revealed that the importance of intoxication in Finnish drinking culture and the concentration of drinking to weekends have prevailed for decades. The report also indicated that since the late 1980s, alcohol consumption has spread to new contexts, such as cultural, entertainment and sporting events, outdoor restaurants, summer festivals and other outdoor events. According to all indicators, alcohol consumption among adolescents has likewise begun to increase from the mid-1980s. Since the early 1990s, the proportion of 14-year-old girls who use alcohol at least once a month has exceeded that of boys of the same age (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006). It should be noted that alcohol consumption has become a prevalent part of adolescent leisure-time behaviour. The phenomenon has been on the rise in the Nordic countries (Nordström 2002, Österberg and Karlsson 2002).

Research and reports on Finnish-born adolescents' alcohol consumption exists (Rimpelä et al. 2006), but none is available on ethnic minorities.

Aim of the study

The aim of our research was to study religious-ethnic differences in alcohol consumption and abstinence among 15–17-year-old adolescents attending school in Turku, Finland.

The specific objectives of the study can be described as follows:

- To describe the adolescents' religious affiliation
- To explore adolescents' alcohol preference by ethnic group, gender and age of first-time drinking
- To assess the person/s buying alcohol for the adolescents for the first time
- To describe the prevalence of alcohol consumption among the adolescents' parent/s, and
- To identify any ethnic differences in reasons for drinking alcohol or for abstaining.

Design of the study

Ethics

The study was approved by the Council of Public Education of the city of Turku. Teachers were instructed not to examine student responses, no identifying information was solicited to link individuals with responses, and the adolescents placed their own responses into a large collection envelope that was immediately sealed and sent to the researchers.

Sample and procedures

The study consisted of 545 adolescents in the eighth and ninth grades in twelve public schools in the city of Turku. The schools were chosen by the Council of Public Education of the city of Turku. The letters of invitation to participate in the study were sent to randomly selected schools in April 2006 and the data were collected in May. Survey questionnaires were given to 755 native-born Finnish and ethnic minority school adolescents in the eighth and ninth grades. A total of 112 boys and 98 girls refused to take part in the investigation, yielding a response rate of 72 %. Because participation was both voluntary and anonymous, no efforts were made to identify non-participating students.

The first part of the questionnaire gathered demographic data (e.g. gender, age, place of birth). The second part gathered data on religious affiliation, age of drinking alcohol for the first time, and the person who had bought it and is currently buying it for the respondents. The third part gathered data on parents' drinking and the students' own drinking habits, while the fourth focused on types of drinks the adolescents prefer, and the reasons for drinking or not drinking alcohol. The fifth part dealt with the issue of whether the respondent's religion prohibited the drinking of alcohol.

In order to protect the adolescents and ensure confidentiality (a) the study design was reviewed and approved by the Council of Public Education, (b) teachers were instructed not to examine student responses, (c) no identifying information was solicited to link individuals with responses, and

(d) adolescents placed their own responses into a large collection envelope that was immediately sealed and sent to the researchers. The statistical analysis was performed with SAS for Windows (9.2) software. Associations between the variables were analysed by cross tabulation and Chi square tests.

Findings

Demographic data

Among the respondents (Table 1) there were 325 boys (59.6 %) and 220 girls *(40.4 %)*. Native-born Finns comprised a total of 424 (78 %) persons of whom 259 were boys and 165 were girls. The ethnic minorities comprised 121 (22 %) persons of whom 66 were boys and 55 were girls. Among the ethnic minorities, Iraqis (13 %), Kurds (13 %), Russians (11 %), Kosovars (11 %) and Estonians (8 %) represented the major groups.

Of the boys, 80 % were of Finnish and 20 % of ethnic minority origin. Corresponding figures for the girls were 75 % and 25 %, respectively. The respondents' age ranged from 15 to 17 years, with a mean age of 15.8 years. The native-Finnish respondents were younger compared with the ethnic minority respondents. Most of the adolescents were 15 years old, in all 77 % (n=393), 16-year-olds comprised 20 % (n=133), and the smallest group was the 17-year-olds at 2 % (n=13). Among the 15-year-olds, native-born Finnish boys and girls constituted 82 % (n=322) and ethnic minority adolescents 18 % (n=71). Among the 16-year-olds the corresponding figures were 74 % (n=98) and 26 % (n=35) and among the 17-year-olds, the other way round, i.e. 13 % (n=2) and 87 % (n=13), respectively.

The adolescents' religious affiliation

The majority (86 %) of the native-born Finns reported affiliation to the Lutheran Church; only 5 % reported being affiliated to another religion and 8 % having no religious affiliation (Table 2). Among the ethnic minorities, 54 % reported being Muslim and 37 % being affiliated to a Christian or other religion. A total of 8 % had no religious affiliation. Only 2 % of all adolescents left the question unanswered. The ethnic minority adolescents were Muslims from Iran, Iraq, Kurdistan, Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo, and those affiliated to a Christian religion were mainly Orthodox Christians from Russia and Estonia.

Adolescents' alcohol preference by ethnic group, gender and age of first-time drinking

Altogether 85 % of the native-born Finns and 64 % of the ethnic minorities reported having consumed alcohol. Among the native-born Finns, 52 % of boys and 27 % of girls preferred drinking beer, and 15 % of both genders preferred cider. Among the ethnic minorities, 41 % of boys and 21 % of girls drank beer and 16 % of the girls drank cider. Altogether, 13 % of the native-born Finns and 32 % of the ethnic minority adolescents reported abstaining from alcohol. Table 3 shows the adolescents' age of consuming alcohol for the first time. There are two peaks: a small one at just below 10 years old and a major one at age 13 to 15.

Table 1. Age of the adolescents (N=545) by gender and ethnic group

Age (years)	Boys				Girls			
	Whole sample N (%)	Native-born Finns N (%)	Ethnic minority N (%)	P value*	Whole sample N (%)	Native-born Finns N (%)	Ethnic minority N (%)	P value*
15	224 (68.9)	188 (72.3)	36 (54.5)	< 0.001	169 (76.8)	134 (81.2)	35 (63.6)	< 0.003
16	89 (27.3)	69 (26.7)	20 (30.3)		44 (20)	29 (17.6)	15 (27.2)	
17	10 (3.1)	1 (0)	9 (13.6)		5 (2.2)	1 (0.6)	4 (7.2)	
Missing values	2 (0.7)	1(0)	1 (1.6)		2 (1)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.8)	
Total	325 (100)	259 (100)	66 (100)		220 (100)	165 (100)	55 (100)	

* Chi square test for significance of age difference between ethnic groups

Table 2. Adolescents' religious affiliation

Religion	Total N (%)	Native-born Finns N (%)	Ethnic minority N (%)	P value*
Lutheran	376 (69)	363 (85.6)	13 (10.7)	< 0.001
Muslim	69 (12.6)	4 (1.0)	65 (53.7)	
Roman Catholic	9 (1.7)	4 (1.0)	5 (4.1)	
Orthodox	17 (3.1)	1 (0)	16 (13.2)	
Other religions	22 (4)	11 (2.6)	11 (9)	
No religion	43 (7.9)	33 (7.8)	10 (8.3)	
Missing values	9 (1.7)	8 (2)	1 (1)	
Total	545 (100)	424 (100)	121 (100)	

* Chi square test for significance of difference between ethnic groups

Table 3. Age of first-time alcohol consumption by gender and ethnic group

Age (years)	Boys N (%)		Girls N (%)		Whole sample N (%)	P value*
	Native-born Finns	Ethnic minority	Native-born Finns	Ethnic minority		
<10	35 (13.5)	8 (12.1)	14 (8.5)	4 (7.2)	61 (11.2)	< 0.01
10	7 (2.7)	4 (6)	9 (5.5)	3 (5.5)	23 (4.2)	
11	10 (3.9)	1 (1.6)	4 (2.4)	2 (3.6)	17 (3.1)	
12	34 (13.2)	9 (13.6)	14 (8.5)	7 (12.7)	64 (11.7)	
13	56 (21.6)	9 (13.6)	35 (21.2)	5 (9)	105 (19.3)	
14	64 (24.7)	5 (7.6)	45 (27.3)	7 (12.7)	121 (22.2)	
15	22 (8.5)	9 (13.6)	11 (6.7)	3 (5.5)	45 (8.3)	
16 -17	2 (0.8)	1 (1.6)	0 (0)	1 (1.9)	4 (0.7)	
Never tasted	26 (10)	18 (27.3)	28 (17)	21 (38.2)	93 (17.1)	
Missing values	3 (1.1)	2 (3)	5 (3)	2 (3.7)	12 (2.2)	
Total	259 (100)	66 (100)	165 (100)	55 (100)	545 (100)	

* Chi square test for significance of difference between ethnic groups

The persons buying alcohol for the adolescents for the first time

Among the native-born Finns, 23 %, and among the ethnic minority adolescents, 12 % reported that their parents had bought them alcohol for the first time (Table 4). Moreover, 21 % of the native-born Finns and 15 % of ethnic minority adolescents reported that an older friend had bought them alcohol. The corresponding figures for specifying someone other than a friend or relative were 19 % for both groups. Altogether 16 % of the native-born Finnish respondents and 34 % of the ethnic minorities reported that neither they themselves nor anyone else had ever bought alcohol for them. Only 2 % left the question unanswered.

Prevalence of alcohol consumption among the parents of the adolescents

According to the study, 79 % of the native-born Finns reported that their fathers consumed alcohol, compared to 21 % who reported that their fathers did not drink; 69 % reported that their mothers drank alcohol, compared to 31 % who reported that they did not. The corresponding figures among the ethnic minority adolescents were 45 % and 55 % for fathers and 29 % and 71 % for mothers, respectively. Only 4 % of the adolescents chose not to report alcohol use by their father and 3 % by their mother.

Ethnic differences in reasons for drinking alcohol

Altogether 41 % of the native-born Finns and 25 % of ethnic minority adolescents reported that drinking alcohol was “fun”. For 4 % of native-born Finns and 8 % of ethnic minorities, drinking alcohol alleviated boredom and for 6 % of native-born Finns and 8 % of ethnic minorities, drinking alcohol reduced shyness and helped a bad mood. Only 3 % of native-born Finns and 4 % of ethnic minorities responded that they drank because their friends were drinking alcohol and also because they liked drinking. Of both ethnic groups combined, 66 % reported that they thought drinking was fun and 14 % that drinking reduced shyness and helped a bad mood.

Ethnic differences in reasons for abstaining from alcohol

For 11 % of native-Finnish adolescents, the top reason for abstaining from alcohol was its bad taste, for 9 % it was because alcohol is bad for their health, and for 7 % the reason

Table 4. Percentages, by ethnic group, of persons who bought alcohol for the adolescents for the first time

Person involved	Native-born Finns N (%)	Ethnic minority N (%)	Total N (%)	P value*
Myself	23 (5.5)	6 (4.9)	29 (5.3)	0.002
Parents	99 (23.3)	14 (11.6)	113 (20.7)	
Older sister	12 (2.8)	4 (3.3)	16 (2.9)	
Older brother	12 (2.8)	3 (2.5)	15 (2.8)	
Friend of same age	35 (8.3)	9 (7.4)	44 (8.1)	
Older friend	88 (20.8)	18 (14.9)	106 (19.4)	
Someone else	82 (19.3	23 (19.0)	105 (19.3)	
No-one, ever	68 (16)	41 (33.9)	109 (20)	
Missing value	5 (1.2)	3 (2.5)	8 (1.5)	
Total	424 (100)	121 (100)	545 (100)	100

* Chi square test for significance of difference between ethnic groups

was that none of their friends drank alcohol. Only 1 % of the native-born Finns and 3 % of the ethnic minorities reported that religion and their parents prohibited them from drinking Altogether 65 % of the native-born Finns left this question unanswered.

Among 20 % of the ethnic minority adolescents the reason for abstinence was religion. For 11 %, the top reason was the taste of alcohol and the second was that alcohol was bad for their health. Only 2 % responded that their parents prohibited them from drinking alcohol or that they themselves didn't drink because their friends didn't. Altogether 54 % of the ethnic minority adolescents left this question unanswered.

Discussion

To our knowledge, this study is the first one to provide information on differences in alcohol consumption between Finnish-born and ethnic minority school youth (15–17 years old) in Finland. Even though these findings should be interpreted cautiously, because the sample was composed of adolescents living in one city, the findings show that culturally characterized ethnicity rather than religious affiliation associated with adolescent alcohol consumption.

Previous studies (Barnes et al. 1997, Engs & Hanson 1990) have revealed that boys drink more alcohol than girls. A study conducted in Finland revealed similar findings (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006). Also in this present study, the gender differences in alcohol consumption among Finnish adolescents were remarkable.

The relationship between religious affiliation and alcohol consumption has been studied in several cultures (Mullen et al. 1986, Mullen & Francis 1995). A previous study has also highlighted religiosity and adolescent alcohol use in Finland (Karvonen et al. 2002). Finland is a rather homogeneous country in religious terms. According to a 2006 survey, 82 % of Finns were members of the Lutheran Church (http://evl.fi/EVLen.nsf).

An earlier study on alcohol use in Finland (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006) indicated that "drinking for the purpose of intoxication" or to "have fun" have become common since the 1970s. This characteristic of the Finnish drinking tradition is reflected in several adolescents' alcohol use as reported in this study.

The adolescents' alcohol preferences reflect Finnish cultural tastes and preferences for beer, cider (a maximum of 4.7 % alcohol by volume) and strong spirits. Earlier research has namely revealed that since the 1990s, the consumption of strong spirits has risen concomitantly with the consumption of beer (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006). Another possible reason for adolescents' preference for beer and cider is that beer and cider are not only popular but also milder, cheaper, and accessible at kiosks, supermarkets and service stations. Wine and spirits are strong drinks, expensive, and also difficult for adolescents to buy because of the age limit of 18 or 20 years, respectively, to be able to buy them from the specialised shops that sell liquor in Finland.

In mid-adolescence (ages 15 to 17) consumption of alcohol becomes normative youth behaviour in many Western countries. Few studies have explored the causes of drinking and abstinence in this age group (Pedersen & Kolstad 2000). Some have suggested that there are family, cultural and emotional factors, and factors related to relationships, that determine whether abstinence is chosen or not (Health & Martin 1988). Family and other environmental influences are nowadays considered at least as important if not more important than genetic influence in determining the risk for initiating alcohol use among adolescents. Koopmans et al. (1999) argue that religiosity is a mediator of shared values that influences believers' social behaviours. Epidemiological studies conducted in the United States and Australia have also revealed that religious affiliation and participation are significantly associated with abstaining from alcohol (Midanik & Clark 1994).

Finnish adolescents' alcohol consumption might be associated with parental alcohol use. As has been reported in several studies, Finnish adolescents are exposed to alcohol at home as a part of everyday life, or on weekends (Rimpelä et al. 2006). Reports of parents buying alcohol for their adolescent children were associated with the children's alcohol consumption. For these adolescents, alcohol consumption can be assumed to be a family tradition. Parental approval of their children's alcohol consumption is an indicator of the adolescents' alcohol use, or a potential predictor for alcohol use in adulthood. In societies where alcohol consumption is accepted and tolerated it is more difficult for adolescents to make an exception and abstain from it.

Earlier research has demonstrated how adolescents' perceptions of their parents' or families' attitudes toward alcohol may influence their decisions to use or refrain from using alcohol (Kumpfer & Turner 1990). Positive parental attitudes toward alcohol use can encourage adolescents to start consuming alcohol.

The findings show that among native-Finnish adolescents there was no relationship between religious affiliation and alcohol consumption versus abstaining, compared with the ethnic minority adolescents for whom religious affiliation was associated with abstinence. However, only 5 % of the native-born Finnish adolescents reported affiliation to a religion other than Lutheranism. Previous studies have revealed similar findings indicating that ethnic minorities report higher proportions of abstainers than the majority population (Lex 1987, Pedersen & Kolstad 2000). It has also been reported that some ethnic minorities are more vulnerable to experiences related to drinking (Jones et al. 1995). In the present study, compared to native-born Finnish adolescents, there was a negative relationship vis-à-vis alcohol among ethnic minority adolescents who were affiliated to Islam. For Muslim adolescents, particularly the girls' abstinence attitude was associated with their religious faith. For example, Badri (1976) described how alcohol abstinence among Muslims had roots in core experiences associated with the Prophet himself.

A previous study revealed that adolescents are interested in religious matters and tend to mix and match different belief systems (Eng & Mullen 1999). In the social context of adolescents' religiousness, the same study indicated that religiousness plays a different role in alcohol consumption patterns in rural compared to urban environments. Karvonen et al. (2002) made the same observation, arguing that in Finland abstinence was more prevalent, drinking less frequent and religiousness at a higher level in rural regions compared to urban regions. In urban regions, there was a correlation between alcohol use and religiousness. In modelling the relationship between regions and adolescents' abstinence, the authors found an interaction between parents' and particularly mothers' religiousness, which was found to be a "protective" factor in adolescent alcohol use in rural compared to urban regions.

Conclusions

The share of individuals who reported having consumed alcohol was slightly higher (85 % vs. 64 %) among native-Finnish adolescents compared with ethnic minority adolescents. Among ethnic minority adolescents affiliation to Islam was a principal reason for abstinence.

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Appendix: THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. The first part of the questionnaire:

   Gender, age, place of birth, religion

2. Alcohol consumption

   How old were you when you drank alcohol for the first time?

   Who bought the alcohol for you for the first time?

   When did you last drink alcohol?

   Do your parents drink alcohol?

   Why do you drink?

   Why do you not drink?

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Ann Phoenix

Adult Retrospective Narratives of Childhood Experiences of Serial Migration and Reunification with Mothers[1]

Abstract

There is an emergent body of work that demonstrates the centrality of motherhood to transnational migration and emotional transnationalism (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 2003). While there is some work on children's experiences of transnational families (e.g. Parreñas 2005) and of serial migration (e.g. Smith, Lalonde & Johnson 2004), this area is under-researched, with little attention having been paid to children's experiences post-reunification with their parents. This paper contributes to an understanding of the impact of this increasingly global trend by examining the ways in which adult serial migrants (who were left in the Caribbean when their parents migrated to the UK and joined them later in childhood) retrospectively describe their experiences. It focuses on their narratives of the ways in which mother-child identities are (re-)established after a period of transnational separation and how adults who have had the experience of being transnational children evaluate transnational motherhood and their own mothers. It argues that adults who have been serial migrants as children frequently focus more on their mothers than their fathers when considering serial migration and its impact on themselves. Serial migration was said by adult children and mothers to be an attempt by parents to do the best they could for their children. However, for children, potential future benefits do not necessarily outweigh painful experiences in the present. The participants frequently drew on popular discourses of attachment and identified absence of physical affection from their mothers as having been painful in their childhood. They constructed themselves as behaving differently with their own children.

Keywords: gender, intersectionality, mothering, reunification, serial migration, transnational families

Introduction

The family is currently so symbolically powerful that Gillis (2000:2) suggests that families 'create and live by their own imaginaries' and that 'a substantial dimension of family life today is experienced as dream […] the families we wish we could have if only we had the time and the room for them'. The family can, therefore, be viewed as an idealised travelling imaginary, where how a family is experienced is dependent on how it is imagined. It is, therefore, not surprising that 'imagined families' have also been found to be important in transnational migration, where transnational families maintain shared imaginaries and narratives of belonging through contact and visits in either direction (Yeoh, Huang & Lam 2005) and through 'virtual intimacies' (Wilding 2006). They are thus able to maintain the simultaneity of family members' lives across transnational space through shared activities, routines and institutions (Levitt & Glick-Schiller 2004). This geographically-separated simultaneity takes effort, resources and organisation to maintain and so is emotionally, cognitively and financially costly (Faulstich Orellana et al. 2001). Transnational families thus have to negotiate transnational circuits of emotion, material goods and financial support (Yeoh 2005). Wolf (2002:257-258) coined the term 'emotional transnation-

alism' to capture the emotional ties that are evoked, despite migration and geographical separation.

There is an emergent body of work that demonstrates the centrality of motherhood to transnational migration and emotional transnationalism. This is starkly evident when mothers cross national borders while their children remain in the country from which they have migrated (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 2003, Lutz 2008, Parreñas 2005). In a study of Filipino/a 'children of migration', Parreñas (2005) found that transnational mothers, but not fathers, are disapproved of by both the Philippines' government and members of society, in ways that exacerbate the tensions that many Filipino/a migrant families have to negotiate. The children living in the Philippines while their mothers and/or fathers worked abroad appreciated the material comforts that resulted and understood why their parents were away. Yet they were often particularly sad about their mothers' absence. To some extent, this is to be expected since (with notable exceptions such as in Scandinavian countries) mothers continue to be constructed as predominantly responsible for childcare and for their children's development (Azar 2008, Barrett 2006, Miller 2005). Children, as well as society, are therefore more likely to hold their mothers than their fathers accountable for their emotional wellbeing.

The gendered, practical, economic and organisational nature of emotional ties is central to the term 'global care chains', coined by Rhacel Parreñas (but popularised by Hochschild 2000). Global care chains demonstrate the centrality of intersectionality to social life in that migrant women often have to rely on other women to look after their children and/or other relatives and many do care work for other, more affluent women in the countries to which they have migrated (Lutz 2008, Yeates 2005:3). The work performed in global care chains serves to maintain emotional links and relationships as well as to support different family members. However, it is managed at a cost in that geographically-separated simultaneity can produce a sense of liminality, ambiguity, openness and indeterminacy of identity; a sense of 'being here and there' (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 2003). Mothers are often morally beholden to the women who look after their children in their countries of origins in that they have to 'repay the gift of communality' in economic and other ways (Carling 2008).

Motherhood is necessarily relational since it is impossible to be a mother without having a child and, in recent years, attention has begun to be paid to children's experiences of being transnationally mothered (Orellana et al. 2001, Parreñas 2005) and so to the fact that generation is as important as gender to the understanding of transnational migration (Foner 2009). The ways in which children who have been parented transnationally understand and experience their childhoods are, however, under-researched. This paper contributes to understandings of children's perspectives on transnational parenting and serial migration. It uses a study of serial migration to consider the ways in which adults who were serial migrants in childhood describe their experiences of transnational motherhood. It focuses on the ways in which mother-child identities are (re-)established after a period of transnational separation and how adults who have had the experience of being transnational children evaluate transnational motherhood and their own mothers. It considers the contradictions that result when mothers' future visions for their children (e.g. in terms of educational goals and careers) are brought into alignment with mothers' and children's past experiences and current identity negotiations.

The paper first briefly describes the study that informs the analyses presented here. The main section then considers how children (now adults) report that they remember what it was like to meet their mothers after the period of transnational separation and what, if anything, they remembered about when their parent(s) left the Caribbean. The paper argues that adults who have been transnationally separated from their parents frequently focus more on their mothers than their fathers when considering serial migration and its impact on themselves. In making mothers their main focus, those who recount unhappy experiences are more likely implicitly to blame their mothers more than they blame their fathers, even if they do not have close relationships with their fathers. For some, the strong relationships they established with their grandmothers or other carers were more important to them than their relationships with their mothers.

Serial migration was said by adult children and mothers to be an attempt by parents to do the best they could for their children. However, as adults, the children's reported understandings of their experiences were not commensurate with being able to understand future benefits in a straightforward way. Their evaluations of serial migration were frequently 'double handers' that document both painful aspects of serial migration and advantages to being in the UK in comparison with the lives they would have lived if they had stayed in the Caribbean. These 'double handed' evaluations (Billig et al. 1988) result from the difficulties of aligning past memories, current lives and future visions across mothers' and children's generations.

The study

The analyses presented below draw on accounts from an interview study of 53 adults who were serial migrants from the Caribbean (39 women and 14 men), two of their mothers and three group discussions conducted with participants who had previously been interviewed after the participant feedback sessions. The study formed part of an ESRC-funded research programme on 'Transforming Experience'[2]. The term 'serial migration' is used in the literature in two ways. It describes repeated migrations (e.g. Ossman 2004) as well as migrations where family members (or sometimes friends) migrate in series, following each other, rather than migrating at the same time; a process that is also referred to as 'chain migration'(Mayhew 2004). As a result, serial migration in this second sense entails (some degree of) family reunification over time. In the study reported here, 'serial migration' is used in this second sense and describes a situation where chil-

dren follow their parents (or a parent, mostly a mother) who migrate first.

All the parents of the women discussed below left the Caribbean at a time when their labour was solicited in the UK (Bauer & Thompson 2006), where they hoped to be able to make a more prosperous life, with better opportunities for their children. The children left behind knew many others whose parents had also gone abroad. They were, therefore, neither considered 'non-normative' in the countries in which they had been born, nor in their social circles. Changes to immigration laws since their parents migrated mean that migration from the Caribbean is much less common than it was. The experiences reported here were thus different from those in current 'global care chains', where Information and Communication Technology (ICT) enables more frequent contact and new ways to manage mother-child relations (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 2003, Lutz 2008, Parreñas 2005), although ICT cannot provide the immediate intimacy of close physical relationships (Miller 2009).

In many current 'global care chains' family reunification is unlikely to happen because of immigration restrictions in northern countries, as in the case of the children of Filipino parents who do contract work in North America while the children remain in the Philippines (Parreñas 2005). However, family reunification continues to be an important part of the childhood experiences of some children migrating from Latin America to the United States (Dreby 2009, Menjívar & Abrego 2009) and from a range of countries to European countries (e.g. Erel 2009). While the global care chains analysis focuses on the period of separation, studies that include family reunification include consideration of what happens after it ends. The study reported here is original in taking a long view of the separation, reunification and their sequelae; in other words, in treating serial migration as multiple processes.

The impact of serial migration is still poorly understood (Arnold 2006). However, there is some North American evidence that many children who have experienced it feel a degree of unhappiness in childhood, sometimes have difficult relationships with their parents and attain poorly in education (Smith, Lalonde & Johnson 2004, Vickerman 2006). The interviews with the adult children in the study reported here indicate that most found the processes associated with serial migration difficult and consider that they have long-lasting consequences.

Separation and reunion: Negotiating the past in the present

The notion that mothers and their children should develop strong, continuing attachments from the early months of children's lives, has become commonplace since the Second World War (Riley 1983). Attachment has, therefore, become a key imaginary in family life in both academic and popular discourses. The result is that early experience is constructed as having long-term effects, and is considered critical for the development of attachments. Yet, from a careful review of literature on attachment, Helen Barrett (2006) suggests that these popular beliefs have not been substantiated by empirical research and that Attachment Theory is open to interpretation.

Regardless of the empirical evidence currently available, discourses of attachment are central to constructions of identities and family life in northern societies. Such notions are, thus, likely to be part of the stories adults living in the UK tell about their childhoods. For the participants in the study reported here, physical affection was generally taken as metonymic of attachment and satisfactory mother-child relations. The giving of hugs and kisses were narrated in ways that took for granted that they signify warmth of relationship and welcome, while absence of physical affection was mostly presented as signifying an absence of close relationship. The length of children's separation from their parents was, not surprisingly, a major influence on how the adults in the study reported they had felt about joining their parents in the UK. For example, Cheryl was separated from her mother for about a year from eight or nine years of age. Her account explains that she knew at the time that her mother had decided to migrate to make a better life for them because Cheryl's father had died the previous year. Cheryl expected to join her mother after about six months. Although she very much liked the friend with whom she lived when her mother left, she describes some anxiety about having lost her father and worrying in case anything happened to her mother. After a relatively short separation, of months, rather than years, she was delighted to be reunited with her mother, even though nobody was waiting for her at the airport when she arrived.

Question: *So it was your sister who collected you?*

Cheryl: *It was my sister who collected me yeah. The police had contacted her at work and she left work and came and met me at the station. And err, she decided not to tell my mother – well you couldn't, in those days there was no phone, didn't phone in work or anything like that, you just waited until people got home. So she hid me in the cupboard ummm, and I could hear my mother coming in "any news…." [laughs], and my sister said "no mum", well I'm sorry, I couldn't play the game any more, I just jumped out of that cupboard and hugged my mum, and you know that was lovely, that really was lovely!*

Q: *So did that reality live up to your expectation of being reunited? Was it what you anticipated?*

Cheryl: *It did, it did, very much so.*

Theo also tells a story of the reunion with his parents being unproblematic because they were separated only for a relatively short time.

Theo: *'Cos although we lived in town, the family was from the country and so there it was being brought up as a large family--the large yard with all the cousins and aunts and so I never*

actually had a chance to miss my parents at any period. Uh, I don't recall when they were leaving and coming to England, i.e., tears or anything like this t- uh so I don't recall a parting (.) of them. However, I came to England uh (.) I believe it was within a year after they travelled, and then just went through the journey with them as a (.) as a family, as a unit. /.../ Went to family parties with them and (.) and everything else, even to now, I still go and (.) with my parents, so there wasn't a l- a long enough period without them to experience any emotions of missin' or (.) or any feelin's of being neglected or being left on my own or unsupported. (Separated between seven and eight years of age)

By way of contrast, Joseph was left in one Caribbean country with his great aunt when he was a few months old while his parents worked in another Caribbean country. They then went to the UK directly from the second country and he joined them in the UK at 13 years, taken by his father who arrived to collect him. He articulated a story of estrangement from his parents that resulted from the long separation and ignorance about what was planned for him, so that leaving to go to the UK was a surprise, as was finding a new baby brother in the UK.

Joseph: *... Also too within that environment, what you encounter is that umm, you mix with strangers; mother and father yeah, but you don't know these people. The kids that was born here (and that's my own experience), he know his mum and dad, so he can be very emotional to them, affectionate, they are affectionate to him, he can hug them and things, you can't go there, because it's like meeting someone on the street and trying to jump and hold on to them – it just weren't there. So all that took time to break down. But it never actually was fully actually broken down. You get to the point where you feel a little more comfortable with the way you are, but not that umm. That it's the best that you know. Especially from my opinion, because that sort of behaviour, umm that the sort of relationship that I had with my gran aunt – you know I could run and jump on her that sort of thing you know all the usual things that kids do. But that was ummm, I didn't feel that I could do that here...*

Martha's father left the Caribbean when her mother was pregnant and her mother joined her father when Martha was a few months old. She joined both her parents when she was seven or eight years old, having never consciously known them.

Q: *Did they know you, did they recognise you?*

Martha: *They recognised me from photos and stuff, and I suppose I recognised them, but they were still strangers to me so (long pause) umm (pause) so they were just, they were just strange really (very long pause) Yeah they were just strangers, and I think (pause) and I think cause I'm just this (pause) this child just appeared to them, they didn't show me--or hug me or anything. There was nothing like that. It was just hello, and then nothing.*

Q: *Was it the same for your cousin?*

Martha: *Yeah, same kind of welcome. And I think, for them it must have been strange as well, for them it must have been strange as well I suppose, but they the adults, so they have to show me how to respond in a way, and I'll take the cues from them, so, cause there was no linking of arms or hugging and kissing or stuff, I couldn't (pause) so yeah so that's how it went on really, you know (long pause).*

It is striking that Martha uses the notion of hugging (often with 'kisses') as an index of affectionate attachment relationship or its absence. The contrast between her relationship with her parents and with her grandmother, who she considers to have been her 'mother', is exemplified by her explanation of the absence of hugs from her parents and their taken-for-grantedness from her grandmother. This was a common theme for both women and men in the sample.

Given that these are retrospective accounts produced in a northern culture, it is not surprising that a key theme, demonstrated by its recurrence, (McAdams 1997, Plummer 2001) is the importance of physical affection and attachment. Since serial migration was a pivotal turning point in Martha's life (as in the lives of all in the sample), it is not surprising that she has developed key narratives associated with it (Boenisch-Brednich 2002).

Martha makes clear that she appreciates that it might also have been difficult for her parents to meet her for the first time. Yet, while she shows empathy from her vantage point as an adult, she also positions herself as a child, who cannot have been expected to take a lead on how to greet her parents. She switches from the past to the present tense as she says 'And I think, for them it must have been strange as well. For them it must have been strange as well I suppose, but they're the adults, so they have to show me how to respond in a way, and I'll take the cues from them...' This switch of tense alerts us to how immediate her childhood experience of joining her parents continues to be, indicating that the past is current in the present. At the same time, her account shows that she constructs herself as having a limited future vision in childhood. From her perspective, she had been given no say in whether or not she should come to the UK and had not wanted to. She had a very limited idea of what England might be like and did not share her parents' vision of a better life in England. In other words, she had no future vision and so no reason to think that the difficulty of relating to her parents would be worthwhile in the future.

Martha's account of her experience, together with recognition of differential positioning in relation to her parents helps to explain the finding that Caribbean women's migration is not hampered by Western ideologies of mothering that make physical closeness to children a necessary precondition of well-being (as discussed, for example, by Chamberlain 1997). It is possible for mothers to have a future vision of a better life that enables them to separate from their children, but for their children to experience their lives more in

the present and so to be unable to see the bigger picture that motivates their parents.

The adult participants in the serial migration study were left with a variety of relatives or family friends when their parents migrated and usually, but not always, stayed with the carer(s) with whom they had been left. However, they were all left with women relatives, although many of these women had male partners or co-resident male adult relatives, some of whom were very important to the children (in one case, a daughter had initially been left with a lone grandfather before being moved to other relatives). This is an important way in which transnational migration is gendered (cf. Parreñas 2005). Equally, while more of the sample came to join both parents than just one, it was predominantly (but not entirely) mothers who took responsibility for children if the parents were not together. In the few instances where children came to join their fathers, they usually also spent time living with their mothers and sometimes moved to live with them. It is important to note, however, that two mothers re-migrated to the United States, leaving their children with a stepfather and a father (several parents returned to the Caribbean or went to the U.S. once their children were adults).

As in Martha‘s case, above, some of the sample considered that their carers (often their grandmothers) were the only mothers they needed at the time that they joined their parents (although one man said he had felt that his grandfather was the only parent he needed). This may partly explain why several in the sample appeared to feel more antipathy toward their mothers than toward their fathers if they were not happy in England. The minority who, unlike Martha, reported that they were not attached to the carer with whom they had been left, generally because they had not been well treated, did not necessarily feel closer to their parents when they arrived. Angela’s mother, for example, left when she was four or five years old and she did not see her mother again until she was 14, when she arrived in England to live with her mother, siblings and a stepfather she had not previously met. In the meantime, she had been the main carer for a grandmother who had a partial disability and who Angela reported to have been harsh and unsympathetic and for whom she had no warm feelings. Yet, her narrative reconstruction of her meeting with her mother is filled with images that produce a sense of uncanniness (in Freud‘s sense of being uncomfortably ‘unhomely’ (Freud 1919/1955) about her mother, brothers and stepfather.

Angela: *I remember sort of landing here... And this lumbering woman, this big woman lumbering towards me cos I can’t remember what she looks like/.../ It was just odd. It was strange. It was different, and then you go home, you get to this place called home. This house and all these children come out, you know /.../ And this is your stepfather‘/.../He didn’t even know I was coming to England... So what was that all about? Very strange. (3 second pause)*

/.../ And so she left in 60 and I saw her in 69… So I didn’t know this woman, I didn’t know this person ...I remember one time…going up to her in the kitchen and I put my arms around her and she actually pushed me so hard I nearly fell out of the door do you know what I mean? I can’t remember being held...

Angela’s description of her mother ‘lumbering‘ towards her portrays someone far from soft and warm and this theme is continued when she explains how her mother rejected her attempt at physical affection. While Angela links her deep resentment of her mother and her explicit feeling of not having been treated as she deserved to be as a child to their long separation, this is not the whole story for everyone in the sample. Rosalind’s father, for example, left the Caribbean when she was four years old and her mother followed him when she was eight years old, and she did not rejoin them until she was fourteen years old. Yet, unlike Martha and Angela, her evaluation was that ‘We adjust really, you know. It didn‘t take us long and they look after us quite well actually...We were happy here.’ Her story is one of having established affectionate relationships with her parents and with her siblings despite the long separation from them. Unusually, however, Rosalind’s account does not include the words ‘hug’, ‘cuddle’ or ‘kiss’. Physical affection and warm attachment are absences in her account and she is (as are most of the participants) adamant that she would not leave her children because there is resentment when families come back together.

Of course, as Rosalind’s example makes clear, the meeting with parents is only the start of developing relationships and many of the participants talk of establishing good-enough relationships with their mothers over time, sometimes when they have children themselves. Even they, however, mostly considered that long separations, and sometimes committed relationships with carers, had taken a toll on their relationships with their mothers. Leroy and Julia’s extracts below illustrate this.

Leroy: *One of the things I didn’t say, when I first came over here I struggled to accept my Mother as my Mother, I really did struggle because who, the person who actually brought me up was my Aunt and I’m still close to her. She [Mother] actually lives down the road from me urm and we still see each other and there is urr, urr I, I don’t think we really created that bond as much as I would say that I’ve got for my children because we were actually brought up together, even though I lived with her [mother] from the age of three to the age of 21. ... So I, I think part of the separation has been the problem for me and I’ve never really got over it so that’s, that’s something… The love is there but again the closeness and the attachment is not the same as I would say that my Mu-, my Brother and my Sister has with my Mother urr, though, to a certain degree, in a wa-, in a roundabout way I think she feels guilty of that and I’ve told her that she shouldn’t feel that, it’s just me…I’m not sure whether or not that’s indicative of other people who’s been separated from their parents. (Separated from his mother from the age of six months to three years, but came to Britain with the aunt who looked after him and maintained closeness to her.)*

Julia: *So I don't think there's that bond like a mother and her daughter, with my mum and me, although there is a bond. It's not the same as myself and my son.*

Q: *Right.*

Julia: *Because I do miss my son and sometimes I think, "I must go and see him", and so therefore I have to go and see him. My mum, there's not that, "I must go and see my mum". I like to see my mum erm, I love my mum but I don't think there's that sort of (.) because there wasn't (inaudible) you, I think it grew in the years growing up together with her but there's not that sort of same connection.*

/…/

Q: *I mean, if you're going to tell people in general about it, what would you say, what would be the thing?*

Julia: *I would say that they shouldn't leave the children behind (laughs). I would say that always try and take your children with you.*

Julia explained that she never cuddled her mother until she was an adult, when she and her siblings introduced their mother to cuddling.

In some of the examples above, mothers provide a focus because fathers are either not present in households, are out in employment for long hours each day or are distant from children. Yet this was not the whole story in that some participants said that they felt the same about their parents, but reported that they treat them in slightly different ways. Henry, for example, said that he has never felt connected to his parents and accounts for this in terms of a 'lack of bonding' to both. However, while he describes his current relationship with his parents as not 'horrendous', he reported more physical distance from his mother than from his father. He said that he does not show physical affection for his mother, just says 'hi', but shakes his father's hand and occasionally his father hugs him.

It was common for the participants to explain lack of physical affection from their parents as resulting from generational and cultural differences between themselves and their parents, as Martha explains.

Martha: *For some reason I think that because, in a way I don't know what it is, but maybe for your own children – but I've changed that for me for my daughter because I don't want her to go through what I did – but I think with your parents in a way in the West Indies, you were taught to you know you have to survive and not much love and affection was shown to the actual child. But I suppose with my gran and her grandchild she could, I don't know really, she could show that love to me maybe. You know in a way she couldn't show that to her children. Ummm I don't know why that is ... but it's not good for some, for your child's self-esteem, to build her up and you know and make her sort of feel worthy. It didn't have a good effect really.*

The above account from Martha highlights a common finding: most of the participants expressed understanding of why their parents behaved as they did, and sometimes admired their parents' achievements in coming to the UK. That their parent(s) came in search of better opportunities for themselves and their children was taken for granted as an unquestioned canonical narrative. Nonetheless, despite that retrospective understanding, their experiences fit with what Parreñas (2005) suggests are strains on family intimacy produced by geographical separation. The parents and children were interlinked in processes of serial migration, but were living in different timescales. Parents had deferred their own and their children's gratification in order to attain a better future, but the children had been living in the present and often had not appreciated that their situations (with separations from parents ranging from a few months to 14 years) were temporary.

Gendered intersectional differences

Not only was gender important in the participants' greater focus on the effects of serial migration on their relationships with their mothers than with their fathers, it was also evident in the composition of the sample in this study. Men were much more likely to refuse to take part in the study when asked, even at the suggestion of their sisters, friends or partners, while women rarely refused to take part and were often eager to do so. Men who refused often told whoever asked them to take part that they considered that there was no point in discussing difficult issues that were long past. The 3:1 ratio of women to men in the final sample may thus reflect what has frequently been reported in literature on masculinities, that men are sometimes reluctant to discuss emotions (Wetherell & Edley 1995). Men and women approached to take part in this study may have been 'doing gender' in relation to serial migration. There were three other ways in which members of the sample made gendered differences salient; an understanding of each of which require gender to be considered in intersection with other categories and characteristics in their lives.

First, although mothers featured a great deal in women's and men's accounts, there was a gendered difference in the parent with whom they either identified or, more usually, used as a foil for negotiating their own parenthood. Not surprisingly, women compared themselves to their mothers, while men compared themselves to their fathers. Second, many of the women in the study considered that they had been given more onerous household responsibilities as young children in the Caribbean and when they arrived in the UK than their brothers had.

Vadne: *And you know we had all the jobs to do, which of course our English friends didn't have to do. You know you had to come straight in from school and you had to cook the dinner and like I had to iron my next brother up's shirts. And of*

course boys didn't do things like that, you know boys (.) boys used to sweep the stairs, um but I had to look after his clothes. (Separated from her father for six months, came to the UK at 15 months with her mother, leaving other siblings behind for some years)

This gender difference, however, cannot be understood in isolation from other social categories. The participants' narratives indicated that age, gender and culture (in terms of whether or not children had been partially brought up in the Caribbean) all intersected with parental predilections and positioning in affecting which children did how much housework. Thus, older boys who had been brought up in the Caribbean for some of their childhood sometimes reported that they were expected to do housework that younger children born in Britain were not expected to do, even if those children were only slightly younger.

Theo: *... My first sister, uh would question things like 'well I don't see why I should have to do the housework or be a slave to dad' but she'd forgotten that myself and (brother) had already gone through that. We'd already gone through uh one baked the bread and one spring cleaned the house. Now it's her turn and she's questioning it. So those were the sort of things but n- never really amongst us and then again, (sister), the youngest one, a bit of her was very determined, stubborn person with the (.) a- as I said, it's more th- the British style of questioning everything, so those were the differences but never as a (.) a family unit, you know, just individually, uhuh. (Separated from seven years to eight years.)*

Theo, above, maintained that his parents showed no favouritism to any of the children and makes age the salient factor in doing household chores or waiting on their father. However, he invokes another difference that those serial migrants who had siblings brought up in Britain frequently mentioned; that there were cultural differences between the groups of siblings. According to their reports, these differences made the Caribbean-born children more 'compliant' with their parents' rules; 'good' and willing to do housework. The following extracts come from a focus group discussion and indicate that factors other than gender (such as children's cultural background, age and who their fathers were) have to be seen as important in themselves and as intersecting with gender to produce unequal treatment in households where some children have been serial migrants and others have not.

Man: *hen I came to England, I came with my brother and two ... my mother and father are not married...And there was two [younger half] brothers, and when I came over, I had to do chores, I had to go to bed early. They were left to go to bed late, which I started resenting and to add insult to injury, when I did my chores and went upstairs and cleaned the room, my little brother decided that the moment I had finished cleaning it, he would go up there and throw everything back down./.../*

Woman: *.where women had come and got married and had children with the partner here and she'd sent for her children from back home, part of it was about treating the children in the marriage in a certain way because it was the husband's children, and impacted negatively on the children that came from the Caribbean. And I suppose where children from the Caribbean knew about doing chores or whatever, they were put upon or used, called upon more heavily cos they had that sense of responsibility within them. /.../*

Man 2: *But I think that was actually precisely the point I was going to raise, that we're talking about two different cultures, effectively, you're talking about the West Indian culture coming into the British culture... where children come into either the mother or the father, because this is what they're used to in the West Indies, they're put upon to actually do most of the chores whilst the children who are brought up over here, because that's not their culture, will sit around. And they are much more relaxed in the way the family actually operates.*

Third, a few of the sample dealt with serial migration by arguing that there is no point in dwelling on unhappy memories. Those who did so were almost exclusively men. Gideon, who was left with his grandparents from four to fifteen-and-a-half years, illustrates this.

Gideon: *Basically, because I didn't grow up with my father I didn't really have that attachment to him. I knew he was my father but there was no attachment there you see. It's basically the same with my mother. I didn't grow up with her, so by the time I came to England with her. I spent three years in London there was no attachment there either. You see, but it didn't bother me because it wasn't something I think, oh you know, (.) I've got no emotional attachment. But looking back on it I couldn't have could I really? But it didn't affect my life because as I said the influence my grandfather had on my life I didn't realize it until years later. ...So when my father died, I missed him like, cos he's your father so there's something there but it wasn't greatly. It didn't bother me. You see, so./.../ I don't blame for anything. Because at the end of the day if you go around blaming people for doing, for doing other things you never do anything yourself. Because as you grow up you can think for yourself, you can reason. So therefore blaming other people for your failings and mistakes its not on. What's the point you know? A lot of people, ,me mum didn't love me', come on you're now old enough to reason for yourself and know what is right or wrong, regardless of-- you can get your own life do the things that suits you and (.) make your own decisions... /.../ Oh yeah, I'm not psychologically damaged, I cannot believe (laughing), I'm alright. The thing is if you let it affect you, it will affect you. If you don't and get on with life cos (.) I mean my mother left us. I mean we never even knew about it when she left, because we were too young to be aware that she'd gone...*

Discussion

This article has contributed to understandings of the impact of serial migration on children, an area that is currently under-researched. It has helped to illuminate the ways in which adult serial migrants retrospectively describe their experiences. Taken together, their narratives indicate that most experience reunification with their parents as disjunctive; emotionally attenuated in contrast with the emotionally warm relationships they reported having had with carers in the Caribbean. A major part of that disjunction was, not surprisingly, unfamiliarity counterposed against the familiarity they reported made them physically confident with their carers in the Caribbean in which hugs and kisses were major signifiers of emotional connection. Not surprisingly, given that it is a canonical narrative in northern countries, many participants drew on the concept of attachment to indicate emotional connection or its lack. The long view allowed by the retrospective design of the study serves to show that childhood relationships and attachments do not determine later relationships. In keeping with Hollway's (2006) argument that the 'capacity to care' is dependent not only on childhood relationships, but on later close relationships and processes of identification and disidentification, the participants often disidentified with their parents and used the parenting they had received as a foil against which to define their own parenting. In McAdams' (2006) terms, they transformed their life stories in midlife to redemptive narratives.

The reunification itself would have little significance if such disjunctions were time limited, simply one point in time that was awkward and/or painful, but from which relationships were quickly recuperated. An advantage of adult retrospective accounts of the reunification is that they show that the reunification is relationally significant because how it is experienced and remembered sets the tone for future parent-child relationships. The ways in which narratives are established and told also define what is meaningful about the serial migration so that the few adults whose narratives are of immediately happy childhood relationships and belonging with their parents highlight positive aspects of reunion and mitigate the negative aspects. In contrast, those whose narratives are of traumatic reunions highlight negative aspects. Retrospective narratives are thus a fruitful way to examine the impact of childhood experiences on adult lives. As Freeman (2010) suggests, hindsight is part of the project of self understanding and narrative is as central to hindsight as is memory.

The impact of serial migration was, however, a multifaceted process in that it was affected by the length of time children were separated from their parent, children's knowledge of what was happening to them (and so the possibility of feeling that they were included in a shared family project) and the circumstances they arrived into (particularly whether there were siblings they had never met in the house to which they came). These factors have been noted in the few studies that have considered the impact of serial migration on children (Arnold, 2006, Smith et al. 2004). The narratives presented here, however, indicate that gender merits further attention from the viewpoint of the children involved. For both women and men who had been serial migrants in childhood held their mothers more responsible for their unhappiness on reunification than their fathers. Women were more likely to report that their parents had expected them to do more household tasks than their brothers were expected to do. It made a difference, however, whether or not siblings had been born in the Caribbean. In addition men seemed more likely to take a worldview that made light of their unhappy experiences on the grounds that they should not dwell on these. The participants' narratives call for an intersectional approach in that all these issues are simultaneously in play rather than being isolated factors.

The narratives produced in this study indicate the long-term impact of childhood experiences. Brannen, Mooney and Statham (2009) suggest that 'childhood constitutes a critical interpretive resource'. For the adults in this study, the process of reunification with their parents as child serial migrants was a 'central reference point in their narratives' (Brannen et al. 2009:389), the analysis of which gives insights into the impact of serial migration on children. While migration from the Caribbean to the UK is less common than previously, given current migration laws, globally, transnational families and serial migration are increasingly common and reunion with parents continues to be painful (Dreby 2009, Menjívar & Abrego 2009). The findings thus have policy implications and potential impacts as well as helping to take forward the theoretical issues discussed above. In particular, they suggest the need for recognition of the issues faced by children in these circumstances in schools and society more generally as well as information for parents on how best to maintain links while separated and to negotiate the disjunctions, distance and painful emotions that arise on reunification.

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Notes

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Mika Helander

Reproduction of Ethnicity through Transnational Fields and Spaces – Applying Bourdieu[1]

Introduction

Transnational practices among migrants have been well documented in descriptive and taxonomic studies since the early 1990s, but sociologically oriented conceptual development and refinement are still needed. The descriptive illustration of transnational activities in different empirical contexts was indicative of the first stage of research on transnationalism (Faist 2004:11-12). The phenomenon was classified according to various criteria, and core concepts were defined. The current stage of research should draw on the implications of these classifications and commence the development of sociologically sophisticated analysis of the different processes and phenomena occurring within transnational fields. Consequently, ethnic community reproduction, the redrawing of migrant community morphology with new strongholds and stratification, as well as redirected individual investments need to be addressed.

My intention in this article is to discuss the constitution of transnational fields. Transnational fields exist due to their functioning in community reproduction. The constitution is analysed through a conceptual discussion and analysis of the relations between transnational spaces and transnational fields, and through a descriptive outline of the characteristics of these fields and their relation to ethnic community reproduction. My attempt to place the foundation of transnational fields in community reproduction links the discussion to theories of cultural pluralism (cf. Kivisto 2001:549). Consequently, this article contributes to a discussion of social formations in the age of globalisation. The first part of the article deals with the double concept of transnational fields; its origin and utilisation in social scientific research. The discussion is related to previous research, and I discuss briefly transnationalism in relation to transnational fields. The second part of the article clarifies the utility of the double concept and its relation to other conceptual tools such as transnational spaces; the latter being an alternative double concept introduced by Thomas Faist (1997, 1998, 2000, 2004). The third part of the article deals with different resources within transnational fields, considered forms of capital. With emphasis on reproduction as the main feature in the constitution of transnational fields, tautological models become prevalent. But the causal relation is reciprocal where ethnicity leads to an emergence of transnational fields, and these in turn facilitate the continuance of ethnicity. Finally, the argument is summarised in the concluding chapter.

The article follows a *genre* of dialectical theory commentary, where the best is chosen from existing discussions and developed further towards a synthesis. The subsequently employed concept of field originates in Pierre Bourdieu's social theory. Bourdieu's discussion of social fields is published in several different writings (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990a, 1990b, 1993a). It goes without saying that only an outline of the argument can be presented within the frame of this article, and the empirical work to prove the point is still needed. This article attempts to present a brief introduction into this research agenda.

Transnational fields

The background to the field concept in transnationalism research comes from the pioneering writings on transnationalism and migration by Alejandro Portes et al. (1999) and Nina Glick Schiller et al. (1992). Peter Kivisto (2001:566) argues that these writers adopted the concept likely from Pierre Bourdieu, and this has also been confirmed by Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller in their statement that the concept originates both with Bourdieu and the Manchester school of anthropology (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004:1008-1009). Kivisto (ibid.) criticises these scholars, in my view correctly, for never elaborating the conceptual meaning of field in transnational settings. In an article published in 2004 Levitt and Glick Schiller recognise the unsatisfactory definition of social fields in transnational migration studies, and strive towards a definition. They define the field as "a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004:1009). This definition, in my view, points somewhat problematically towards real networks of social relationships, rather than towards symbolic constructions of group, community and society, and to Thomas Faist's concept of transnational spaces. Kivisto (2001), in his turn, links the field concept to theories of assimilation and cultural pluralism. In my opinion, the important contribution of the field concept is in its utilisation as Pierre Bourdieu has used it on various issues within cultural sociology. His research illustrates and analyses cultural reproduction. For instance, his study of the amateur photographer points towards the construction of a field where photographic practices intersect with manifestations of family relations and a symbolic celebration of group and community (Bourdieu 1993b). In Bourdieu's analysis, the exchange of family photographs maintains and manifests family relations. In this article I consequently also diverge from Ulf Hannerz's (2001) notion of the field as the site for social anthropological fieldwork.

A field is in the Bourdieuvian sense "a system of relations between positions inhabited by specialised agents and institutions who struggle for something that is common for them" (Broady 1990:270).[2] In this sense the field has a common symbolic, rather than spatial, denominator. The shared symbolic good is functional in cultural reproduction. Although a topographically oriented word, the concept originates from the rural influence in French social thought and Bourdieu's studies of peasant and farming communities. The field has a more overwhelming meaning than a reference exclusively to soil and a particular area of cultivation (Bourdieu 1979, Broady 1990, Sayad 2004). Additionally, the field is not limited to relationships maintained through acts, which are manifested in networks. Instead, there is a particular symbolic value (sometimes objectified as goods or services) within the field which agents are striving to achieve. Agents, however, do not have to be consciously and intentionally trying to achieve this value. It is sufficient that agents are relating their values, attitudes, actions and behaviour to this particular symbolic good. This is what Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004:1010) call "ways of being in the field", which correspond in their perspective to "actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in" and further, as I would like to add, as a prerequisite relate to in their symbolically meaningful existence. The field therefore consists of social actions in a Weberian sense without the immediate rational intentionality.

When linked to transnational practices, the field has to, however, relate to spatial processes of cross-border activities. The field is constituted by the specific valued resources that are at stake in and available from cross-border processes. Among international migrant communities the symbolic good within transnational fields consists for instance of possibilities and resources for emigrating to an attractive location, entrance into the destination country and immigrant community, provisions of homeland foodstuff supply, success in marriage or family reunification, citizenship achievement as well as first-hand political information and news from the homeland, only to mention a few of the possible values to be obtained. Endogamic norms among immigrants and transnationally accumulated and utilised dowries are particularly illustrative of the existence of transnational fields (cf. Fuglerud 1993).

An additional conceptually important aspect in this context is that 'transnationality' and 'transnational' are preferred as concepts instead of the widely-used 'transnationalism'. In my view the latter ought to primarily refer to conscious and explicit ideological phenomena in accordance with its *suffix*, and in this it is less valuable as a general concept in the description of transnational fields. Within these fields transnationalism occurs, but it is only one ideational part of the activity within the field. The explicit acknowledgement and celebration of cross-border activities as a resource for symbolically important achievements is a feature of transnationalism. This is a normal characteristic of a cosmopolitan "middle man" who takes care of the transnational practices of a group. But, occasionally nationalism – homeland or host land – is the valuable ideological strategy for actors within the transnational field. For Ingrians – a Finno-Ugric group residing since the 17th century in the area around St. Petersburg in Russia, considered return migrants to Finland in 1990 – the illustration of Finnish national loyalty by learning Finnish has been crucial in obtaining an immigration permit. Fluency in Finnish has not in each individual case been self-evident due to a long period of mixed marriages and the predominantly Russian-speaking environment during the Soviet period. Especially for younger generations of Ingrians, learning Finnish has facilitated migration. Correspondingly, Kurdish homeland diasporic nationalism is one of the main reasons that the European Kurdish television continues to survive. Faist (2000) rightly pays attention to diasporic nationalism as one aspect of the transnational phenomenon. But it is somewhat paradoxical that transnationalism – as a conscious cultivation and ideology of cross-border activities – in, for example, the Kurdish case is a means of expressing diasporic nationalism. This is particularly visible in transna-

tional political activities of migrants (cf. Østergaard-Nielsen 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2002, 2003). In other words, transnationalism and nationalism are not analytically speaking mutually exclusive phenomena. Consequently, the conclusion is that both nationalism and transnationalism are ideological elements of transnational fields. Methodologically this means that the transnational field is not solely visible within transnational spaces and border-crossing processes, but misrepresents itself also in the counterintuitive homeland nationalism within migrant communities, and in the "integration problems" of settled immigrants.

Transnationalism, in a typical case, would be the conscious cultivation of transnational activities by those who benefit from the existence of the field. In Transnational Corporations the culture ideology of consumerism (Sklair 1991) is such an ideology. Consumerism requires international trade and import of goods in order to meet the varying, and ever-changing needs of consumers. Within migrant transnational fields such corresponding transnationalism can be found, for instance, among ethnic shopkeepers who promote the consumption of homeland foodstuffs among their ethnic community and exotic cuisine among the majority population. Research shows that Turkish businesses are directed predominantly towards their ethnic community, but also in some degree to German customers looking for cheaper and unusual goods (Blaschke & Ersöz 1986:42, cf. Kontula 2010:77). This represents transnationalism, since these shopkeepers are promoting and supporting an ideology which gives them a comparative advantage within the market through their border-crossing circuits and supply channels of ethnic provisions (cf. Faist 2004:19-20). Additionally, when remittances are seen as a means of modernisation in the country of origin and stressed as a means of group renewal and reproduction, this represents transnationalism. Transnationalism is an elevated aspect of what Levitt and Glick Schiller call "ways of belonging to the transnational field", where border-crossing "practices signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004:1010). Such conscious transnationalism is only one limited pattern of action and strategy within the transnational field.

Towards a conceptual evolution of transnational fields among immigrants: A tool for the study of ethnic communities

Alejandro Portes has suggested that "transnational communities are labour's analog to the multinational corporation" (Portes 1996:74, cf. Kivisto 2001:558-559). Portes et al. write that immigrant communities represent transnationalism from below in contrast to global corporations as transnationalism from above (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999:221, Kivisto 2001:560). It is, however, not quite clear what these two transnationalisms, i.e., from above and below, are pointing to. Is it only towards an analytically dualistic perspective of social reality, or perhaps even to social reality and the state of society itself? According to Kivisto this type of middle-range theory fails to integrate the macro and micro levels of analysis, despite of pointing to their interrelations (Kivisto 2001:567). Transnational practices and social fields within the Bourdieuvian framework go beyond this division. Rather, all different transnational social fields represent both above and below – acts by organisations as well as individuals. Further, transnational fields are manifestations of both macro-level structural processes, such as abstract economic necessities, and of micro-level actions and reasoning which change social reality and society. Thus one more of the resemblances with Thomas Faist's theory is illuminated (cf. Kivisto 2001:567).

Through the emphasis on the interconnectedness between transnationalism from above and below focus is placed on similar micro-level structuring actions and orientations as by focusing consumerism, individual reflexivity and life-politics as sources for social change. This corresponds with Giddens' theory of structuration and social change (Giddens 1984). The focus on transnational social fields alters Bourdieu's sociology, which in its classical outlook emphasises social reproduction within national societies, towards the analysis of social change as a result of globalisation. The national society changes, when the melting pot metaphor becomes obsolete and when large parts of the communities of newcomers maintain their ties with their country of origin and with their immigrant group. This is also one of the core theoretical points of Ulrich Beck (2000a, 2000b) in his sociology of globalisation. And, Faist (2004:25) illustrates this clearly by stating that "If states decide to tolerate or even accept and advance multiple membership as overlapping citizenship [---] then this goes to the heart of the definition of the national community. It is not only about the incorporation of newcomers as such". The relatedness of immigrants and of those who stay to a transnational field results in systemic transformations where societies of physical presence, i.e. "here", are changed by connections to "there" (cf. Giddens 1990:64).

Transnational social fields contribute in the case of migration to a reproduction of ethnicity. Transnational fields maintain institutional completeness within immigrant organisations, and thus an immigrant may maintain or establish his social relations and affiliations within his own ethnic community, whether "here" or "there" (Breton 1964:194). To be more exact, institutional completeness is provided by the everlasting presence of the home country institutions that are within the reach of the immigrant despite his or her stay overseas. At the same time institutional completeness may not be provided endogenously by the immigrant community in order for the transnational field to provide surplus value in community maintenance. Without this surplus value no field will be established. Groups with institutional completeness within the host society will not establish transnational fields. And, further, when breaching of ethnic boundaries is highly regulated, and for instance endogamous rules for marriage exist, the transnational field increases in importance as a provider of institutional completeness and ethnic community reproduction.

Alejandro Portes et al. exclude the study of communities on methodological grounds, and focus instead on individuals (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999:220, Kivisto 2001:560). This is in my view a problematic stance. Kivisto is instead correct in his opinion that all studies of immigrant transnationalism from below, and studies of transnational social fields among immigrant groups, need to deal with immigrant communities (Kivisto 2001:561). Thomas Faist (2004:30) acknowledges this by stating that "transnationalization is ultimately a specific form of ethnic segregation" and that "transnational communities are specific forms of ethnic communities".

The object of this article is not to analyse ethnicity as such. I follow constructionist approaches to ethnicity, where ethnicity is a result of instrumental and rational reflection of group members, leading to institutionalisation over time. In this article ethnic communities are acknowledged realistically and empirically through their practical and concrete occurrences, manifested in interaction and existing organisations. Faist (2004:20) builds on Nisbet's (1966:47) definition of community where "The term community comprises all relationships characterized by a high level of personal or symbolic intimacy, emotional intensity, moral obligation and respective social cohesion together with temporal continuity". In addition, institutional completeness should be included, where the various needs of individuals are met by specific institutions that fulfil particular tasks (Breton 1964). These features of community are qualities connected with ethnic minorities and the immigrant experience in many societies. Ethnicity has proven to maintain its social significance over time and across space (Pécoud 2002, cf. Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). Every analysis of transnational fields should begin with the ethnic solidarity and community as the common symbolic denominator which keeps the field together. What Pécoud (2002:31) terms ethnic resources and, referring to the work of Alejandro Portes, calls *ethnic enclaves* (Pécoud 2002:42-47) are required for the formation of the transnational field. And, the existence of a transnational field reciprocally facilitates the maintenance of the sustainability of the ethnic enclave. This is a solution where the boundaries of a field are constituted by the community – corresponding to the corporate organisation in Transnational Corporations – and possible empirically informed theoretical judgements about the autonomy and influence of the transnational field on the ethnic community itself can be assessed. What is the position of those agents that have large amounts of cultural capital within the transnational field, in the immigrant community at large? Looking at ethnic businesses there seems to be a clear difference between self-employed men and women, where the former are in a reciprocal interaction and interdependency with their ethnic community in their business activities and the latter move away from the group when they start their own business (Pécoud 2002:77). But it should be noted that even members of other groups and members of the majority in their roles as lawyers, social workers and ferrymen (passeurs, coyotes) as well as other professions might act within the transnational social field and these categories may hold positions within the field. Here Levitt's and Glick Schiller's (2004:1010) distinction between ways of being in and ways of belonging to the field is again a useful tool. These categories are being in the field but do not belong to it. The importance of community in cases of transnational fields is that it relates the field to a particular group.

Kivisto notes critically that transnationally active immigrants tend to be a rather small proportion of the total immigrant community. And Portes (Kivisto 2001:563) notes that assimilation is a powerful force especially for the second generation. In this connection Faist (2004:26) writes that "usually the argument of the critics is that most transnational linkages cease after the first generation has died. The second generation is supposed to be even more concerned with incorporation into the countries of immigration, often at the expense of transnational ties". But with this view the critics represent literally a majority view employed on minority studies. They disregard the value of specific symbols for ethnic identity maintenance. On the contrary to what Portes et al. (1999:219) claim in their conditions for establishing transnationality as a field of study, the importance of transnational social fields cannot be judged only on the basis of the number of people involved. They should be judged rather on the symbolic value they provide for those that are involved. As Faist (2004:18) observes, "transnational webs include relatively immobile persons and collectivities". What is at stake is the symbolic importance of the processes taking place in the transnational field and the importance of the transnational actors within the migrant community. It is the symbolic value of actions within, and in relation to, the transnational field which decide its importance. Portes et al. (1999:227) write that,

"A class of transnational entrepreneurs emerges to bridge the distinct but complementary needs of migrant and home country populations. Demand for news and information, foods and cultural products from their home country is high in expatriate communities, while desire for appliances, advanced electronic products, and investments financed by immigrant capital is widespread among the population left behind."

This statement illustrates how a division of labour emerges in relation to the transnational field, where most individuals are not involved with transnational practises, but those who are provide valuable resources for the ones who are not.

From this a set of more precise questions arise. Do "middle men" within the transnational field, who act within transnational spaces and offer their services to their surrounding community, become important members of their communities? What kinds of role divisions occur between home country leaders, immigrant community leaders and those who are powerful within the transnational field? Are these roles increasingly identical and overlapping? Or, is the ethnic community reproduction and maintenance created through specialisation and division of labour? What is the relation of the transnational field to the immigrant community reproduction in general?

Portes et al. (1999:229) address this point by observing that

"[w]hereas, previously, economic success and social status depended exclusively on rapid acculturation and entrance into mainstream circles of the host society, at present they depend (at least for some) on cultivating strong social networks across national borders".

Thomas Faist concludes, pointing towards the more individual consequences, that "transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment" (Faist 2004:18). This can be applied on the group level as well, and these processes have both morphological and stratifying effects on both the sending society and the immigrant community. Thus, transnational fields are shaping the ethnic group both home and abroad.

Abdelmalek Sayad (2000:164) points to the importance of transnational fields on the sending society and families within it:

"More fundamentally, the seniority and importance of its emigration determine the very position that each family or kin group occupies in the structure of the village. The families who were first to 'delegate' emigrants to France were also the first to possess monetary capital. And, today, the families that are still sufficiently rich in men to be present both in the village and in emigration are assured to be able to accumulate the profits and the signs of both of the species of capital at the basis of the new social hierarchy, namely, economic capital (which is increasingly supplied by emigration) and symbolic capital (which is a function of the 'proper use' to which the men who stayed home put this economic capital)."

The idea of transnational fields is not particularly directed towards explaining migration, but to the organisation and stratification of migrant communities and activities. Transnational social fields also have an impact on the migration process itself, as for instance in the case of family reunification or in arranged marriages. These require a well-functioning transnational field with specialised agents in specialised positions. This emphasis on the group structuration is the particular reason why Thomas Faist's transnational social spaces in my view cannot be accepted as the general conceptual baseline, as Faist's idea of spaces is rather migration and flow oriented in its endeavour (Faist 2000:196). In this I also disagree with Kivisto (2001:564), who considers Faist's discussion of social spaces synonymous with social fields. Social fields are more comprehensive structurers of social life than social spaces, as the latter refer rather to the locus of concrete action. As Faist himself puts it: "Transnational social spaces are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states" (Faist 2004:17). Furthermore, in Bourdieu's concept of field there is the possibility of transcending location altogether and instead focusing deliberately on symbolic relationships and resources within, and in relation to, a community. Although Faist includes symbolic ties in his definition, he clearly puts his emphasis on concrete networks and social relations (Faist 1998:216, Kivisto 2001:567). But, in my view these concepts should be considered complementary and illuminating *different* aspects rather than contradictory. Thus, Faist's theory points to the particular border-crossing locus of social action, whereas Bourdieu points towards the symbolic fuel of this social action. By utilising a Bourdieuvian design of the concept of social fields, the particular relational aspect is highlighted. In this the analysis deliberately follows a sociological perspective, in which relations between people or societies are especially interesting. It is not conditions within the home society or host society as such that are particularly interesting, but rather the relation between these conditions and how this relation shapes conditions within the society.

Consequently, by focusing transnational fields such symbolic resources can be analysed which structure an ethnic community. These resources emerge from a special intersection of spatiality and group membership. The social field is therefore also an abstract creation or construction by the social scientist, and only seldom occurs under this label in the practices of real people. It must, however, be justified not only by theoretical reasons but also by the practical, everyday structuring power that this abstraction has in peoples lives. It may often be misrecognised and might have only little importance in the conscious structuring of the everyday life of people, but it explains some essential conditions that structure their everyday lives, and provides a better objective understanding of the existential condition within the migrant community. This is well illuminated in Abdelmalek Sayad's text about the migrant experience of moving between Algeria and France:

"There's a whole army of them, the army of men – and I am one of them – who never stop coming and going between here and France." And "[s]ome will end up dying here in France, I don't know why, but in the village they are counted as village men: the villagers count on them, their "heads are counted" every time [they are enumerated whenever taxes have to be paid or reimbursed according to how many men there are in the family]." (Sayad 2004:13)

A transnational social field is conventionally something that presupposes transnational spaces, as it is through these spaces that the important resources and investments within the transnational field travel. The opposite is, however, also true when migration is facilitated by the existence of transnational fields. In the latter case the existence of particular transnational fields explains "why so many out of so few places?" (Faist 2000:195). Transnational fields facilitate chain migration, where earlier migrants inspire later migrants. In other words, some groups have developed symbolic resources over time that are linked to transnational practices, and it is these groups that constitute the bulk of migrant communities. Earlier migrants encourage current migrants, and communities emerge. But the eventual creation of symbolic resources in

relation to the transnational spaces and practices is also an important argument for the idea that transnationality in immigrant activities is not only an alternative way of assimilation, as Kivisto (2001) suggests, but an entirely different and alternative course of action and organisation, which facilitates ethnic community reproduction. It rather indicates the lack of assimilation. The question of cause and effect in the relation between spaces and fields is consequently complicated, and the causal relation is reciprocal (cf. Rosenberg 1968).

This implies that community reproduction and resources drawn from the transnational field are interlinked and points theoretically towards such theories of ethnicity where the connection between ethnicity and resources is acknowledged, as in Abner Cohen's writings (Cohen 1974a, 1974b).

Some of the political implications of this emphasis on community reproduction are that, in order for integrative policies to work, the double orientation and cross-border embeddedness of immigrants needs to be addressed. But when acknowledged (and perhaps encouraged in double identity formation through education in mother tongue), integrative policies may become more efficient. Another consequence is that at least some degree of multicultural policies are encouraged by the acknowledgement of the fact that the immigrant group will not be assimilated quickly into the majority ethnicity, but will maintain its ethnic distinctiveness through transnational practices.

Capital within the transnational field

According to Thomas Faist (2004:18),

"[c]ultural, political and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use and effects of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital, such as educational credentials, skills and know-how, and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties".

This description, despite its limitations in terms of excluding cultural capital, suits as an illustration of capital within transnational social fields. The main difference is that when it comes to transnational fields, the capital is utilised in power and status struggles, rather than predominantly in logistics, i.e. getting things through the spaces. Within a field an ongoing struggle takes place, where different sorts and means of capital are employed in order to accumulate additional capital. A further specifying distinction between social spaces (Faist) and social fields (Bourdieu) is that the former has *social capital* as the main form of capital, whereas the latter involve other kinds of non-localised, but sometimes objectivated capital such as forms of symbolic and cultural capital. Portes et al. (1999:230) state that "Immigrants depend on their social capital", but not solely, as social capital is always dependent on cultural capital. They also depend on their cultural capital in the form of ethnicity and multicultural skills.

Ethnicity is the most important source of capital within migration-related transnational fields. The field is by definition related to the conditions of existence for a particular ethnicity. The reason for ethnicity itself to become a form of capital is that ethnicity creates trust and general reciprocity. When this form of capital exists, the main additional source of capital for the individual within the transnational field lies in individual qualities which Ulf Hannerz (1992:252-254) calls *cosmopolitanism*. As a manifestation of the three aspects of a) the willingness to involve with "the other" and b) the aim at mastery of meaning contexts in order to celebrate and enjoy both intellectually and aesthetically foreign cultures and partially c) detachment of oneself from the home culture, cosmopolitanism includes cultural competence directly linked to transnational spaces. It consists of competences around particular transnational spaces such as airports, telecommunications facilities, human trafficking agents, internet cafés, money remittance agencies, transportation networks and supply chains for ethnic goods etc. It also implies the locality of other people in the surroundings. The central actor within the transnational field is a cosmopolitan who, because of important skills, is able to provide services for other individuals who belong to the field. He/she has qualifications that other persons lack within those surroundings (cf. Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004:1010). But, the cosmopolitan may not be too different from the rest as he/she would loose in social capital and in opinion leadership (Rogers 1983:324). The cosmopolitan has to share the common aim of supporting the community and his or her cosmopolitanism may not become such universalistic humanism that deliberately looks away from one's own community. This is why the condition of detachment from the home culture is only partially valid. If he or she belongs to another ethnic community, or is considered too assimilated or acculturated, the person lacks the most important form of cultural capital within the field.

If the cosmopolitan differs much from the surrounding ethnic community, embeddedness and trust will suffer (Portes & Zhou 1992, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). The question of how trust and solidarity can be constructed transnationally across borders is here of central importance (cf. Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, Guarnizo & Smith 1998:13). Migration changes individual biographies and horizons of experience and might lead to alienation from the original community. Intergenerational problems are common outcomes, and social capital suffers from the perceived lack of cultural capital. Werner Schiffauer (1999:8-13) illustrates this among second-generation Turks in Germany who are considered *almanla^{0}mak*, which means "becoming German". The young Turks in Germany face a "double problem of recognition" where their identity is denied by Germans and by first-generation Turks in Germany and by people "back home".

Capital within the transnational field does not have to be related to the transnational space itself, but may be based on symbolically powerful national qualities. In other words: nationality or nation-state location can have significant effects in terms of capital amounts within the transnational field. In

the question of migrant transnational fields it is the nation-state location of the migrant that may involve capital possession, as it is transnational national communities that are the object of our analysis (Kennedy & Roudometof 2001), where the nationhood or ethnicity is shared between the members of the field. In fact, this conceptual construction by Kennedy and Roudometof (2001) is somewhat superfluous in this object of study, as the word transnational, when linked to border-crossing ethnic reproduction, already points towards ethnicity and nationality rather than to statehood. Anyway, the location as a cosmopolitan *middle man* in an attractive destination society creates cultural capital for the person. The middle man possesses resources, skills and abilities to provide services in relation to both the exile community he or she is located in and for the home society once left behind. And if he or she recruits a larger number of immigrants to the locality, the middle man's position within the immigrant community is further strengthened. More people increase the sustainability of the exile community. This ingredient of nationhood and international relations within the transnational field shows how transnationality and nationality are not mutually exclusive or analytically contradictory. In this sense an assimilationist cosmopolitan within the immigrant community might be the strong person within the transnational field as long as he or she is not considered too assimilated by compatriots. Immigrant organisations, acting as cultural brokers and integration facilitating agencies, are interesting sources when the transnational field and its strongholds are focused on. For instance, Turkish business organisations in Germany which were emerging in West Berlin in 1986 (Blaschke & Ersöz 1986:41) and had achieved an ever-increasing importance by 2001 (Pécoud 2001:6, see also Pécoud 2002) represent such institutions specialised on the transnational field.

Correspondingly, proficiency in one language, which is symbolically powerful within the transnational field, may serve as capital within the field. I have illustrated (Helander 1999) how proficiency in Swedish, rather than bilingualism, serves as capital in processes of diffusion between Finland and Sweden. From this follows that bilingualism is required of Finnish-speakers but not of Swedish-speakers. This places Finns in Sweden and Finland into different and less privileged positions than Swedes and Finland Swedes, within the well-documented transnational field of diffusion between these two countries.

Within business activities those entrepreneurs who provide employment for newcomers in the ethnic enclave or who provide credit for starting a business (Pécoud 2002:38, 40-47) possess high amounts of capital within the field. Blaschke and Ersöz (1986:41) observe that most employment within Turkish businesses in West Berlin derives from kinship and other social networks. Because even class divisions are bridged by the valuable resources that the ethnic enclave and the transnational field provides, which increases the loyalty of the worker to his master, the transnational field becomes a rather important structuring factor within the immigrant community.

Conclusion

In this article I have outlined a theoretical perspective, building on Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory, for the study of transnational fields, where transnational fields are understood as predominantly symbolically constructed and considered mainly as contributions to ethnic community reproduction.

For immigrants continuation of the life of one's own ethnic group is often highly valued. The group follows endogamous marriage practices and cultivates its religion, culture and ethnic cuisine. If the group is not characterised by institutional completeness in the immigration country (Breton 1964), it compensates for this by utilising home country institutions. Only in exceptional cases it instead uses institutions provided by the host country. Consequently, a transnational field is created, where migrants value resources that are gained through transnational practices, as these facilitate group reproduction. A typical case would be transnational marriages, where husbands and wives are found from the home country.

The suggested framework introduces an additional perspective on transnational processes, where migration and flow-oriented analyses of transnational spaces (Faist) are appended with an analysis of migrant communities while they are residing in the host society. The utilisation of transnational spaces in order to gain symbolically important goods and services for the community is then analysed. Different community members are related differently to the transnational field, where few are active in providing symbolically valued goods and services for the rest of the community through transnational practices in transnational spaces. Nearly all in the community are related to the transnational field as a result of the symbolic importance of the goods and services that are acquired from the transnational field.

The analysis of transnational fields will further develop the understanding of immigrant community morphology and the ensuing, different patterns of integration or segregation within different groups.

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Notes

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Bramadat, Paul & Koenig, Matthias (eds.) (2009) *International Migration and the Governance of Religion*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 340 pp.

International Migration and the Governance of Religion is a collected volume edited by Paul Bramadat and Matthias Koenig. It is a collection of twelve articles that discuss the intersection of new immigrant minorities and governance of religion in seven Western countries as well as related theoretical issues. Bramadat, Koenig and the other contributors are at the forefront of contemporary theoretical reflection on the politics and sociology of immigrant religions. Paul Bradamat is the director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society at the University of Victoria, Canada. Matthias Koenig is a professor of sociology at the University of Göttingen, Germany.

The focus on the governance of religion emerges from the intersection of various theoretical debates. Its roots are in the study of church–state relations, but it goes beyond mere legal frameworks and applies a broader understanding of regulation and rule of religion. It is based on the renewed interest in the political construction of society and community relations, an area that remained long on the margins of the sociological analysis of contemporary religion. Recent international migration has shown that Western states are not as secularised as thought, and that the historical formations of church–state relations still matter. In addition to that, and as part of broader societal changes in a global world, novel forms of international regulation are emerging. Also of importance are migration and ethnic studies, especially with regard to Islam in the West.

In the introduction, Paul Bramadat states that "religion is powerfully related to many of the most complex features of contemporary migration" (p. 2). Religion is related to both the foundational features of both the "homeland" and the receiving society. Religious organisations are often among the key institutions through which immigrants make sense of their lives in the new context. Religious settlement and its governance are increasingly multi-levelled processes. Local, national and transnational forces are all relevant, as is obvious in the case of Muslims in the West. However, there is much more to migrant religions Islam. Various forms of Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and many other religions have found a new haven in the Western societies. "Religious illiteracy" (p. 9) is still paramount and people in the receiving societies are at loss with this new religious diversity.

The rest of the book is divided into three sections: theoretical perspectives, national case studies, and comparative and global perspectives. Mark Juergensmeyer starts the theoretical section with a discussion of religious rebellion in the context of global migrations. He presents an analysis of mundane conflicts turned sacred battles in an effort to explain the relevance of religiously motivated terrorism. "When the template of spiritual battle is implanted onto a worldly opposition, it dramatically changes the perception of the conflict by those engaged in it and vastly alters the way the struggle is waged. It absolutises the conflict into extreme opposing positions and demonises opponents by imagining them to be satanic powers." (p. 32) Hence, Juergenmeyer suggests that the ongoing religionification of social problems does not provide a fruitful platform to solve underlying issues.

Veit Bader provides a thorough theoretical study of the governance of religious diversity. Bader argues for an actor-centred, institutionalist approach. In order to understand the governance of religion, one needs to study both social structures and what all relevant actors do. This includes matters related to legal status, public financing, school education and faith-based social care. Bader discusses various theoretical models explaining these differences. He also provides a normative model based on associative democracy that aims to incorporate religious minorities on a fair basis into society. The essence of the model is to combine a minimal common morality with the maximum religious accommodation. Those more interested in the topic should read Bader's *Secularism or Democracy? Associational Governance of Religious Diversity*, which presents his theoretical reasoning in greater detail.

The national case studies present analyses from Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The studies discuss both historical and current modes of incorporation and exclusion, but the focus is on contemporary situations. All of these countries have significant immigrant populations, but they represent quite different historical models of regulating religion. As Matthias Koenig

later shows, the countries provide an interesting snapshot of various national models in the Western context.

The United States is often used an example of a country where religion and the state are separate. Peggy Levitt and Jessica Hejtmanek discuss religious transnationalism in the US, and also show how closely US culture is tied to Christianity. Religious organisations have both historically and today been major carriers of transnational relations as well as providing social care for immigrants. The thin welfare state has left the field open for various communities, among other religious, to take the place of welfare provision. By distinguishing between formal and cultural or actual state–relations Levitt and Hejtemanek are able to show the deep connections that religious organisations have with the state. They also note that race and religion are the two accepted and widespread ways of expressing social difference in US society. This partially explains the strong role that religion still plays in the United States as religion is equivalent to social class on many occasions.

Canada has been known for its multicultural policies since the 1970s. Micheline Milot presents the Canadian case and how it developed. A key notion in the current debate is the concept of "reasonable accommodation", which in legal terms means "an inherently progressive and additive device, and one that is primarily pragmatic rather than theoretical. […] It is […] a special provision allowing society to counter, as effectively as possible, the indirect discriminatory effects of laws or regulations designed for the majority by adapting them, for religious or other purposes, to individual needs." (p. 114) Milot also presents the critiques of public recognition of religious diversity that have become more vocal since 9/11. Much of the critique has been provided by nationalist and feminist groups that, respectively, worry about the loss of national unity and the position of women in religious groups. Desmond Cahill's chapter on Australia gives another example of a society with multiculturalism policies.

Paul Weller's case study of the United Kingdom and Jocelyne Cesari's text on France give an update on latest developments in these countries. Weller discusses the differences between England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales and shows how the British debate has moved from race to ethnicity to religion over the years. Cesari focuses on French Islam and uses Talal Asad's theory of discursive Islam. French laïcité and British communitarianism are often presented as two opposing models. There is, however, some convergence. Both societies have realised the need to recognise people's wishes and differences at the local level, but national policy making has taken distinct directions. The local and the national, of course, affect each other but to a lesser extent than is often presumed. Additionally, Cesari speaks of the global influence of transnational Islam currents and how they affect local contexts. We should also not forget that in the arena of security policy, the role of 9/11, 7/7 and similar other events have had a massive impact on converging aspects of national policies.

The last two national case studies deal with Switzerland and Austria. Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka gives an interesting snapshot of the excessively complex Swiss system, where cantons have very distinct state–church relations. Switzerland is a kind of mini-Europe in this respect. Julia Mourão Permoser and Sieglinde Rosenberger's article on Austria is another intriguing history, this time of a former regional power. The legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire made it possible rather early for Muslims to organise on a national level and receive many corporate rights. However, the authors discuss in detail the differences between religious and socio-economic integration. Whereas the former is considered exemplary by many, the latter is taking place in a highly controlled environment. Austrian and Switzerland are good examples of the complexity of the diverse modes of the governance of religion that is not captured by most mainstream research of immigrant religions. The dominance of the US, UK, Germany and France in much of comparative literature has vastly simplified notions religious incorporation.

The final section of the book is dedicated to comparative analysis. Matthias Koenig's debates theoretical issues emerging from different state strategies of incorporation and exclusion. He provides an exceptionally insightful account of current critiques of secularisation theory. According to Koenig, the key notion of functional differentiation has been used in a far too linear fashion in classical theory. Instead, more focus should be cast on various actors' relative scope of authority in the political struggles over the place of religion in society. Other shortcomings include the embedded methodological nationalism in defining the scope of interest as well as the different meanings of "religion" and "secular" in various contexts. Koenig also reminds us of the necessity to look at the level of international legal practice. The final article by Will Kymlicka discusses current trajectories of the governance of religion in the North American institutionally pluralist and European corporatist models.

International Migration and the Governance of Religion is a very important book. It is timely, has insightful analyses and shows directions for further research. Among others, Veit Bader's and Matthias Koenig's articles are elementary reading for anyone aiming to understand what contemporary debates on secularism and religion in the modern world are all about. The book is recommended reading for researchers in sociology and politics of religion and ethnic and migration studies.

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Jacobsen, Knut A. (ed.) (2008) *South Asian Religions on Display. Religious Processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora,* London: Routledge. 224 pp.

This volume is a welcome addition to the Routledge South Asian Religion Series. It delves into the complex worlds of religious processions, an aspect that has often been neglected within the study of religion. This despite, as editor Knut Jacobsen notes, processions often playing the most important role in gaining public recognition within the diasporic context, and the overarching public display of religion laying claim to space not generally associated with the sacred that is integral to processions in general.

The volume is divided into two sections: religious processions in South Asia and in the South Asian diaspora. Isabella Clark-Decès, writing on Tamil funeral processions, prompts scholars to look beyond the anthropological lens through which the 'time-less' and 'changeless' quality of processions has been generally observed. Processions, the world over, are creating significant change which must be taken into consideration, not ignored. The author's observations delineate the many forces, often competing, that run through Tamil funerary processions.

Clark-Decès offers an important springboard for themes and issues that are raised throughout the volume. These include competing identities (who 'speaks' for which particular identity within processions?), social and religious hierarchies (who or what is at the centre, who or what is at the margins of the procession?), sacred narratives surrounding processions (which narrative?), attempts to preserve the past (which particular version of the past?), as well as signals of social change (what aspects of 'change' are embraced and why?).

Gregory Booth makes note of the ritualised journey of wedding processions in North India, particularly of the traditional interconnectedness of space, sound/music, and the production of 'auspiciousness'. These are contrasted with contemporary notions of ritual economies, particularly those associated with purity and impurity merging with notions of prestige, class and economics, and the increasing secularisation accompanying these transformations. Increasingly, this has led to a change in producing 'auspiciousness', to a 'remarkable secular notion called family happiness' (73) whereby family image and prestige become central.

Selva Raj writes of seemingly incompatible religious traditions that share devotional traditions, with a particular focus on the procession of St. Anthony at Puliampatti in South India. Though clearly a Christian festival, Hindu families too compete for the honours and privileges to host specific festival events. Shared physical and cultural geography, common religious assumptions, ritual sources and material culture have blurred communal distinctions, also leading to contests for power between clergy and laity, privileged laity and marginalised masses, ritual efficacy versus theological orthodoxy.

A number of essays highlight the Shi'a Muslim procession of *Muharram*. Mariam Abou Zahab brings up the important element of global politics in processions, an issue surprisingly unattended to by other contributors. While *Muharram* in Pre-Partition India often prompted displays of communal harmony, global shifts have led to elements of identity assertion and sectarian mobilisation in Pakistan.

Kristina Myrvold examines Sikh processions in Varanasi, but includes a thorough overview of the role and place of scripture within Sikhism. She makes an important distinction between simply perceiving the *Nagar Kirtan* (procession) as a way to represent the spiritual authority of the scripture and the actual personification of the text as a social being who is both present and interacts with the world.

This focus is easily contrasted with Knut Jacobsen's overview of South Asian processions in Norway, in the second section of the volume. It would appear that the 'text' takes on a secondary role in the Norwegian Sikh *Baisakhi* festival, where the primary motivation is the dissemination of Sikhism to 'the Other' through the inclusion of Norwegian-language banners carried throughout the procession. Other elements with regard to Sikh, Hindu and Catholic Tamil processions within the Norwegian diaspora include the exhibition of religious culture within a multicultural society, cultural uniqueness, and expressions of spiritual superiority.

What Brigitte Luchesi observes as German Tamil Hindus willingness to 'leave invisibility' (180) is furthered by Vineeta Sinha writing on Hindu chariot processions in Singapore. Sinha attests to an increasing confidence in the staging of processions, including a willingness to call attention to schisms within the small Hindu community. Marginalised groups who perceive themselves as neglected are raising important distinctions between 'popular' and 'official' Hinduism, insisting that the 'ways of the ancestors' (folk customs, festivals honouring the village deities) are being forgotten in Singapore. The village deity is thus finding her place within the Hindu milieu through devotees willing to work their way through the bureaucratic framework of Singapore law to incorporate *new* processions, and thus express their own autonomy and self-direction.

A more uniform and consistent approach and framework for the issues and themes raised above would have added to what is undeniably an important scholarly resource. Moreover, gender dynamics are virtually ignored by most contributors. This too would have strengthened the volume considerably.

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Keskinen, Suvi, Anna Rastas & Salla Tuori (toim.) (2009) *En ole rasisti, mutta... Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä.* Tampere: Vastapaino. 169 s.

Asiallista keskustelua maahanmuutosta

Kirja käsittelee viimeaikaista suomalaista maahanmuuttokeskustelua. Maahanmuutto on poliittisesti kuuma aihe, ja monet ovat peräänkuuluttaneet asiallista keskustelua siitä. Heitä ovat muun muassa vuoden 2009 pakolaisnainen Fatbardhe Hetemaj ja niin sanotuksi maahanmuuttokriitikoiden keulakuvaksi ponkaissut Jussi Halla-Aho. Tämä pamfletti on yksi keskustelunavaus aiheeseen tutkijoiden suunnalta.

Tämä kirja-arvio on suomeksi, kuten on arvioitava kirjakin, joka on suunnattu Suomessa asuvalle lukijakunnalle. Artikkeleita on yhteensä 14, ja sekä kirja että tämä arvio rönsyilevät.

Pamflettia ei voi arvioida samoilla kriteereillä kuin tutkimusta. Vaikka moni tämän kirjan kirjoittajista onkin tutkija, en arvioinut artikkeleja sen perusteella kuinka hyvin niiden argumentaatio noudattaa tieteellisesti hyvän argumentin kaavaa. Pamfletin artikkeleissa argumentteja ei usein edes pyritä rakentamaan tällä tavoin.

Kirjan luonteesta saa kuvan takakannesta, jossa mainitaan, että ”[a]siantuntijat osallistuvat vilkkaana käyvään maahanmuuttokeskusteluun analysoimalla sen sisältöjä ja seurauksia”. Tosiasiassa kirjoittajat lähinnä osallistuvat keskusteluun, eivät analysoi sitä. Kyseessä on preskriptiivisten ja poleemisten puheenvuorojen kokonaisuus.

Kirjan artikkelit on jaettu teemoittain neljään osaan: maahanmuuttokeskustelua yleisesti käsittelevä *Maahanmuuttokeskustelu ja sen seuraukset*, median roolia keskustelussa käsittelevä *Media merkityksiä rakentamassa*, rasismi- ja identiteettikysymyksiä käsittelevä *Suomalaisuus, maahanmuuttajuus ja rasismi*, sekä maahanmuuttajien kanssa työtätekevien äänen kuuluvuutta pohtiva *Kuuluuko maahanmuuttotyön asiantuntijoiden ääni?*.

Johdantoartikkelissa *Maahanmuuttokeskustelu ja sen seuraukset* kirjan toimittajat, tutkijat Suvi Keskinen, Anna Rastas ja Salla Tuori, viittaavat julkisuudessa kuohuttaneisiin tapauksiin. Niistä ensimmäisessä somalityttöä solvattiin rasistisesti ja hänet tönäistiin junasta asemalaiturille Espoossa. Toisessa tapauksessa iäkkäälle Evelyn Fadayelille annettiin karkotuspäätös, vaikka hän oli käytännössä täysin riippuvainen Suomessa asuvista perheenjäsenistään. Artikkelissa myös todetaan, että tutkimustieto ei aina tavoita suurta yleisöä, joten media on tärkeässä asemassa keskustelun ohjaajana. Moni teoksen artikkeli liittyykin siihen, miten media näkee maahanmuuttajat, moni taas siihen, kuinka maahanmuuttajat ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvat itse kokevat tilanteensa.

Johdannon jälkeinen artikkeli on sosionomi ja psykoterapeutti Said Adenin artikkeli *Ikuisesti pakolaisina?*, jossa katsotaan tilannetta somalien näkökulmasta. Artikkeli on kokemuspohjainen kuvaus siitä, kuinka kirjoittaja on kokenut asemansa Suomessa eri rooleissa – ensin turvapaikanhakijana ja maahanmuuttajana, sittemmin Somaliliiton puheenjohtajana ja yhä enemmän suomalaisena. Näistä rooleista käsin hän on seurannut suomalaisen yhteiskunnan ja etenkin median suhtautumista somalialaisiin. Aden kuvaa suomalaisen asenneilmaston muutosta 1990-luvun alun tietämättömyydestä saman vuosikymmenen lopun ”somalishokkiin”, jonka jälkeen kielteiset maahanmuuttaja-asenteet alkoivat vakiintua kantaväestön piirissä. Aden on kiinnittänyt huomiota siihen, kuinka media korostaa maahanmuuton kielteisiä puolia ja jättää myönteiset seikat vähemmälle uutisoinnille.

Tutkija Suvi Keskisen artikkeli *Pelkkiä ongelmia?* käsittelee Adenin mainitsemaa pulmaa politiikan näkökulmasta. Siinä missä Aden keskittyy mediaan, Keskinen kiinnittää huomiota erityisesti vuoden 2008 kunnallisvaaleihin ja viime vuoden eurovaaleihin, joissa Perussuomalaiset nousivat suomalaisen politiikan keskiraskaaseen sarjaan muun muassa Adenin kuvaaman vääristyneen uutisoinnin avulla.

Seuraavassa, tutkija Anna Rastaan artikkelissa *Rasismin kiistäminen suomalaisessa maahanmuuttokeskustelussa* kiinnitetään huomiota siihen, kuinka poliitikot välttelevät rasismista keskustelemista. Nämä kirjan kolme ensimmäistä artikkelia muodostavat kokonaisuuden: kirjoittajien mukaan media liioittelee maahanmuuttoon liittyviä ongelmia ja vähättelee hyviä puolia. Lisäksi kantaväestön huonoista puolista vaietaan.

Pentti Raittilan artikkeli *Journalismin maahanmuuttokeskustelu* pohtii, missä määrin mediassa esiintyy vaikenemista, hymistelyä tai kriittisyyttä maahanmuuton epäkohtia koskien. Raittila toteaa, että Keskisenkin mainitsemat vuosien 2008 ja 2009 vaalit vaikuttivat poliittisen kentän lisäksi myös median tapaan käsitellä maahanmuuttoa ja maahanmuuttajia. Hän viittaa myös Rastaan toteamaan ”maahanmuuttokriitikoiden” tapaan kiistää rasismi, jolloin rasismin sijaan puhutaan esimerkiksi ”maahanmuuttorealismista”. Raittila viittaa samaan kuin monet muut kirjan kirjoittajat: se, ettei rasismista puhuta tai siitä puhutaan poliittisesti korrektisti esimerkiksi ”maahanmuuttokriittisyytenä”, on hyssyttelyä.

Karina Horstin artikkeli *Kyllä Suomeen yksi nainen mahtuu!* käsittelee turvapaikanhakijoiden roolia uhrina ja uhkana suomalaisessa yhteiskunnallisessa keskustelussa. Horsti huomioi, kuinka keskustelussa pyritään erottamaan niin sanotusti oikeasti apua tarvitsevat huijareiksi ajatelluista. Jälkimmäisiin on liitetty laiton maahantulo ja erilaisia uhkia, joita nämä ”laittomat huijarit” kantaväestölle muka aiheuttavat. Yhtenä esimerkkinä Horsti mainitsee sen, kuinka vuonna 1990 Kosovosta tulleet pakolaiset otettiin avosylin vastaan koska heidät nähtiin, syystäkin, ”oikeina” pakolaisina, kun taas samoihin aikoihin turvapaikkaa hakeneita romaneja pidettiin ”turvapaikkashoppailijoina”

Horstin jälkeen mediatutkijoiden Camilla Haaviston ja Ullamaija Kivikurun artikkeli *Sulkevat sanat, avoimet kuvat* on mielipidekirjoitus. Samoja teemoja ovat tieteen piirissä tutkineet muun muassa Karmela Liebkind, Annika Forsander, Outi Lepola ja Seppo Paananen.

Seuraava, Helena Jermanin artikkeli *Venäläiset tulivat* palaa median vahvistamien stereotypioiden käsittelyyn. Jerman kirjoittaa venäläisiin mediassa kohdistuvista ennakkoluuloista. Artikkelin alaotsikko *Tutkija kohtaa median kuvan maahanmuuttajista* tiivistää sisällön. Kuten Horstin artikkeli, myös Jermanin täyttää pienen tutkimusraportin kriteerit.

Filosofian tohtori, mediatutkija Mikko Lehtosen artikkeli on puolestaan riemastuttava irtiotto tutkijatyylisestä tavasta esittää väitteitä. Lehtosen artikkelissa *Olen suomalainen (io sono finlandese)* korostetaan, että Suomi on ollut monikulttuurinen maa tsaarin ajoista asti. Lehtosen mukaan ”on korkea aika päästää irti fennomaanien uskosta tahrattomaan kansallisuuteen”, sillä monikulttuurisuus on täällä jäädäkseen. Monikulttuurisuusväite on jo tilastojen mukaan tosi, jälkimmäisestä käydään poliittista debattia. Hyvä osoitus molemmista seikoista on Antero Leitzingerin vuoden 2008 väitös ja sen kanssa samaan aikaan ilmestynyt hänen toinen teoksensa.

Lehtosen jälkeen palataan perinteisempään tutkijatyyliin. Laura Huttusen artikkeli *Mikä ihmeen maahanmuuttaja?* käsittelee sitä, miten media luo maahanmuuttajista eräänlaisen kasvottoman ja homogeenisen ongelmaryhmän. Huttusen artikkeli tiivistää huomioita, joita aiemmissa artikkeleissa on tehty. Lisäksi Huttunen kysyy, onko työperäisen maahanmuuton suosiminen järkevää, kun maahanmuuttajien työmarkkinaintegraatio on niin kitkaista. Työmarkkinaintegraation vaikeuteen liittyvä huoli on liki sama, johon Seppo Paananen päätyi väitöksessään vuonna 1999. Samaa huolta on korostettu myös Mika Helanderin toimittamassa teoksessa vuonna 2008. Kitkaisuus osoittaa, että työvoimavetoinen maahanmuuttopolitiikka on nurinkurista, mikäli työmarkkinaintegraation esteitä ei saada vähennettyä.

Kaisla Löyttyjärven artikkeli *Erilainen nuori* tuo kirjaan konkretiaa. Kyseessä on esseetyyppinen kirjoitus, joka kuvaa osuvasti suomalaisen, ”lapsellisen ja haparoivan” (s.125) monikulttuurisuus- ja rasismikeskustelun vaikutusta tummaihoisiin nuoriin. Löyttyjärvi kuvaa, kuinka ainoa valtaväestöstä poikkeava asia hänessä on ihonväri, ja miten omituisia reaktioita tämä piirre aiheuttaa. Oman tarinansa kautta Löyttyjärvi selittää rasismin käsittämättömyyttä.

Yhteiskuntatieteilijänä on kiinnostavaa seurata, kuinka erikoinen sosiaalisten konstruktioiden ja poliittisten suuntausten ja vastasuuntausten vyyhti tämän yksinkertaisen asian ympärille on rakentunut. Kun 1800-luvun antropologit tutkivat alkukantaisia heimoja, nykyantropologit voisivat tutkia tätä ihmeellistä rasismin, maahanmuuttokeskustelun, politiikan ja median sosiaalista konstruktiota.

Siinä missä Löyttyjärvi kirjoittaa etupäässä kokemuspohjaisesti, Husein Muhammedin näkökulma on yhteiskunnallisempi. Muhammed kirjoittaa toimittajien tavasta luottaa tietolähteisiinsä melko heppoisin perustein. Muhammed on poliitikko, mutta kirjoittaa asiantuntijan roolissa.

Sari Sirvan *Ikääntyvät vanhemmat ja perheen yhdistäminen Suomessa* edustaa juridista ihmisoikeusdiskurssia, jonka pohjalta Maahanmuuttovirasto ja monet ihmisoikeusjärjestöt käyvät loputtomalta tuntuvaa keskinäistä taistoaan. Maahanmuuttovirasto perustaa päätöksensä Suomen lakiin, kun taas ihmisoikeusdiskurssi perustuu kansainvälisiin ihmisoikeussopimuksiin. Vaikka Suomi on allekirjoittanut monia sopimuksia, usein oikeuskäytäntö perustuu nimenomaisesti Suomen lakiin. Sirva käsittelee tätä ristiriitaa Euroopan ihmisoikeussopimuksen ja Fadayelin tapauksen kohdalla.

Veronika Honkasalon ja Leena Suurpään artikkeli Tutkijoiden kiistellyt roolit rasismin ja nuorten tutkimuksessa reflektoi tutkijan poliittista asemaa. Lisäksi artikkelissa pohditaan missä määrin lasten ja nuorten ääni kuuluu maahanmuuttokeskustelussa. Artikkelissa on monia aiheita ja näkökulmia, sekä useita yhteyksiä eri tutkimuksiin ja tutkimustraditioihin. Artikkelissa päädytään muun muassa siihen, että rasismista tulee puhua sen omalla nimellä, vaikka moni kokeekin sen vaikeaksi, ja että rasismista vaikeneminen on kannanotto.

Kirjan viimeinen, Johanna Matikaisen, Outi Pärnäsen ja Leena-Kaisa Åbergin artikkeli, käsittelee samaa teemaa kuin Sirvan teksti. Artikkeli korostaa ihmisoikeuksien universaaliutta ja niihin kuuluvaa oikeutta tasavertaiseen kohteluun. Ristiriita universaalien ihmisoikeuksien ja Suomen kansallisen turvapaikka-asioita koskevan lainsäädännön välillä on selvä.

Teoksessa on yksi pulma, jonka Husein Muhammed tiivistää sivun 136 mediakritiikissään:”[u]sein asiantuntijoiksi nimettyjen henkilöiden tieto […] hyväksytään sellaisenaan”. Kirjan takakannessa kaikki kirjan kirjoittajat nimetään asiantuntijoiksi. Useissa artikkeleissa on lähellä argumentaatiovirhe argumentum ad auctoritatem, jossa kirjoittajan auktoriteetti toimii väitteen perusteluna. Kirja on kuitenkin suositeltava hankinta maahanmuuttokeskustelua seuraaville ja siihen osallistuville. Honkasalon ja Suurpään johtopäätös on osuva; rasismista tulee puhua sen omalla nimellä, ja vaikeneminen todellakin on kannanotto.

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Tuori, Salla (2009) *The Politics of Multicultural Encounters. Feminist Postcolonial Perspectives.* Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press. 250 pp.

Salla Tuori's doctoral dissertation deals with a multicultural project aimed at migrant women in a Finnish city, and the encounters and tensions between different actors engaged in this kind of project. The study is based on an ethnographic analysis of the project, and this methodology introduces an additional actor to the field of study: the researcher herself. Taken as a whole, the research setting is multifaceted and challenging, not least because the author aims to bring in theoretical ideas and concepts from different traditions, including qualitative sociology, cultural studies, gender studies and critical postcolonial studies. The author sets herself a very broad and ambitious research aim: to scrutinise how the politics of multiculturalism is shaped and played out in Finland in the early 2000s.

Multicultural politics in Finland

In Chapter 1, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, the author first introduces her research setting: "This study is an ethnographic analysis of multicultural politics in Finland. Its main ethnographic location was a project, the Globe, which aimed to enhance labour market participation of migrant women. With this particular project as the base, I have examined multicultural politics in Finland more broadly, by participating in seminars on multiculturalism and gender equality, and have gathered material from projects other than the Globe in this field" (p. 13). Later on, Tuori states that her research focus is "on the making of the politics of multiculturalism in everyday encounters" (p.13). Politics is here understood as both the planned agendas and strategies of project work and as the effects of unplanned practices formed in multicultural encounters. The peculiarly Finnish version of multicultural politics is also introduced and explained, as is the key concept of multiculturalism. The introductory chapter is very well written and leaves the reader eager to read and learn more. The author also nicely situates herself and her research interest at the crossroads of the different disciplinary traditions of which she is part, and ponders the nature and importance of such "disciplinary encounters" in her own work.

Contextualisation of the research setting is done in Chapter 2, *Viewing multicultural politics through the lens of an employment project*. The relationship of the current immigration situation and politics to the history of Finland as a country of emigration is explained, and the proliferation of EU-funded and other projects targeted at migrants is highlighted. The facts are interesting as such, but Salla Tuori's further merit here lies in bringing the facts together and discussing the implications of a Finnish type of multicultural project world. The primary research setting, the Globe project, is introduced in this chapter both as a structure and as a location and a working space where Tuori's ethnographic fieldwork was conducted. The explicit aims of the Globe employment project, empowering and helping of migrant women living in Finland, are presented and critically discussed.

Chapter 3, *Postcolonial Finland*, introduces and juxtaposes many interesting theoretical frameworks and approaches, mainly through the concept of intersectionality. According to Tuori, her study is "situated in postcolonial (feminist) theory, and it refers to theories on race and ethnicity, and analyses of power" (p. 57). She discusses each perspective at length, assessing the merits and limitations, and nicely ties each perspective into her own research focus. Here Tuori demonstrates that she is not only familiar with the very different research traditions that she employs but is also able to put them into good use as tools for her own research purposes; with the exception perhaps of the theorising of Foucault's notion of governmentality, which comes up only vaguely in the analysis of the material. Otherwise in Tuori's study theory and empirical material speak to and enlighten each other. The author's multi- and cross-disciplinary background and training are obvious here. Another merit of the chapter (and the study as a whole) is the way in which the vast research literature about multicultural practices and policies in Finland and elsewhere is presented, discussed, juxtaposed and critiqued.

An ethnography of meetings and encounters

Chapter 4, *Ethnographic approaches: situating the subjects*, is about the methodology of the study. Tuori's account gives the impression of a difficult and personally challenging ethnographic journey to the project world of meetings, discussions, and other encounters. In the tradition of feminism-inspired ethnography Tuori writes and situates herself as a gendered and racialised researcher into the ethnographic account. She discusses the implications and complications of being simultaneously an evaluator and an ethnographer of the Globe project. She discusses her position as a white, Finnish, university-educated woman in settings and encounters in which these attributes were automatically privileged. She further describes her uneasiness in situations where she felt it was unethical not to intervene, react and/or express differing viewpoints.

Tuori's methodological discussion is interesting and inspiring as a whole, but especially thought-provoking is the way she discusses the ethics and politics of ethnographic research from the point of view of her own experiences and feelings. Tuori calls her rather self-conscious and careful way of doing ethnography an "ethnography of distance". To keep a certain distance, to avoid asking the migrant women too many and too-personal (intimate) questions, was a political and ethical choice for her in order not to make the mistake of speaking

for the women. This approach was in line with the adopted research strategy of deconstruction, or "paranoid reading", in which the author succeeds to the point of not taking anything for granted, not least her own reactions. For Tuori's research purposes, her approach seems to work. However, keeping such a distance also means that one of the key strengths of ethnographic accounts, conveying the research subject's experiences, understandings and life-worlds to the reader, is somewhat lacking from the study.

In Chapters 5 through 8 Salla Tuori analyses specific questions on the basis of different sets of the empirical research material. As explained in the Introduction (p. 24), versions of these chapters have previously been published as articles. This background might explain a certain unevenness of the empirical chapters, as some are more polished and thought through than others. On the other hand, the fact that Tuori has had time and opportunity to work and re-work her material certainly reflects positively on the overall quality of her study. Chapter 5, titled *Multiculturalism and nation-building*, analyses the model that the Globe project produced as an outcome of the project work in relation to gender equality, multiculturalism and construction of the nation. The idealistic, (unintentionally?) funny, and certainly patronising project model is analysed and meticulously deconstructed by the author. Salla Tuori shows how clear the boundaries of Finnish-ness, the Finnish nation, and Finnish gender equality are and how they appear and are reconstructed in a well-meaning NGO-text of the kind where "multiculturalism is good for us Finns" and includes a "welcome to enjoy the kind of gender equality which we already have here in Finland". The analysis is informative, enlightening, convincing, and a pleasure to read.

Where Chapter 5 is a successful analysis of a text, Chapters 6 to 8 deal more directly with different kinds of encounters in and around the project work of the Globe. Thus, these three chapters are based on Salla Tuori's ethnographic fieldwork. Chapter 6, *Reproduction of the nation in multicultural politics*, is about discourses on migrant families and heteronormativity. The author asks: What kind of generalisations are presented and circulated about "a typical migrant family"? Why are multicultural contexts so strongly and self-evidently heterosexual? This chapter forcefully brings out some of the tensions and ethical dilemmas that the researcher experienced during her fieldwork. She writes about her strong reaction to a project workshop (aimed at migrant women) which she experienced as so patronising and heteronormative that she had to walk out. This incident may have influenced negatively the relations that Tuori had with her research subjects, and therefore I would have liked her to discuss it also in the methodological part of the study. Since the focus in this chapter is on discourses and practices around families, another important tension also emerges from the material: migrant women as (potential) victims of abuse and violence in their families, or migrant women as capable and knowledgeable actors (agents). Tuori addresses this dilemma in relation to the Globe project's history and background as an NGO helping victims of gendered domestic violence.

Chapter 7 deals with the constructions of knowledge and feelings in the making of multicultural politics. Tuori asks her subjects which statements or utterances are understood as knowledge and which are understood as feelings or experiences. Here her analysis is greatly inspired by post-colonial and feminist theorising where questions of "who speaks" and "who knows" (and "who works for whom") are posed. The results of the detailed analysis of two different encounters in the multicultural project world are striking: women of Finnish background speak and are invited to speak as experts, they have (objective) knowledge; women of migrant background are invited to "share their experiences", they have (subjective) feelings. Also the well-meaning inclusive speech constructions of "us women" are shown to actually distinguish sharply between the learners, i.e. migrant women and the instructors, Finnish-born women who have "already achieved equality". Tuori also acknowledges and discusses her own unquestioned position as a privileged Finnish expert in the different encounters and her uneasiness with it.

Deconstructing empowerment and project work

Chapter 8 is about politics of empowerment. Here, finally, Tuori addresses one of the key concepts of her study on the basis of her empirical material. The analysis is ambitious: Tuori deals with empowerment on conceptual, theoretical, textual and discursive levels and as politics. She also scrutinises the ways in which the concept has been put into use by different financial and operational agents in the project world, including the usage and operationalisation of the notion in the Globe project. The ethnographic examples show effectively how empowerment is understood as measurable personal growth of an individual and/or as a particular agency. Here again Tuori uses her material skilfully to bring out and highlight her key points. For example, when one of the project employees with a migrant background is described and discussed by the Finnish-born employees as "a terribly empowered person", Tuori interprets this through the framework of project funding: empowerment of individuals is a measurable and necessary result of the project. The chapter ends with a thoughtful and self-reflective discussion about empowerment in relation to emotions and feelings.

A conclusion is offered in Chapter 9: *Transformative politics*. According to Tuori, one purpose of her study has been "to put feminist and postcolonial theoretical discussions in dialogue with multicultural work in Finland" (p. 171). The author achieves this and more: with a thorough understanding and knowledge of both feminist and postcolonial theories, and a suitable data set that she handles skilfully, Tuori is able to show faults and omissions in both perspectives and suggest ways forward. That is, first a dialogue, then perhaps an ethically sound synthesis.

Throughout the study it is evident that the author knows the relevant literature very well. Furthermore, Tuori introduces, discusses and criticises relevant theories and empirical studies

in such a way that the reader is able to assess her positions and findings in relation to these other studies. This is not a minor accomplishment since the field of studies dealt with here is extensive. Salla Tuori has written a well-informed, mature and creative book that inspires and challenges the reader to think anew many of the taken-for-granted assumptions that it deals with: migrant women, project work, multiculturalism, Finnish nation-building, empowerment. Tuori's book is an interesting research endeavour at the crossroads of sociology, gender studies, and post-colonial studies. It makes a very valuable and timely contribution to the body of research on the sociology of gender and multicultural societies. The study can also be recommended as a text book in gender and postcolonial studies in the social sciences, as well as in courses in ethnographic methodology.

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Alba, Richard, Raboteau, Albert J & DeWind, Josh (eds.) (2009) *Immigration and Religion in America: Comparative and Historical Perspectives,* New York: New York University Press. 407 pp.

The book under review is a timely addition to a number of excellent studies that have come out in recent years on diaspora, immigration and religion. In the last two decades many descriptive studies came out detailing the cultural and religious aspects of diasporic communities in their respective host societies. It is about time to engage in systematic theoretical studies on the many descriptive accounts that we have gathered from many parts of the world on the issues of the migrant communities. And this could only be done through in-depth comparisons. It is in this regard the current volume is a welcome addition to the recent studies on the diaspora, immigration and the role religion plays in these contexts. In providing such a comparative study, Alba et al. offer new insights into the understanding of religion in the context of immigrant societies – insights that they themselves were surprised at when they compared the various data and findings from the different contributors in the volume; e.g., that belonging to an established religion did not necessarily bring about the same benefits or advantages for all migrants (p. 13).

The volume is carefully thought out and divided into four parts, each containing contributions by authors on immigrant communities that either have a common religious background or were culturally coherent. At the beginning of each part the editors provide useful introduction to the theme of that part. However, it is noteworthy that both the design and the eventual conclusions turn out to be unexpected. The introduction, therefore, serves well to highlight the anticipated and the unanticipated outcomes and provides coherence to the entire volume.

Part one deals with Italian and Mexican case studies, both representing "low-wage labor migrations" to America. Integration into mainstream society was assessed on two important counts – economic and marital (p.26). Although Italian immigrants shared a common religious heritage in Catholicism with Northern European immigrants to America, the Catholicism that they brought to America was markedly different from that of the northern Europeans (e.g. Polish and Irish). The feste marked their identity, but it was a "source of tremendous embarrassment to American Catholic leaders" (p. 40). The early Italian associations were based on the regions from which the immigrants had come. The immigrants who came from southern Italy were clearly marked by their allegiance to the patron saints of their villages. It is among them that the feste was more popular. Alba and Orsi show in their essay that southern Italian immigrants in particular and Italians in general did not feel at home with the American Catholic Church and some even converted to Protestantism (p. 41). The first generation's integration into mainstream Catholicism was difficult. However, by the second generation Italians gradually oscillated towards the American Catholic Church (p.45) despite the displeasure of their first-generation parents (p.46). Although the feste was less popular among younger Italians, it continued to mark Italian identity (p. 48). By the third generation, Italian Americans are seen to have "achieved socioeconomic parity with the white American mainstream" (p. 48). By the fourth generation, they have become fully integrated into mainstream white American society through intermarriage, with only 60 % remaining Catholic and the rest belonging to various Protestant denominations. It is interesting, therefore, to note that in the fourth generation the commonality of Catholic faith was a positive factor in entering into intermarriages "with other ethnic groups within the Catholic fold" (p. 54)[1].

1 It is furthermore interesting that in other research on Kerala Christians in America it was shown that Kerala Christian parents generally preferred their children marrying a white Christian to an Indian Hindu. (See South Asians in the Diaspora: Their Histories and Traditions, edited by Knut Jacobsen and P. Pratap Kumar. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004.) Could it be that the cases of the Italian Catholics and the Kerala Christians point to the fact that when the chips are down, religious or denominational affinity matters?

Thus, the assimilation process of Italian Americans into the mainstream society was complete, notwithstanding the retention of their distinctive accent and other such features.

The essay by Roberto Lint Sagarena is quite revealing. In comparison with Italian immigrants, despite their common Catholic heritage, Mexican immigrants did not experience the same level of integration in America. Sagarena attributes this to the failure of the American Catholic Church. Let's look at the argument closely. It is a case of cyclical discrimination exerted by the dominant group on minority groups. The story can be simplified as follows – the Protestant Christians who had already settled in North America began to discriminate against the newly arriving Irish Catholics because in their view "Catholicism represented all the evils of the old world" (p. 58). The U.S.–Mexican War (1846–48) presented the Irish Catholics with the opportunity to demonstrate their "patriotism and loyalty to their Protestant neighbors" (p. 58). And then the Irish, when they had finally got settled into their comfort zone, perpetrated the very same discrimination against Mexicans. In less than 50 years Mexicans went through three transitions – from Spanish subjects to Mexican citizens to U.S. citizens. As a result of their isolation in New Mexico most of their religious life depended on lay participation whereas the American Catholic Church placed a great deal of emphasis on the central authority and inevitably "these two visions of Catholicism would collide" (p. 60). Sagarena documents well the saga of the conflict between local Mexican clergy and ecclesiastical authority. It is due to these inherent conflicts and differing visions, Sagarena argues, that Mexican Americans were grossly neglected by the American Catholic Church in that the Church did not provide for their spiritual well being (p. 63). While the American Catholic Church sought to Americanise Mexican immigrants, the Mexicans emphasised their own forms of religious practice as expressions of ethnic identity and Mexican nationalism. However, the scenario began to change with the constant arrival of new immigrants and also with the next generation of Mexicans. The Catholic Church itself began to shift toward introducing ethnic parishes and Spanish services. As a result, many new Mexican immigrants "found the American Catholic Church more sympathetic than the earlier generations" (p. 67). So, unlike the case of the Italian Catholics, in the case of the Mexican Catholics the Church emphasised the ethnic model "made up of many transitional ethnic parishes" (p. 69).

David Lopez, in his analysis of Mexican Americans takes it further by arguing that while Mexicans and other Latinos constitute the greatest majority in the American Catholic population, "it is difficult to point to any important ways in which the church has facilitated their climb up the ladder of success" (p. 71). He attributes this failure to the fundamental difference between "congregationally controlled ethnic churches" and the "priest-centered way of doing things" (p. 75). In other words, his argument centres around the point that the usual narrative of upward mobility from generation to generation, as happened in the case of whites and Asians in America, did not happen in the case of Mexican Americans. This applies to their church life as well as to their overall status in American society. On the part of the Church, whether it is its hierarchy and its relationship to the Mexican community or the parochial school system, its "neglect created a fertile ground for the Protestant missionaries, who were especially successful among the small-town lower middle classes" (p. 83). Lopez's final point is rather interesting. After comparing his analysis of Mexican Americans with the cases of Italian and Asian Americans, he points out that the Catholic education system did not assist Mexican and Latino children like it did Italians; that the academic success of Asian children is not attributable to socioeconomic factors but to their religious participation, which instilled the value of education and reading. Therefore, he discounts the role of religious beliefs in the upward mobility of immigrants; rather, it is the very religious practice that is linked to the "love of learning" as in the case of Jewish community and the Asian community. He, therefore, argues that "if religion bears any importance to ethnic success in America, it is not due to the specific content of beliefs but rather, to the social organization of religious life and the social practices carried out within these organizations" (p. 93).

The second part of the book deals with religious conversion among Japanese and Korean immigrants. This part calls into question the assumption that religious conversion is often a strategy for assimilation into the mainstream by immigrant communities. This argument continues a thread from the previous argument by Lopez. That is, if belief is the central factor, then converting to a religious belief can make sense, but if it is religious practice that is far more important than belief, then conversion is not necessarily the most important option for immigrants. This is borne out in the case of Japanese and Korean immigrants. Spickard and Yoo in their study of Japanese and Korean immigrants in America demonstrated that while most Japanese were Buddhist and many of those who were Christian were already so when they immigrated to America, almost all Korean immigrants were already Protestant Christians before they arrived in America. However, they argued that an eclectic mixture of Shinto, Buddhist and Protestant Christian beliefs shaped Japanese religious identity in America (p. 116-17), whereas Korean Christians maintained an independent ethnic identity and, as early as 1918, formed a Korean Christian Church (p. 123). Neither the Japanese nor the Korean immigrants followed the path of clear integration; rather, both showed tendencies toward their respective nationalisms (p. 127). Both immigrant groups, that is, the Japanese Buddhists and the Korean Christians, experienced racial discrimination and used religion to form their own ethnic identities (p. 132).

Iwamura's essay, dealing with the issue of assimilation, argues that the assimilation model "downplays the community's own self-definition and blinds the researcher from acknowledging specific historical responses and unique contributions of the group" (p. 139). He raises some pertinent concerns, one of which is exceedingly important. That is, no matter how many generations "one's family has resided in the United States, Asian Americans continue to be chained to their

immigrant past" (p. 140). The case of Japanese Americans illustrates the divergent ways in which the place of religion needs to be understood in relation to immigrant communities. Iwamura teases out the way in which civil religion is understood generally in American mainstream society, and how it can be understood differently in the case of Japanese Americans. He emphasises the central role of the Japanese experience of internment and incarceration in the early years of their life in America and the subsequent Civil Liberties Act of 1988 in reformulating what 'civil religion' means for Japanese Americans. It is in this context that he underscores what he calls "critical faith", which takes into account times of trial and crisis (p. 144). Therefore, he suggests, pilgrimage rituals create both political awareness and spiritual reconciliation and healing in a very specific way (p. 155). In this sense the Japanese American civil religious experience is very unique, although the author sees some convergence of American civil religion and minority civil religions (p. 163). Returning to the issue of assimilation, Iwamura argues that linear narratives of immigration-to-assimilation do not do justice to an individual immigrant's experience. The narratives are more "braided" than linear (p. 163).

The assimilation thesis is further degraded in the essay by Sharon Suh, using the example of Korean Buddhist immigrants. Suh argues that Korean Buddhists associate Buddhism with Korean Nationalism and see themselves as more authentically Korean than their Christian counterparts (p. 167). However, as she points out, Korean Buddhist identity is also a "marker of a successful American identity" (p. 168). In other words, Suh's essay illustrates that in order to achieve an American identity, assimilation is not necessarily the best option and one can maintain one's ethnic identity and still achieve a successful place in American society (p. 169).

Part Three incorporates examples from amongst European Jews and Arab Muslims. There are similarities between the two, e.g., willingness to reinterpret their theologies and symbols and the absence of a singular authority. There are also differences – e.g., most Jewish scholarship is located in the U.S. whereas most of the Islamic scholars are located outside the U.S. (p. 195). Goldscheider's essay examines the assimilation and distinctiveness of American Jews. He points out that in the case of American Jews the question is not so much how they are assimilating into American society, but rather, what factors sustain "ethnic and religious continuity of American Jews in the absence of overt discrimination and disadvantage" (p. 198). He points to a variety of structural and institutional features that might necessitate varying expressions of ethnic and religious identities (p. 200). For example, better educational levels among Jews might set them apart as a community from the rest of Americans, but it is due to these same educational achievements that American Jews are also more exposed to secular American values, enabling them to assimilate into the American mainstream (p. 214). In this sense American Jews are unlike Italian or Hispanic Americans.

The next essay by Arnold Eisen deals with the question of "What can it mean to be Jewish in the absence of palpable Jewish difference?" (p. 224). He raises the question in light of the most significant sociological transformation to occur in the Jewish community, namely that most Jews no longer believe that God chose them in the face of "unparalleled individualism on the one hand and remarkable cultural diversity on the other" (p. 225). He points out that Jewish thinkers in America reinterpreted their old traditions in light of their own experiences and were selective in how they highlighted some aspects of their tradition and not others (p. 228). In a sense, they lived in "two civilizations" (p. 242).

Following the essays on the Jewish community, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad's piece deals with Arab and Muslim identity. She examines the interrelationship between how Arab Muslims relate themselves to the Middle East and Islam and how American society and U.S. policy deal with the Arab region and Islam. She makes three important points: 1) Arab Muslims eagerly chose the route of assimilation and integration; 2) Arab identity went beyond religious identity, combining participation in Muslim and Christian spheres; 3) In the 1990s, a strong Islamic religious identity began to emerge with the proliferation of mosques and religious institutions, thereby creating "Islamic ethnicity" (p. 267). However, the author suggests that in the aftermath of 9/11 the status of Arabs and Muslims could be compared to that of Germans during World War I, the Japanese during World War II and Jews during the Cold War (p. 268). But gradually the identification of 'terrorist' went from Arab to Muslim (p. 269). It is in the midst of these developments that the present generation of Arab Muslims seek to establish their identity as Americans, by appropriating Islam as their religion but rejecting Arab culture.

The essay by Ann Chin Lin delves more deeply into religious identity among Muslim Americans. Based on data from the first generation of Arab immigrants, she makes a distinction between religious identity through private practice and organisational participation. For many Muslims, she argues, "mosques do not play the organizing role that churches played for Catholic neighbourhoods and American Catholicism" (p. 283). On the other hand, those who participate in public organisations do not limit themselves to any particular one (p. 287). These are not the only two ways that Arab and Muslim Americans create communities, however – the Internet, for instance, can host virtual communities. Nevertheless, the author stresses that these two types of community strategies do not "inhibit their incorporation into the wider American society" (p. 294).

Part Four deals with the examples of African-American and Haitian migrants. Although African-American migration is internal, from southern states to northern states within America, the authors see some historical interconnection between it and Haitian migration. Grossman and Raboteau's essay details African-American migration from north to south, giving up a promise of landownership in favour of industrial work in the North. Between the two so-called "Great Migrations", the first between 1916 and 1920, and the second between 1940 and 1970, African-Americans transformed from predominantly rural to urban communities. Family and community

networks were the main resources facilitating this movement (p. 309). One defining factor, however, was that by the end of the second Great Migration, racial segregation was deeply entrenched in America, including the North (p.308-9). Therefore, rural Black migrants looked to churches "that had given them a sense of social location back home" (p. 310). But there were other forms of identity that African-Americans sought to establish in rejecting Christianity – Black Judaism, Black Islam and even Baha'i and Buddhism which offered opportunities for religious identity (p. 313) coupled with many more options coming from the new immigrants from Haiti, Cuba and the African continent (p. 314). Thus, the African American life became increasingly exposed to religious pluralism, offering African-Americans access to various civic activities.

The final essay by McAlister and Richman shows how Catholicism, Vodou and Protestantism become key factors in Haitian adjustment to American society. Between French colonial rule and Haitians' migration to South Florida, they went through the stages of working as peasants to working for wage labour. But they continued to maintain their ties to the homeland, and in this sense their religious and social life is very similar to that of African-Americans, who migrated from the South to the North (p. 325). Nevertheless, Haitians struggle to construct an identity that is distinct from that of African-Americans in that they link their past to Africa through Haitian history. The majority of them belong to the Catholic Church, but form distinct ethnic parishes where they feel welcome. Their religious life also includes spirit worship in the form of Vodou, which is practiced in private due to the unsympathetic response of other Americans, particularly the Protestant and Evangelical churches. It is through these religious practices that they refuse to be identified within "two-dimensional racial stereotypes" (p. 352).

All of the narratives in this volume raise a range of issues that arise when dealing with questions of assimilation and integration on the one hand and the intrinsic relationship between religion and migration on the other. Each case presented reinforces the thesis that there is an intrinsic relationship between religion and migration. In some instances religion was a hindrance, while in others it was a help. In some instances ethnic identity was brought out more sharply through religious affiliation, making a case for the idea that religion is not always useful in facilitating the assimilation process of immigrants. The narratives on the relationship between religion and migration are more "braided" than "linear", to use Iwamura's expression. Inter alia, for me, two key observations made by the editors are important – that immigrant communities bring religious pluralism to the host society; and that the native-born generations become more religious in the context of their immigrant life. The comparisons also sharply brought out the issue of race. On that point, it is worth further exploring Iwamura's rhetorical question of how many generations would it take for non-European immigrants to achieve the status of being simply citizens and not tied to their immigrant past. The volume's findings, through the sets of comparisons presented above, will certainly compel social scientists to pay greater attention to religion in the context of immigration. Overall, the volume is a significant contribution to the current debates on diaspora. I would recommend this volume to both advanced scholars as well as graduate students interested in understanding the relationship between religion and immigration.

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In the past few decades, the politics of being Muslim in the West has emerged as a dominant discourse within the Western public sphere. In Britain, this notion has arguably filled the public discussion in many areas following various key historical moments such as the Honeyford affair in the mid-1980s, and *The Satanic Verses* controversy and the Gulf War in the late 1980s and early 1990s. While this discourse has centred on the questions of Muslim identity and state public policies towards minority groups, Nasar Meer's book, *Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness*, clearly moves the discussion further by bringing this discourse to a new interesting narrative exploration, namely, 'Muslim-consciousness'.

In introducing the rise of Muslim-consciousness through the mobilisations of Muslim identities, Meer does not only add another study to the list of scholarly studies on the politics of multiculturalism and the politics of being Muslim in the West; in fact he explores a new category and another grand narrative in this area of study. Indeed, as stated by Meer, the central issue discussed in his book is "how Muslim-consciousness connects to the sorts of 'civic status' that Muslims are seeking" (p. 4). This civic status includes the struggles of minority

groups for equality of access and opportunity but at the same time it also deals with how civic recognition is achieved and how cultural and religious differences are accommodated. In other words, the struggles for identity recognition and justice are related to people's consciousness, or in this context, 'Muslim-consciousness'.

What does 'Muslim consciousness' mean? To arrive at the framing of Muslim-consciousness, as seen in Chapter 2, Meer engages in a very illuminating theoretical discussion on the notion of 'double consciousness' as developed by one of the prominent American sociologists of the 20th century, W.E.B. Du Bois, in relation to African-American consciousness. According to Du Bois, the 'double consciousness' of African-Americans lies in the imagination of "looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body…" (Du Bois, 1999 [1903]: 10-11; cited in Meer's book, p. 39-40). At the heart of this theory is the notion that an African-American consciousness is shaped by both the awareness of one's self and the awareness of how one is perceived by others, mostly through racial stereotypes.

Drawing on the theory of Du Bois, Meer argues that Muslim-consciousness is shaped by Muslim identity mobilisations that include not only self-consciousness or self-concept but also other self-concepts that are assigned by others for Muslims. Here, Meer unpacks the notion of double consciousness by discussing the theory of Du Bois in the light of Hegelian 'Master-Slave dialectic' with its basic and fundamental proposition that a reciprocal relationship of power is achieved by the master and the slave through a dialectical relationship between them and various stages of consciousness that they go through. Moreover, Meer recontextualises and relates theoretically Du Bois' notion of 'double consciousness' to the works of contemporary political theorists such as Iris Marion Young, Bhikhu Parekh and Charles Taylor. Here, Meer provides a profound account by contrasting Du Bois' theory to Young's notion of 'difference', Parekh's 'cultural diversity' and Taylor's 'politics of recognition'.

Given the fact that Du Bois is widely considered as the pioneer of the sociology of colour racism, yet there is no evidence of the application of his theories in the context of Europe, Meer poses this question when framing his study: "Does a modern Britain that is not marked solely by the effects of colour racism, but is instead punctuated by multiple racisms, alongside ethnic and religious diversity, invalidate the application of his [Du Bois'] work?" (p. 32). Responding to this question, Meer concedes that Du Bois' theory of double consciousness provides a theoretical tool to study "the development of a minority consciousness from being in itself….to a minority consciousness that is for itself…" (p. 199). Therefore, such a theory is both analytically and normatively useful if it is applied particularly in the context of Europe or outside the U.S.

In an empirical move for the application of Du Bois' theory, Meer analyses the rise of Muslim-consciousness through a critical analysis of various areas including the global concerns of Islamism, terrorism and radicalism in Chapter 4, the state funding of Muslim schools in Britain in Chapter 5, discrimination legislation and 'racial Islamophobia' in Chapter 6, and the representations of Muslims in public and media discourse in Chapter 7. As a result of analysing the mobilisation of Muslim identities in these areas, in Chapter 8, Meer draws four types of Muslim-consciousness: impaired, reactive, pragmatic and synthesised Muslim-consciousness.

The first two types of Muslim-consciousness ('impaired' and 'reactive') are the main features of a minority consciousness that is in itself. In the impaired Muslim-consciousness, the external characterisations or narratives of Muslims play a vital role in the construction of a Muslim self-concept. For example, within the media discourse, Muslims have been perceived as a disloyal minority, a threat and potential oppressors. Moreover, while being denied protection from racial stereotypes on the grounds that religious identity is voluntarily chosen, Muslims are also identified as "ripe for ridicule as part of a healthy intellectual debate" (p. 200). Within these contexts, the negative representations of Islam and British Muslims in public and media discourse, according to Meer, impair the way Muslims see and perceive themselves and the way they construct their identity.

The 'reactive' Muslim-consciousness can be seen in various initiatives of Muslims to develop their own media through which alternative representations are provided and that counter mainstream media representations of Islam and Muslims. This model of mobilisation is also well developed in various Muslim mobilisations for anti-discrimination legislation.

The other two types ('pragmatic' and 'synthesised') are the main features of a minority consciousness that is for itself. In the pragmatic Muslim-consciousness the articulation of Muslim identity is dealt with through the mobilisations for Muslim schools. Here the pragmatic Muslim-consciousness is formed through the regular interaction between Muslim parents or educators and the governmental departments that are in charge of monitoring the operation of Muslim schools.

Meer describes the last potential type of Muslim-consciousness as a 'synthesised' Muslim identity. In this type of consciousness Muslims are interdependently linked with the rest of the members of society. Considering this type a 'potential' Muslim-consciousness, it is fair to note that this can emerge when the public sphere makes space for the integration, inclusion and accommodation of Muslims that "will allow them to reconcile their faith commitments with their citizenship requirements" (p. 202).

The configuration of what Meer calls 'synthesised' Muslim-consciousness is indeed quite a challenge. Ziauddin Sardar, for example, contends that "[t]he question of Muslim identity has two basic components. One has to be addressed to Britain as a whole; the other to the Muslim community itself" (2005). With such an assessment, Sardar proposes a strong argument that "Muslims can be loyal to Britain only by being loyal to their own worldview. And Britain can only become a genuinely pluralistic and multicultural society by providing

the Muslim community with enough space to express itself the way it chooses." This argument is a powerful response to the tendency of framing the question of consciousness based on the argument of prioritisation as seen in questions such as "Are you British first or a Muslim first?" Rather than shaping the discourse through a tone of prioritisation, what is needed is a civic discourse that allows for the contribution of every member and citizen, including Muslims, towards the good of the society.

While Meer's work can be considered another significant breakthrough in the politics of representing Muslims, the conceptualisation of 'Muslim-consciousness' as framed by Meer is particularly illuminating. The application of Du Bois' 'double consciousness' in an empirical work contributes in an outstanding way to scholarly research. This book can be seen as a very important step in the study of minority consciousness in our contemporary world. Meer's work certainly provides a new lens for further studies of the identity mobilisations of other minority groups. Even though this study is situated in the context of Britain, its theoretical and empirical approaches can also be accessed from different contexts. This book is recommended to students, researchers and scholars in the areas of racism, ethnic or religious minority, Islam and Muslims in the West and politics of multiculturalism. Policy makers are sure to find profound insights arising from this interesting study.

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Tutkija Jussi Ronkaisen sosiologian väitöskirja *Väliviivakansalaiset. Monikansalaisuus asemana ja käytäntönä* on laaja ja monivivahteinen monografia. Kirjan kaksitoista lukua muodostavat neljä kokonaisuutta. Näistä ensimmäinen on katsaus kansalaisuudesta käytyyn keskusteluun sosiologian teoriahistoriassa, aikalaiskeskusteluissa ja reaalihistoriassa. Toisessa osassa esitellään tutkimuksen metodologia, aineistot ja aiheeseen liittyvät tutkimuseettiset kysymykset. Kolmannessa osassa esitellään aineiston analyysi ja neljännessä kokonaisuudessa päätelmät työn tuloksista. Ronkaisen viittaama lähdekirjallisuus on monipuolinen ja aihepiirin hyvin kattava, joskin pääasiassa anglo-saksiseen kirjallisuuteen keskittyvä. Ronkaisen monografiassa kieli on selkeää, ilmaisu tiivistä ja käsitteellisellä tekstillä on kiinteä suhde tutkimuksessa käytettyyn empiiriseen aineistoon.

Ronkaisen tutkimuksen aihepiiri pitää sisällään monikansalaisuuden problematiikkaan kuuluvat ulottuvuudet kuten alueellisen identiteetin, kansallisuuden, kansalaisuuden, kansakunnan ja kansallisvaltion. Ne ovat erinomaisen ajankohtaisia asioita globaalina aikanamme, jota luonnehtii pääoman, tuotannon ja ihmisten liikkuminen maasta toiseen. Euroopassa aihepiiriin liittyy valtioiden välisen yhteistyön kehittäminen ja työvoiman liikkuvuus EU:n puitteissa – päivänpolttavana kysymyksenä parhaillaan romanien liikkuminen tai liikkumisen estäminen EU:ssa.

Kansainvälistä liikkuvuutta Ronkainen lähestyy monikansalaisuuden näkökulmasta. Hänen mukaansa monikansalaisuus uutena kansalaisuuden aspektina on muuttamassa modernia kansalaisuuskäsitystä ja valtion ja kansalaisen suhdetta. Verrattuna liikkumista ja maahanmuuttoa koskevaan tutkimukseen, joka usein korostaa työmarkkinoita, sosiaalista asemaa ja kulttuuria, kansalaisuuden ulottuvuuden korostaminen maahanmuutossa tuo problematiikkaan ajankohtaisen ja tärkeän mutta samalla tutkimuksellisesti haasteellisen näkökulman. Tutkimuksellinen haasteellisuus erityisesti Suomen osalta liittyy ilmiön uutuuteen.

Suomessa kysymykset kaksoiskansalaisuudesta tai monikansalaisuudesta ovat uusia. Monikansalaisten määrät Suomessa ovat pieniä ja ne ovat lähteneet nousuun vasta viime vuosina uuden lainsäädännön myötä. Ilmiön uutuus tekee tutkimisen haasteelliseksi tutkimusmateriaalin hankkimisen osalta. Laajojen kysely- tai haastattelututkimusten tekeminen on vaikeaa, koska populaatio on pieni, vaikeasti tavoitettava ja vaikeasti määriteltävissä. Samalla monikansalaiset ovat tut-

kimuskohteena hiukan ”rauhoitettukin” sen vuoksi, että maahanmuuttajien elinoloja on tutkittu Suomessa muista näkökulmista jokseenkin paljon populaation kokoon nähden.

Toinen tutkimuksellisesti haasteellinen ulottuvuus liittyy yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tutkimusperinteeseen. Sosiologiassa kansalaisuuden problematisointi tutkimuksen fokuksena on ollut yllättävän vähäistä viime vuosikymmeninä. Sosiologinen, valtioon liittyvä tutkimusperinne on enemmänkin kiinnittynyt valtioon oikeuden kautta (oikeussososiologia). Poliittinen sosiologia, joka voisi olla kiinnostunut kansalaisuudesta, on jäänyt vähemmälle huomiolle ja kansalaisuuteen liittyvät kysymykset ovat jääneet enemmän politiikan tutkijoiden harteille. Politiikan tutkimuksessakin kansalaisuus on problematisoitu lähinnä äänestyskäyttäytymiseen liittyvässä tutkimuksessa, kun taas poliittinen sosialisaatio on jäänyt alan tutkimuksen marginaaliin, joissakin keskusteluissa se on julistettu lähes pannaan normatiivisena tutkimuksena. Suomen näkökulmasta erityisesti EU:n myötä keskusteluun nousseet kysymykset aktiivisesta kansalaisuudesta ja EU- kansalaisuudesta osoittavat aiheen ajankohtaisuuden ja tutkimuksen tarpeen.

Edellä esitettyjen näkökulmien mukaan voidaan arvioida, että Ronkaisen väitöskirjatyössä on pioneerityön luonnetta, joka liittyy sekä ilmiön uutuuteen että kansalaisuutta koskevan yhteiskuntatieteellisen keskustelun vähäisyyteen. Työ on tämän vuoksi enemmän uusi avaus kuin yhteenvetoa tekevä tai summaava. Tutkimuksen tuloksia voi lukea myös ns. heikkoina signaaleina – käyttääkseni viime vuosina markkinatutkimuksessa muotiin tullutta termiä. Markkinatutkimuksessa heikot signaalit määritellään joko heikkeneviksi tai vahvistuviksi: heikkeneviksi siinä vaiheessa, kun jonkin tuotteen suosio tai trendi on hiipumassa ja vahvistuvaksi siinä vaiheessa, kun jokin trendi on tulossa laajempaan tietoisuuteen. Ronkainen on monikansalaisuutta koskevassa tutkimuksessaan osunut yhteiskunnalliseen ilmiöön, joka on vasta tulollaan ja merkitykseltään vahvistumassa. Väitöskirjatutkimukseksi tutkimus onkin poikkeuksellisen ajankohtainen myös siksi, että usein väitöskirjat käsittelevät yhteiskunnallisia ilmiöitä viiveellä. Yhteiskuntatieteellisen teoreettisen tutkimuksen näkökulmasta työ avaa uutta kenttää kansalaisuuden tutkimukselle, jota tekijä itse on luonnehtinut kansalaisuuden sosiologiaksi.

Ronkaisen monografian rakenne on sopusuhtainen siten, että teoreettiselle ja empiiriseen aineistoon johdattelevalle aikalaiskeskustelulle varattu tila on riittävä monikansalaisuutta koskevan problematiikan hahmottamiseksi. Tutkimusta voi suositella myös yleissivistävänä luettavana aihepiiristä kiinnostuneille.

Tutkimuksen ongelmat liittyvät aineistoon, jotka liittyvät puolestaan tutkimuksen kohteeseen. Koska kyselyssä määritelty perusjoukko on pieni (2700 henkilöä) ja ilmiö tulollaan, tutkijan on ollut pakko ottaa riski ja tehdä tutkimus pienellä otoksella pienestä populaatiosta. Lisäksi kvalitatiivinen haastatteluaineisto, eli 48 haastattelua, on kerätty erilaisessa kontekstissa kuin kvantitatiivinen aineisto muun muassa uudistuneen lainsäädännön myötä. Tämä on rajoittanut triangulaation metodologista käyttöä, koska mahdollisuudet kvalitatiivisten ja kvantitatiivisten aineistojen rinnakkaiseen käyttöön aineistojen analyysivaiheessa ovat olleet pienet. Riskin ottaminen on kuitenkin kannattanut, mikä näkyy erityisesti tutkimuksen tulosten esittelyssä, jotka tutkija on hyvin onnistunut tiivistämään ja mallittamaan julkaisun lopussa graafisiin esityksiin. Keskeisenä tuloksena tutkija esittää kaksoiskansalaisten identiteetin rakentumisen monokansallisena, monikansallisena ja varjokansallisena identiteettinä, identiteettien luonnehdinnat ja merkitykset.

Kvalitatiivisen aineiston analyysissa tekijä oli keskittynyt niin kutsuttuun realistiseen lukutapaan. Se on tuottanut tulosta niin, että tekijä on kyennyt mallittamaan ja typologisoimaan monikansalaisuutta käytäntönä ja asemana. Esitetyssä aineistoissa on kuitenkin paljon sellaista, mitä olisi ollut mahdollista syventää konstruktiivisemmallakin analyysitavalla etenkin kun tekijä viittaa sosiaalista konstruktionismia koskevaan kirjallisuuteen ja diskursiivisen tilan käsitteeseen. Esimerkiksi monikansallisuuteen liittyvä keskeinen problematiikka eli luottamus ihmisten välillä ja luottamuksen transformoituminen lojaalisuudeksi yksilön ja valtion välillä, ääritapauksena sotatila, olisi mitä mielenkiintoisin analyysin kohde. Mutta kaikkea ei voi, eikä edes kannata, yhdessä työssä tehdä ja esittää.

Globaalilla kaudellamme, jolloin maapallosta on tullut pieni ja käsitettävä, kysymys alueesta ja sen hallinnasta on saanut uuden merkityksen – tästä yhtenä esimerkkinä parhaillaan käytävä keskustelu yleisestä asevelvollisuudesta ja palkka-armeijasta vaihtoehtoina puolustettaessa maa-aluetta nimeltä Suomi. Kysymys on siitä, kuka hallitsee tilaa ja aluetta ja kuka on legitiimi toimija alueella. Mikä tulee olemaan kansallisvaltioiden rooli maantieteellisten tilojen hallinnassa ja miten ne suhteuttavat kansalaisilleen antamat oikeudet ja velvollisuudet globaalissa tilassa? Jakavatko maapalloa valtio, valtioliitot vai globaalilla tasolla toimivat suuryritykset? Säilyykö Nokian pääkonttori Suomessa? Minkä maan kansalainen on uusi pääjohtaja? Onko Nokia uskollinen isänmaalleen?

Monikansalaisuutta tieteellisenä tutkimuskohteena voi lähestyä kahdelta toisilleen vastakkaiselta suunnalta. Toisaalta yksilön näkökulmasta, jolloin kiinnitetään huomio kansalaisuuteen yksilön identiteetin yhtenä ulottuvuutena ja maantieteelliseen paikkaan, johon yksilö kokeen kuuluvansa; toisaalta taas kansallisvaltion näkökulmasta, joka hallinnoi yksilöitä alueellaan. Jussi Ronkaisen tutkimuksen pääotsikko *Välivivakansalaiset* ja alaotsikko *Monikansalaisuus asemana ja käytäntönä* viittaavat osuvasti sekä yksilöön että yksilön elämälle reunaehtoja asetteleville kansallisvaltioille ja valtioiden yhteenliittymille kuten EU.

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