

Home Economics and Craft Studies Research Reports 24

Gone with the Wind?
Immigrant Women and Transnational Everyday Life in Finland

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ABSTRACT

Increased mass migration, as a result of economic hardship, natural disasters and wars, forces many people to arrive on the shores of cultures very different from those they left. How do they manage the legacy of the past and the challenges of their new everyday life? This is a study of immigrant women living in transnational families that act and communicate across national borders on a near-daily basis.

The research was carried out amongst immigrant women who were currently living in Finland. The research asks how transnational everyday life is constructed. As everyday life, due to its mundane nature, is difficult to operationalise for research purposes, mixed data collection methods were needed to capture the passing moments that easily become invisible. Thus, the data were obtained from photographic diaries (459 photographs) taken by the research participants themselves. Additionally, stimulated recall discussions, structured questionnaires and participant observation notes were used to complement the photographic data.

A tool for analysing the activities revealed in the data was created on the assumption that a family is an active unit that accommodates the current situation in which it is embedded. Everyday life activities were analysed emphasizing social, modal and spatial dimensions. Important daily moments were placed on a continuum: 'for me', 'for immediate others' and 'with immediate others'. They portrayed everyday routines and exceptions to it. The data matrix was developed as part of this study. The spatial dimensions formed seven units of activity settings: space for friendship, food, resting, childhood, caring, space to learn and an orderly space. Attention was also paid to the accommodative nature of activities; how women maintain traditions and adapt to Finnish life or re-create new activity patterns.

Women's narrations revealed the importance of everyday life. The transnational chain of women across generations and countries, comprised of the daughters, mothers and grandmothers was important. The women showed the need for information technology in their transnational lives. They had an active relationship to religion; the denial or importance of it was obvious. Also arranging one's life in Finnish society was central to their narrations. The analysis exposed everyday activities, showed the importance of social networks and the uniqueness of each woman and family. It revealed everyday life in a structured way. The method of analysis that evolved in this study together with the research findings are of potential use to professionals, allowing the targeting of interventions to improve the everyday lives of immigrants.

KEY WORDS: transnational family, eco-cultural theory, everyday life activities, photograph diary, home economics

TIIVISTELMÄ

Lisääntyneen muuttoliikkeen - taloudellisten syiden, luonnon katastrofien ja sotien - seurauksena ihmiset muuttavat uusiin, lähtömaistaan suuresti eroaviin kulttuureihin. Miten he selviytyvät niin perinteen säilyttämisen vaatimuksista kuin uusista haasteista arjessaan? Tämä tutkimus kohdistuu maahanmuuttajanaisiin, jotka elävät transnationaalissa perheessä toimien ja kommunikoiden kansallisvaltioiden rajojen yli lähes päivittäin.

Tutkimuksen maahanmuuttajanaiset asuivat tutkimushetkellä Suomessa. Tutkimuksessa kysytään, miten transnationaali arki rakentuu? Arki, itsestään selvyytensä vuoksi, on haasteellinen tutkimuskohde. Tutkimusaineiston keräämisessä käytettiin monimenetelmäistä lähestymistapaa arjen ohikiitävien ja helposti huomaamattomien hetkien taltiointiin. Aineisto kerättiin naisten itsensä kuvaamien valokuvapäiväkirjojen (459 valokuvaa) avulla. Valokuvista käydyt keskustelut, kyselylomake ja osallistuva havainnointi täydensivät tutkimusaineistoa.

Toiminnan analyysiväline luotiin perustuen käsitykseen, että perhe on aktiivinen yksikkö, joka sopeutuu kulloiseenkin vallitsevaan tilanteeseen. Arjen toimintaa analysoitiin sosiaalisen ja tilallisen sekä tekemisen tapaa kuvaavien ulottuvuuksien avulla. Arjen merkitykselliset tilanteet asettuivat jatkumoille yksin, toiselle, yhdessä sekä akselille rutiinia, poikkeamat rutiinista. Toiminta näyttäytyi seitsemässä eri tilallisessa ulottuvuudessa. Nämä toiminnan tilat ovat: ystävyysdentila, ruoan, levon, lasten ja hoivan tilat sekä oppimisen ja järjestelyn tila. Toiminnassa oli myös nähtävissä piirteitä, jotka pyrkivät säilyttämään perinteitä, kotoutumaan Suomeen, mutta myös luomaan uusia toimintamalleja.

Naisten kerronta nosti esiin arjen merkityksellisyyttä, kuten naisten ylijaraisen sukupolvien ketjun tärkeyttä ja informaatioteknologian tarpeellisuutta. Myös aktiivinen, moninainen suhde uskontoon, sekä elämän järjestäminen suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa näyttäytyivät tärkeinä elementteinä naisten elämässä. Analyysi tekee arjen toimet näkyviksi, korostaa sosiaalisten verkostojen tärkeyttä, mutta kuvaa kunkin naisen ja hänen perheensä yksilöllisesti. Tutkimuksessa kehitettyä analyysimenetelmää ja saatuja tutkimustuloksia voidaan soveltaa interventioissa, jotka pyrkivät kohentamaan maahanmuuttajien elämää. Analyysin ja tulosten perusteella arki esiintyy jäsentyneessä muodossa ja on siten helpommin hahmotettavissa erilaisten interventioiden käyttöön.

AVAINSANAT: transnationaali perhe, ekokulttuurinen teoria, arjen toiminta, valokuvapäiväkirja, kotitalous

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Dedicated to the memory of my Mother

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PROLOG

A short clip from the transcribed data.

Hille (H)

Is there something you would like to ask or comment?

A woman participant (W)

I just would like to ask...because we did not have that second meeting...that what is it that you are in fact researching?

H

Yeah [laughs] that's true.

W

I'm just interested.

H

Did you get this, the research description?

W

Yes...but how.

Did you become interested about this? Now I am interviewing you [laughs].

H

Yes. Keep interviewing. I think I'm interested because I have a husband from a different culture and two little children, nine and five year olds.

W

Yes, you told that earlier.

H

And then there have been quite a lot of immigrants arriving in Finland.

W

Yes, this year about 20 000.

H

And then I think that it has not been properly researched...that how the daily life is... when you live it in several countries at the same time, and then the Finnish immigration policy talks quite a bit about domiciling and integration in Finland... and that one has to learn the Finnish language, go to work and take part in this and that. I somehow think, that people live in several places at the same time, and that physically you can be...like we are living in our home city but I think that my husband's heart is partly in the country where he was born and partly in other continents where his sisters and relatives are living and...Maybe bit same way my heart perhaps is in my childhood home, and that people live in many places at the same time and I don't really believe that people can really be domiciled or integrated, people are quite creative and they find out many ways to survive, and that's what I am interested in...

PROLOGI

Katkelma aineistosta erään keskustelun lopusta

Hille (H)

Onko jotain semmoista mitä haluat kysyä, kommentoita?

Tutkimukseen osallistuva nainen (N)

Minä vaan sitä haluaisin kysyä...että kun meiltä varmaan jäi se toinen tapaaminen noin vain...että mitä sinä tutkit?

H

Joo,[naurua] totta.

N

Että vain kiinnostaa

H

Saitko sinä tämän, tutkimuskuvauksen?

N

Joo...mutta miten..

Mistä sinulta lähti tämä kiinnostus? Nyt minä haastattelen sinua [naurua].

H

Juu, haastattele vaan. Varmaan kiinnostus siis lähti siitä, että minulla on mies eri kulttuurista ja kaksi pientä lasta yhdeksän ja viisi vuotiaat.

N

Joo, sinä kerroit silloin.

H

Ja siten Suomeen on tullut aika paljon maahanmuuttajia.

N

Juu niin on noin 20 000 tänä vuonna.

H

Ja tota minun mielestä ei ole oikein kunnolla tutkittu...että minkälaista se arki elämä on...kun elää monessa maassa yhtä aikaa, ja sitten suomalainen maahanmuuttopolitiikka puhuu aika paljon kotoutumisesta ja integroitumisesta että pitää sopeutua suomeen ja oppia suomenkieli, käydä töissä ja osallistua siihen ja tähän ja tuohon. Minusta jotenkin tuntuu, että ihmiset elävät aika monessa paikassa yhtä aikaa...että voi fyysisesti olla...niin kuin me ollaan nyt fyysisesti kotikaupungissa, mutta minusta tuntuu, että minun mieheni sydän on osittain synnyinmaassa, osittain muilla mantereilla, missä siskot ja sukulaiset on ja ehkä samalla lailla minunkin sydän on ehkä lapsuuden kodissa, että ihmiset elää monessa paikassa yhtä aikaa...en oikein usko, että ihmiset voidaan kotouttaa tai integroida, ihmiset on aika luovia ja näppäriä ja ne keksii monenlaisia konsteja selvitä, ja siitä olen kiinnostunut...

1 FRAMING TRANSNATIONAL EVERYDAY LIFE

A Kurdish mother has two daughters living in Canada, four sons in Finland, old parents in Afghanistan, a sister in Germany, and a brother in France. She lives in suburbs of a large city with her Kurdish husband and mother-in-law and two small sons. Such a transnational family is like a puzzle where the pieces - family members - are scattered around the world. This is not an example from one of the traditional immigration destinations, like North America, but a true family from contemporary Finland. It is Inna's family¹. It has strengths and powers but also weaknesses and limitations. Transnational families, like Inna's, are the core interest of this study.

1.1 Background of this research

Finland is gradually becoming more culturally diverse and has changed from an emigration nation to an immigration destination (see section 2.1). The influx of immigrants affects Finnish society in all walks of life. For example, labour market, trade unions, schools and social security are just some aspects of Finnish life that are facing new challenges. Finland has officially done a lot. Finnish legislation has paid attention to new immigrants (Finlex, 493/1999, 359/2003, 301/2004). Cities and communities draw domiciling plans for newly arrived immigrants. Schools provide native language tuition far more than ever before. For example, the City of Helsinki offers instruction in 40 different native languages as part of the compulsory education for children. Various non-governmental-organizations (NGOs) provide valuable assistance for different immigration groups at different stages of immigration (Ruhanen & Martikainen, 2006). However, arguably, this is not enough.

The challenges of migration take place at grass roots' level. Immigration also simultaneously affects the lives of native Finns. It challenges neighbourhoods as people share schools, shops, blocks of flats. Multicultural Finland requires wisdom in everyday life (see chapter 2.4). The following personal example from a symphony orchestra concert illustrates what this wisdom is in the world of music.

The Map concert (Dun, 2002) showed clearly, to me and to the Finnish audience, how traditional village musicians from the Far East and Western professional symphony orchestra players can together create something new. They have a common musical understanding which enables them to communicate. Chinese composer Tan Dun's concert for a cello, video and symphony orchestra was a powerful experience.

I sat in the comforting darkness of a beautiful concert hall in a Finnish city, in Europe and was well prepared for a soothing classical music concert. Though, I must admit, when the three video screens were lowered from the ceiling, I got bit irritated. I did neither come for movies nor for a television show, but my worries turned out to be groundless. What I experienced was the most beautiful cross-cultural encounter where something bigger and greater was created just in front of my eyes. The images, sounds, dances and music from little traditional remote village from China were transported to Finland through video technology. The professional Finnish symphony orchestra musicians, dressed in their black suits, showed how they got a set of Eastern techniques, sounds and rhythms out of their instruments. A little Chinese boy played a leaf instrument as the Finnish orchestra played at the background. A Chinese girl's

¹ All names in this study are changed in order to protect the anonymity of the respondents.

gentle song was accompanied by a Finnish cello solo. The stone drumming done both in the Chinese village and in the Finnish concert hall was played in perfect harmony. It looked like the director was directing both the musicians in China and the Finnish orchestra.

This kind of wisdom is needed when people from different countries meet. We should find the common humanity which enables us to communicate despite of our cultural, historical or educational differences. In this research I study people when they cross cultural boundaries and interact with people different from their own. As the place for encounters is not a sophisticated concert hall but the settings of everyday life, problems occur and wisdom is at times only a distant dream.

Everyday life (see section 3.1) – in one way or the other - continues even when everything else changes around the migrant family. This is the reason why it deserves to be studied even though it is a challenging research focus. Everyone has experienced everyday life but the obviousness of it makes it difficult to see. Immigrants' experiences of everyday life help us to see the 'invisible' everyday life through new eyes. This study aims to provide some structured way to look at it. This research shows a methodological approach (see section 4.2) that could be applied to different settings where knowledge about everyday life is needed.

1.2 Orientations

In qualitative research, the researcher's personal life has a significant impact on how the data are constructed and what is seen in them. My approach to everyday life, and the scientific research of it, is inevitably moulded by my home economics education and professional practice. I am a home economics teacher and taught over ten years in Finland in compulsory education, home service school, vocational education, in a polytechnic and also for a year in a Ghanaian girls' school.

During the research I have been employed as a research assistant in the Department of Home Economics and Craft Sciences at Helsinki University. This has given me a chance to consider my relationship with home economics research which is even longer than I usually acknowledge. I have inherited 'a home economics research gene' from my late mother who was a director in a home economics research centre, TTS Research, Työtehoseura, in Finland. My own family, through marriages, currently lives in three different continents. Therefore, my relationship with home economics and transnational family research is grounded in personal relationships. However, while research should acknowledge the values that underpin topic selection, it is equally important that the design and implementation of research actions produce data that can stand the test of critical assessment.

Seven² women – Beene, Zara, Stina, Anja, Inga, Lidia and Maria – will describe how they have experienced their everyday lives in Finland. In this research I aim to capture everyday life regardless of national borders and portray the ways that life, across national borders, is constructed. The narrations of immigrant women aim to reveal how the sense of 'family' spanning national borders is experienced and how everyday life in a hybrid space is constructed. The core of this research is the transnational family and the process of how it maintains a sense of 'family' through everyday activities. It describes and tries to understand a family when it is no longer living under the same roof or using the same physical facilities. The picture is drawn by women telling a story about themselves and their family.

In this research report I will next explain how I understand the home economics science approach in this research (section 1.3). Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the life of migrant families. As the focus is on everyday life, this is defined in chapter 3. The research setting, development of a research method and data analysis methods are reported in chapter 4. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss the results of the study. Research findings are summarized in chapter 8. The report ends with a discussion (chapter 9) that critically reflects upon the whole study and gives suggestions for future research.

² Seven women were chosen from the research data to tell their story. For more details of the women, see section 5.1.

1.3 The home economics science approach in this research

Home economics science research requires a holistic approach (Turkki, 1999, pp. 61–64). It needs to explore the holistic, integrative nature of everyday life claims Turkki (2004). The challenge comes when carrying out a holistic research project. What is the entity in home economics research? What are its parts? And what are the newly emergent features that do not exist in the individual parts?

Aristotle stated that ‘the whole is more than the sum of its parts’. The term holism comes from the Greek word ὅλος *holos*, which means *all, entire, total*. The idea of holism is that all the properties of a given system cannot be determined or explained by its component parts alone. Instead, the system as a whole determines in an important way how the parts behave. The crucial assumption is that in the entity there emerge features that do not exist in the individual parts. This type of thinking results in researching the wholeness of systems. However, it also leads to difficult questions like, what are the parts that form the entity, how do the parts affect each others and what are the new features that emerge as a result of interaction. The entity has to be studied in relation to its environment (Raino, 2002).

The demand for holism in home economics research is justified. Home, household and family are such a complex systems that researching narrow sectors of its entity would not bring out very useful research results. In the history of home economics (Turkki, 2001, pp. 509–510) there are many examples showing that the key elements of the field are studied from a very narrow point of view by using, for example, scientific methods from industry and then applying the results to households. Poorly studied key elements are the concept of work, the concept of efficiency, and the concept of practical activity, among others (Turkki, 2001, pp. 509–510).

Home economics can be described through different perspectives (Turkki, 2002, pp. 29–31; IFHE, 2008). International Federation for Home Economics (IFHE) outlined in its Position Statement³ the foundation for the contemporary home economics field. Home economics is an arena for everyday living (1). It is a curriculum area (2). It is a societal arena (3). It is an academic discipline (4). Home economics science is also described to be an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary science (McGregor, 2007) (5). In this section, these five perspectives of home economics field and home economics science are discussed further. The aim is to explain how these elements are connected with the study of transnational families.

An arena for everyday living

Home economics is (1) ‘an arena for everyday living in households, families and communities for developing human growth potential and human necessities or basic needs to be met’. (IFHE Position Statement, 2008)

In other words, it is a private field in which individuals perform their daily tasks. It deals with daily human needs. It focuses on practical work and daily tasks carried out in homes (Turkki, 2001, pp. 506–508). Pendergast (2001b, pp. 7–8) is concerned that the empowered individual has been removed and replaced with a consumer who is dependent on others for

³ IFHE Position Paper is to define home economics as a profession. It is not a definition of home economics as a science. The position paper is a result of the Think Thank Committee of IFHE in consultation with internationally prominent home economics scholars 2005-2007. It is a two page-long declaration. It is further elaborated in IJHE International Journal of Home Economics (Pendergast, 2008).

providing basic needs. Traditionally, home economists have been working towards the well being of individuals, families and communities. The value of home economics has been well understood during war and recessionary periods. The current trends, from my point of view, that call for a new kind of home economics attention, are the outsourcing of domestic tasks, inequality in Finnish society and the impact of increased migration.

Outsourcing of domestic task had already started in the late 19th century by the development of school system (Pipping Ekström & Hjalmeskog, 2006) when the teaching of children was moved to national schools. Modern day outsourcing (Varjonen et al, 2005) deals with the buying-in of cleaning service, renovation or gardening work. The Finnish government also supports this type of outsourcing by tax reductions. Outsourcing of domestic tasks has brought work oppotunites also for immigrant population as service sector is one of the easiest fields for a new comer to find work. The inequality in Finnish society has also increased. It is no longer a question of education – how highly one is educated – nor the ascribed status of the family one is born to but the question of money one earns. Migration (as will be further discussed in section 2.1) has changed Finnish society. Immigrant families, like all other families, manage their basic everyday needs in the best possible manner⁴. Their everyday living is the focus of this research.

A curriculum area

Home economics is ‘a curriculum area (2) that facilitates students to discover and further develop their own resources and capabilities to be used in their personal life, by directing their professional decisions and actions or preparing them for life’ (IFHE Position Statement, 2008).

It is no longer useful to teach a fixed set of skills, or processes, or knowledge, claims Pendergast (2001b), because social change will make them outmoded or limited within a short period of time⁵. According to Pendergast (2001b), home economics must teach students how to continue to learn in adapting to change, and how not to be stressed by the challenges of this environment; they must become ‘expert novices’, someone expert at continually learning anew and in depth. The new work order in society stresses the role of education as promoting life-long learning. In this regard, home economics may be seen as a precursor of the present trend. It is multi-disciplinary; it does not teach a skill simply for the sake of that skill but for application to varying needs; it teaches informed decision-making for ever-changing scenarios; it teaches evaluative and critical thinking skills; and by such means it empowers individuals – no matter what their context (Pendergast, 2001b, pp. 7–8).

Changes in families and family functioning within dynamic environmental conditions are challenging the family life educators (Darling & Turkki, 2009, p. 26). Through their survey, carried out within international home economics and family organizations, they examined the role of family life education and global family concerns worldwide. They see the need to create family education programs within a cultural context that enhances individual, family and societal well-being. Based on their research findings Darling and Turkki (2009) emphasise continual learning with a clear purpose and connection to the real world.

⁴ An article ‘Maahanmuuttajan –uusmaalaisen –arki’ describes the everyday life of immigrants, for reference see: Janhonen-Abuquah, H. (2004).

⁵ Pendergast has discussed further the change needed in home economics profession and field in her other publications, see Pendergast 2001a; Pendergast, 2002 and Pendergast, 2004.

Turkki (2001) also believes that practical ways of managing daily food, living, textiles, and personal care change over time, but the need for nutrition, shelter, and care do not disappear. Thus, practical ways of carrying out daily activities vary culturally but the basic needs – the need for nutrition, shelter and care – are universal (Turkki, 2001, pp. 506–508). Given these conditions, the strength of home economics lies in its transcultural perspective. In other words, it is fruitful to look how differently the same basic needs can be addressed.

Home economics as a school subject is a powerful educational tool in Finland. First of all, the home economics teachers meet the whole age group and thus they have an up-to-date view of Finnish families at grass roots level. They experience the changes in Finnish society quickly – also the increased number of immigrant children in the classrooms. This demands a new approach in home economics teacher training. The future teachers have to be able to cope with heterogeneous classes and see the cultural diversity as an opportunity and strength.

A societal arena

Home economics (3) ‘as a societal arena to influence and develop policy to advocate for individuals, families and communities to achieve empowerment and wellbeing, to utilise transformative practices, and to facilitate sustainable futures’ (IFHE Position Statement, 2008).

Turkki (2001) encouraged researchers in the field of home economics to ask what kind of society we want to build and what the role of home economics should be in it. According to her, home economics science should have an active leading role in society. Today’s researchers are partly responsible for the public discussion of home economics in society—what is discussed and how concerns are processed (Turkki, 2001, pp. 509–510). In Finland, there is an important home economics network within the Finnish parliament called the Home Economics Support Network in the Parliament (Kotitalousopettajien liitto, 2009). It is an advisory board amongst the representatives from different political parties and home economics expertise representing various fields, like education, media, and research.

Concern over domiciling matters has been expressed earlier (Janhonen-Abruquah & Palojoki, 2005). The discipline of home economics field should have much stronger role in domiciling work in Finland. In the study (Janhonen-Abruquah & Palojoki, 2005) it was noted that the domiciling work carried out in Finland is almost entirely done by other professionals than home economist. Home economics field and its professionals have probably not quite realised how much needed their knowledge is in the domiciling of immigrants. Home economics expertise would facilitate many domiciling processes.

An academic discipline

Home economics (4) is ‘as an academic discipline to educate new scholars, to conduct research and to create new knowledge and ways of thinking for professionals and for society’ (IFHE Position Statement, 2008).

The focus of home economics research is on the practical activities carried out in homes. Home economics research asks why and how humans act the way they do and where to find answers to the daily problems that society wishes to overcome or eliminate (Turkki, 2001, p. 512).

Historically, home economics research has a tradition of quantitative empirical research⁶. As the everyday life is far more complex than the sum of different operations it challenges also the research methods, settings, questions. New approaches to the study of homes, households and constituent activities have emerged⁷. These aim to grasp more of the holistic nature of households and its activities. Heinilä (2007, p. 148–149) even suggests to combine phenomenological and narrative research approaches in order to get hold of the everyday life experiences and their multilayered structure.

Turkki (2004) sees home economics as a combination of human development, healthy lifestyles, and sustainable use of resources, social responsibility, and cultural heritage. It can be viewed through human ecology because the relation between humans and the environment is crucial. Home economics can be seen as a science that has a strong human dimension and is thus identified closely with the social and behavioural sciences. The heart, the very centre of home economics science, is its educative and instructive role. The core of home economics as a science is to teach and study matters of daily life, especially those dealing with food, living, clothing, and caring for others. In other words, it deals with daily human needs. It focuses on practical work and daily tasks carried out in homes. Home economics requires a good knowledge of human behaviour, especially knowledge about different kinds of families and their needs, and the ability to link this knowledge with the surrounding environment, society, culture, and nature (Turkki, 2001, pp. 506–508).

Multidisciplinary discipline

Home economics is a multidisciplinary discipline (5). Some features show interdisciplinary and it has potential for trans-disciplinary approaches.

In multidisciplinary approaches joint research fields or phenomena are approached from different scientific fields (Pakkasvirta & Pirttijärvi, 2003; Mikkeli & Pakkasvirta, 2007). Home economics teacher education has been a good example of this; there has been expertise, for example, in food and nutrition, in household technology and in consumer sciences. Home economics teacher education would greatly benefit if this expertise was to join scientific discussions in order to develop further a common field⁸. This would also promote cumulative knowledge building. Some doctoral schools and scientific societies are multidisciplinary. The family research doctoral school (PETU, 2009) in Finland and the Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration (ETMU, 2009) are examples of this. In the family research doctoral school, the common field is the family and it is examined from various different approaches like psychology, sociology, education. In ETMU, ethnicity and migration related issues are discussed from various fields like cultural studies, political sciences and education. In the multidisciplinary approach there is no need to create one new paradigm. It is enough that the same interest field is approached from different angles.

⁶ Ellen Richards Swallow (Clarke, 1973), the founder of home economics was a chemist and did her research work in the field of water purity analyses. A Finnish home economics research centre, The Work Efficiency Institute, TTS Research, has a history of empirical testing of household appliances and improving especially the technical aspects of homes (Malin, 2009).

⁷ Korvela's (2003) doctoral thesis is a detailed analysis of everyday activities. Heinilä's (2007) philosophical doctoral thesis is approaching home economics skills from an existentialist-hermeneutics phenomenological manner. Both research examples are attempts to see the multilayered structure of everyday activities.

⁸ There are several edited books that show the multidisciplinary nature of home economics field. In their articles the researchers and lecturers from the home economics teacher education have presented their views, see for example Tuomi-Gröhn & Palojoki (1992), Tuomi-Gröhn (2008), Janhonen-Aburquah (2009).

With the interdisciplinary approach, the traditional scientific fields are brought together in some kind of systematic process. Knowledge, concepts, approaches, theories and methods from different scientific fields are used but the boundaries between different scientific approaches do not disappear (Pakkasvirta & Pirttijärvi, 2003; Bruun et al, 2005). I experienced this as the family research doctoral school organized a research symposium (in Jyväskylä 13.-14.3.2008) focusing on family theories. Several scholars from different fields introduced theories that they had found useful in their scientific work studying families.

Transdisciplinary means that already the starting point for the research comes from several disciplines (Pakkasvirta & Pirttijärvi, 2003). Then the research question and the research process are taken through different scientific disciplines. McGregor (2007) argues that consumer sciences have become transdisciplinary. Amongst home economics researchers (McGregor et al., 2008, pp. 55) there is a demand to shift towards pluri-science approaches that would help to balance between empirical science versus analytical, critical and interpretative sciences. By analytic science they mean an approach that seeks to clarify what concepts mean to people, interpretative science aims to understand motives, reasons and intentions behind someone's behaviour and critical science intends to unveil the power relations. According to McGregor et al. (2008) the pluri-science approach would lead to home economics research where meanings and actions are associated with living day-to-day in given social-cultural context.

What is special about home economics research and what differentiates it from related fields? Home economics as a discipline is situated among the human sciences where the knowledge from several disciplines is combined in order to provide best possible sustainable life for individuals, families and communities. This type of aim is common for several other professions as well like teachers in compulsory education, social and health care professionals, and various occupations in churches, several non-governmental organizations, for example, Red Cross, Mannerheim League for Child Welfare and the Martha organization⁹ and politicians in several different parties. All these groups are interested in improving the well-being of their interest group.

The IFHE Position Statement outlines ethical values of the home economics field; caring for others, sharing with others, justice and responsibility. It also emphasises features like open discussions, negotiations, evaluating one's own work and being able to think in a visionary way about the future. (IFHE Position Statement, 2008). As these values and features guide several other professions work there is a potential for constructive co-operation with fields that are closely related. What then is the major strength of home economics that contributes to the well-being of humans? The IFHE Position statement lists a number of content areas that

9

Red Cross

'Red cross is an international humanitarian movement which started to protect human life and health, to ensure respect for the human being, and to prevent and alleviate human suffering, without any discrimination based on nationality, race, sex, religious beliefs, class or political opinions.' http://www.redcross.fi/en_GB/etusivu/
http://www.redcross.fi/apuajatuksia/maahanmuuttajientuki/fi_FI/ (read 26.8.2009)

Martha organization

'The Martha organization is a Finnish home economics organization, which was founded in 1899 to promote the quality and standard of life in the home. It also carries out cultural and civic education.'
http://www.martat.fi/in_english/ (read 26.8.2009)

Mannerheim League for Child Welfare

'Every child is entitled to a good and happy childhood. The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare works to make this possible together with many other organizations, both public and private.'
http://www.mll.fi/in_english/ (read 26.8.2009)

are familiar to home economics like food, nutrition, health, textiles, clothing, shelter, housing, consuming, economics, planning and technology, food technology, services, family and teaching. It leaves the list of content areas open by finishing the list with ‘and much more’. This type of almost endless list of contents is not necessarily strength. It is argued that the core of home economics is the knowledge of these contents and that the skills focus mainly to individuals and their immediate others. Practices are done to benefit us and they are carried for ones own benefit, for immediate others and they are performed together with others. This core is also the core of transdisciplinary approach. The IFHE Position Statement outlines also three essential dimensions of home economics. It can be further argued that the most important of these dimensions is the focus on basic human needs and to practical everyday issues. In home economics the skills and knowledge are interwoven.

In this research I needed help from several disciplines. My interest in the everyday life of immigrant families is most of all a topic that is an interest of home economics research. The definition of transnationalism comes mainly from the anthropological literature. Definitions of family and home also come from the anthropological literature and thus expands the home economics definition of home and family. This was needed as I focused on the immigrant families. To understand the cultural encounters when different cultural groups meet, it was necessary to turn to literature from cultural studies. Everyday life is defined here based on social sciences and feminist studies literature. Home economics science research and its links to human ecology will be discussed later (see section 3.4). This research, to start with requires transdisciplinary approach. How this research succeeds in this transdisciplinary approach will be evaluated later (see section 9.1). This research adapts also a holistic approach to the study of families, but acknowledges that this is extremely challenging. Here holism means that the context of families is carefully researched. Family is not viewed as a system, but rather a context dependent network. As this research focuses on migrant women it is appropriate to look at the migration. The next chapter will provide historical background for the migration pattern that applies also to the seven women – Beene, Zara, Stina, Anja, Inga, Lidia and Maria – in this study.

2 MIGRATION AND FAMILY LIFE

As the predominant pattern of migration in Finland has changed from emigration to immigration, it has been remarkable change not only for the society but for the individual families involved. In chapter 2, the change in migration pattern is examined and how families have experienced it. Two key concepts of this study are introduced and defined: the transnational family (section 2.2.) and home (section 2.3.). Interaction between immigrants and ethnic Finns is discussed in section 2.4.

2.1 From Emigration to Immigration

Finland has had a long history as a country of emigration. Over the years more than a million Finns have found new homes abroad, mainly in Sweden and North America (Korkiasaari, 2005). The peaks in Finnish emigration were in the 1920s and in 1960s (Korkiasaari, 2003). At the moment, there are about 220 000 persons who were born abroad living in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2009, Appendix 1) and they have 120 000 children living in Finland. Thus the the population of immigrant background is about six percent of the total Finnish population. While this is still a relatively small number compared to other countries, the rate of increase is significant. In 1990 approximately 65 000 foreigners lived in Finland, whereas by 2009 that number had been multiplied more than by three. Immigrants have mainly arrived to Finland from the neighbouring countries: Russia, Estonia, and Sweden. Somalis are the fourth largest nationality living in Finland. China, Thailand, Germany, Turkey, United Kingdom and Iraq belong also to the top ten list of home of origins (Finnish Immigration Service, 2007). One third of the residence permits were granted because of work reasons, one third based on family reasons and almost one quarter for study purposes (Finnish Immigration Service, 2008a). Favourable decisions for asylum seeking requests have been made for about 600-800 asylum seekers per year (Finnish Immigration Service, 2008b) and Finland annually accepts about 700 refugees for resettlement within its refugee quota. These are persons defined as refugees by the UNHCR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and other aliens who are in need of international protection. Within the last ten years about 26 000 refugees have arrived in Finland. The metamorphosis from being a country of emigration to being one that receives immigrants is challenging, and Finland now finds itself on the path to becoming a multicultural society.

Finnish legislation, in the form of the Nationality Act, Aliens Act and Non-Discrimination Act (Finlex 359/2003, 301/2004, 21/2004), has followed the increased immigration. The Act for the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (Finlex, 493/1999) recognized new rights and responsibilities for foreigners. The aim of integration measures is to ensure that immigrants can contribute to Finnish society in the same way as other residents. An unemployed immigrant with a home municipality in Finland who is eligible for labour market subsidy and/or income support is entitled to an integration plan and the services specified in it. Income during the plan period is ensured through an integration allowance. For an immigrant of working age, the plan is formulated jointly with a labour counsellor and, if necessary, a representative of the local authority. An interpreter can be made available as needed. The right to an integration plan is valid for three years after an immigrant has been registered in his/her first home municipality. Following the 439/1999 Act, over 20,000 integration plans were drawn individually for the new immigrants. In 2005 almost 6 000 new

integration plans were drawn and following year the figure was over 8 000. (Ministry of the Interior, 2009).

The 439/1999 Act has also been an important starting point for many integration projects that aim to support the overall well-being of immigrants. The Family Federation undertook a survey of good practices in the Finnish integration projects (Rauhanen & Martikainen, 2006) and found 139 integration projects that had been functioning over the last few years. These projects were funded by ministries, cities, municipalities, congregations, educational bodies and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations). The researchers expressed their concern that, in the light of these projects, immigrants are often seen as a problem and the project was planned to be the solution for the problem. Projects aim to change the immigrant in a way that s/he would fit into the Finnish society. Immigrants were seen as resource for the Finnish society only as they were helping other immigrants to integrate (Rauhanen & Martikainen, 2006, p.69). The specific lack of home economics oriented projects in integration work has remarked earlier (Janhonen-Abuquah & Palojoki, 2005).

The first Finnish longitudinal research on the immigrant domiciling process studied the changes in integration and acculturation in 1997 and then seven years later in 2004 (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2006, 2007). In the first study, 1 146 immigrants took part and for the second 898 could still be located. A postal questionnaire was conducted within the Helsinki metropolitan area and seven immigrant groups participated: Russian speakers, Estonian speakers, Somalis, ethnic Finns from abroad (from Ingria), Arabic speakers, Vietnamese and Turkish. Results indicate that reasonably well-educated immigrants seem to integrate, but the domiciling process was slow. Only after ten years¹⁰ of life in Finland were the stress levels lowered. Their employment rate was higher, they saw their Finnish language skills had improved and they wanted to integrate into Finnish society. They had also managed to maintain their own culture, family values and their ethnic identity.

To get some historical and global perspective on the current migration trend in Finland, it is interesting to compare the mass settler movement (1840-1910) from Europe mainly to North America with the 1970-1990 migration to Europe (Bryceson, 2002). A devastating famine in the 1840s precipitated a transatlantic exodus from Ireland. Norway, Finland and Sweden produced their emigration later and, while World War I marked end of this 'classical' mass migration, it was followed by a Southern European migration pattern. It was time to turn the tables and Europe became a major destination for immigration. In 1950-75, European countries actively encouraged immigration. There was a tendency for ex-colonial powers to recruit from their former colonies. The migrants entered the job market on the bottom rung of the ladder, obtaining low-paid jobs that the indigenous population avoided. The oil crisis of 73-74 ended active labour recruitment. Labour recruitment was stricter in 1975-90 but family reunion and asylum seeking were legitimized. In the 1990s immigration become a hotly contested public issue. While 'traditional' migrant groups such as North Africans in France, Turks in Germany, and Indians in UK were still salient, there was now a more varied mosaic of countries represented in the migration stream for example Somalis in Nordic countries. Social and political vulnerability, as well as the lack of economic opportunity, in developing countries at the turn of the 21st century generated circumstances similar to those that promoted European migrants' exodus to the Americas during the nineteenth century. However, there is

¹⁰ Research participants had lived in Finland for some years before the first questionnaire was sent.

a key difference in recent patterns of migration; destination countries are less open to the immigrants' arrival (Bryceson, 2002).

Bryceson (2002) gives an example of two transnational families: the Onninks, Dutch emigrants to the USA in 1865 and the Ouarrouds Moroccan emigrants to the Netherlands in 1974. Both Onninks and Ouarrouds emanated from agricultural backwaters where they saw no hope for their families' future. Both were involved in step migration before they arrived at their final settlement point. Both moved in the wake of a major economic turning point, namely the cessation of the American Civil War in 1865 and the international oil crisis of 1974. Both took advantage of economic opportunities in the destination country. Within only a couple of decades, both families were surrounded by extended family networks in which they could interact along lines similar to those they knew from their home areas (Bryceson, 2002).

Significant differences existed in family structure and changes in the international communication. The Onninks migrated as couple and retained a strong patriarchal tradition in which divorce was virtually unthinkable. In the Ouarrouds family, Fatima and her husband had to live apart for several years prior to family reunion. In that context, Fatima's divorce was painful, made worse by her lack of financial means, but she coped and her extended family network as well as friends she made along the way helped her as a single parent. The comparative ease of travelling to and from Morocco in the late twentieth century as opposed to the US in the late nineteenth century is significant. The possibility of going back and forth to one's home area provides a range of spatial choices and family residential arrangements that could not have been entertained a century earlier (Bryceson, 2002).

At the global level, migration has accelerated as a result of globalisation and economic integration: people may cross borders voluntarily in search of economic opportunities and social alternative, or forcibly displaced by conflict, natural resource degradation, disasters, or human trafficking. In the 21st century, one out of every 35 people worldwide is an international migrant, and half of them are women. Remittances, transfers of funds from migrant workers to relatives or friends in their place of origin have become an increasingly important feature of modern economics. Funds attributable to remittances have increased the availability of household resources, and this income has the potential to improve the quality of life in the receiving areas. On the downside, migration disrupts households and family ties. Newly arrived individuals and families are often marginalised, as they have yet to integrate into the social networks that can help them meet basic requirements. One of the ironies of global migration is that the number of doctors from third world countries working in Europe is far greater than the number of development aid workers sent to third world countries (Enzensberger, 2003, p. 35). According to Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p. 43) globalization is not global – in fact it has a very narrow base. As the so called Western countries have 'globalized' the world, the rest of the world's economies have become increasingly marginalized. The following sections (section 2.2 and 2.3) will focus on family dynamics in the migration process.

2.2 Contemporary transnational families

The key concept of this study, transnational family, is defined in this section. The term transnational (Basch et al. 1994) acknowledges that it is possible for people to belong to several locations at the same time, and thus have a number of identities. Grass-root level relationships - both in Finland and in the country of origin - are important, from both social and economic perspectives. Transnational migration theory defines transnationalism as

‘The processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize the ways many immigrants today build social fields that cross-geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political – that span borders we call ‘trans-migrants’. An essential element of transnationalism is the multiplicity of involvements that trans-migrant sustains in both home and host societies. Trans-migrants take actions, make decisions and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states’ (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7).

Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p. 3) define transnational families as families that live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely ‘family-hood’ even across national borders. These families could also be called multi-local or multi-sited families, or families living in spatial separation. Transnational families have played an integral part in European colonial and settler histories but have now, due to globalising trends such as the creation of the ‘informational society’ and transnational restructurings of capitalistic production and international trade, become a pronounced part of everyday life in Europe. Today’s transnational families can be characterised by a more elastic relationship to their place of origin, ethnicity and national belonging.

Interestingly, Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, pp. 7–11) have paid attention to the class distinction between ‘migrants’ and ‘cosmopolitan transnationals’. Migrants are left waiting and wondering about their residence and citizenship applications, whereas highly educated and skill-endowed cosmopolitan transnationals are actively sought and offered residential privileges or fast-track citizenship. According to Bryceson and Vuorela the word ‘migrant’ tends to carry class connotation and is applied more readily to people who are considered economically or politically deprived and seek betterment of their circumstances. Transnational elite families at the higher end of the income scale, who tend to move for financial or status reasons, are seen as being somehow different, bestowing their presence and skills on the receiving nation as opposed to other migrants who are imposing or even inflicting their needs on the receiving country. However, the issues of connecting, mixing and networking are very much the same for both the mass of international migrants and transnational elites.

Class distinction is obvious also in the use of the concept multicultural; multicultural school, multicultural education, multicultural labour market. Multiculturalism has dual status; it has both selfish and humane dimensions (Janhonen-Abuquah & Palojoki, 2005, p. 367). Selfish multiculturalism can be described as placing high value on fluent language skills, working abroad and building an international career, and co-operation with white, rich countries. The humane aspect of multiculturalism is associated with development aid,

receiving immigrants, and co-operation with poor countries. In selfish multiculturalism one is only profiting from the cultural diversity, whereas in humane multiculturalism one tries to consider cultural diversity before acting. The division of migrants into mass international migration and transnational elite migration follows this same type of dualism.

Schmalzbauer's (2004) study is an example of a study, where family is a transnational survival unit. Money wiring services are found in Honduran town centres, exemplifying the centrality of these economic flows to the survival of transnational families and communities. 'Community other-mothers' take care of those children who's own mothers have travelled abroad to work They make certain that everyone is taken care of and they know that if something happened to them they too would rely on kin to take care of their children and household. Securing family survival is as important as securing individual survival. 'There is no work in Honduras and without family people have nothing', as a respondent clarifies the importance of family in Schmalzbauer's (2004, p. 1325) study. Her study is about homesickness, frustration, desperation and paradoxically also about hope, struggle and family loyalty. She studied the role of the family in the transnational migration process and how families actually function in a transnational space, researching the ways in which families negotiate caretaking responsibilities and realized the significance of migration as a family project.

From an anthropological point of view, Huttunen (2005) sees family as a 'political' organization. Through it one belongs to society, it provides financial support and acts as a safety net. Family is described through emotional belonging and through it the daily life is organized. In the anthropological migration studies family is on the move and decisions of leaving and staying are determined by the family and what is best for the family. Family changes to a different family as the social and cultural environment changes. Family attaches one to a location (Huttunen, 2005).

Transnationalism differs from the concept of diaspora, which is a social organisation that has left from one specific location, the place of origin, where the hope of returning remains. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) point out the simultaneity of assimilation and transnationality. They believe that trans-migrants engage in two ways: ways of being (action) and ways of belonging (identity, conscious connection). Remittances are an important part of transnational lives. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) state the importance of social and economic remittance in structuring the transnational village. They describe social remittance as the ideas, behaviours and social capital that flow from receiving to sending communities. Remittances are like tools by which ordinary individuals create global culture at the local level. Transnationalism actually refers to actual things such as sending money, participating in politics, visits, making telephone calls and all kinds of practical matters. To write of diaspora is more like describing a state of mind, like diasporic consciousness (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999).

Transnational migration produces complex communities. Vertovec (2006) calls London metropolitan area an example of a super-diverse city. It is no longer useful to look only at the ethnic background of immigrants but also characteristics like religion, legal status, migration channel, language, duration or temporality of stay, gender, age, education, and employment and family ties. The concept of multiculturalism is not enough to describe the enormous variation amongst the immigrant population. Super-diversity is challenging not only for the policy makers but also for researchers. To study a super-diverse population requires super-diverse research approaches (Horsti & al, 2007).

Arguably, Vertovec's concept of super-diversity is an example of an intersectional approach, first introduced by Crenshaw (1994). This aimed to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and power relations. It describes how women are simultaneously positioned as women and for example as black, working –class, lesbian or colonial subjects. The intersectional approach concept tries to determine one's social location. It acknowledges the endless list of social divisions. It is at the intersection of multiple inequalities and is the sum of specific but varied differences. The approach describes categories of differences and identifications. The list of differences is, of course, endless and shows where the power is: who defines when, where, which and why particular differences are given recognition while others are not. The question is not, who is different, but who defines it at that particular moment.

Transnational families can also be viewed from a configurational perspective (Widmer, 2008, p. 6). Family is not then seen from an institutional perspective, but importance placed on the actual relationships. One should not only focus on dyads, but also see the larger network of relationships in which the dyads function. Individual and family are interconnected. The choices and commitments of individuals are affected by the family, but also family defines the choices of an individual. The individual and group structures are thus interconnected. Family is also seen as operating in time and space. In other words it has history; it has changed over time and operates in certain space. Transnationalism in this study is also characterized by 'absent presence' (Gergen, 2006). One's soul and heart can be elsewhere from the place that everyday tasks are performed. Modern communication technology has an important role to play in this phenomenon.

The concept of transnational family in this study means that immigrants are taking actions in two or more nation states (Basch et al., 1994). They live some or most of the time separated, but are able to create a sense of 'family-hood' (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). They form a survival unit in the sense of Honduran families (Schmalzbauer, 2004). Remittances pay an important role in their lives (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004) and the migration has produced super diverse identities (Vertovec, 2006) where referring to the passport nationality does not anymore tell much of one's identity. The transnational family operates in a space that is called home. Home in this research context is defined in the next section.

2.3 Home as a socio-space

'It [home] is not authoritarian, but it has authority. It is hierarchical, but it is not centralized. The best name for this type of organization is protohierarchy. It is recognizable because it springs up, spontaneously to meet certain recurring conditions of organization. It is a multi peaked, rationally integrated system which we find in villages, districts, kingdoms, and empires. Highly efficient for maintaining itself in being, it is easily subverted and survives only so long as it attends to the needs of its members' (Douglas, 1991, p. 287).

Douglas' description of home leads to the definition of home as it understood here. Home is not only a place nor some bonded people. The examples of Huttunen's (2002), Honkasalo's (2004) and Tiilikainen's (2003) studies show the different meanings given to home. Huttunen (2002) has looked at the definition of home and how it changes while one is in the place of origin, in exile, on the way to a new home country, and finally in the new country. Huttunen analyzed the life stories written by immigrants with mixed ethnic background in Finland. Huttunen defines home in relation to the outside world. Being at home enables one to do meaningful things, have control over one's own body and life, and be active in one's life. Physical features, a scene understood through various senses, a house or place to live, family and relationships are all various aspects of 'home': it has cultural, ethnic, and national notions as well. Home is not necessarily the same in memory, in the present, and in the future one hopes for. Home changes according to time, space, opportunities, and restrictions. Past, present, and future homes exist in relation to each other. When one is strongly attached to the past home a person wishes to return there in the future. If one is content with the present, a person hopes to build the future in the present home (Huttunen, 2002, pp. 328–329).

In diaspora, Somali women created their home by combining several places and locations into a place like home (Tiilikainen, 2003). Daily routines, social memory, extended family, Islam, ritual, language, and collaboration with other women play an important role in building such a home in a new land. Tiilikainen has studied the daily life of Muslim women in Helsinki area from a religious studies point of view (Tiilikainen, 2003, p. 282).

Even in the Finnish diasporic context, leaving one's childhood home or experiencing children moving away from home can be a painful experience. Honkasalo (2004, pp. 65–68) studied a small Northern Karelian village life in Finland in the end of 20th century. Home was clearly the centre for life that connected the generations of people and layers of life. Pictures of deceased relatives and small children were visibly placed. Home was inevitably the centre of life. Real home was meant to exist in Northern Karelia. Urbanization and work opportunities shifting to major cities in south Finland and the diasporic life had made the home a centre for returns. After children had moved away, mothers who stayed said that the home had become empty, draughty, odd and incomplete. As children lived far away, home waited for them and become completed as they returned during the holidays. Giving up the childhood home was a difficult thought also for the children (Honkasalo, 2004, pp. 65–68).

Home, therefore, does not necessarily refer only to a specific place of origin or homeland but may also be a place of belonging and identification that changes as individual life trajectories change (Olwig, 2003, p. 2). Personal ties give meaning to this place and it

develops through time. Olwig¹¹ (2003, p.7) reminds us that home has a central role as a locus where respectability is both displayed and gained. Sending regular remittances is done as a duty but also to gain respect in the local community. For men, it is important to build a house in the place of origin. The notion of home has thus taken on a new meaning. Carrington (2002) saw the contemporary family as a socio-space that is characterised by an imagined community, the construction and maintenance of social bonds and support networks. In the socio-space, it is possible to operate across time-space boundaries. Family members may no longer be in the same local time and place but they are able to utilise technologies such as e-mail, the Internet, and telephone to provide instant access.

The importance of ICT (Information and Computer Technology) in transnational migrants' everyday communication has been studied for example in a Jamaican context. Horst (2006) claimed it has changed phone discussions from intermittent events to basic parts of daily life. She described the ambivalent nature of mobile phones. Expressing transnational love and care is easier than before. Mobile phones have in some cases given Jamaicans more realistic picture of migrant lives abroad. The mobile phone era has also brought new burdens and obligations. Jamaicans in Jamaica go through great deal of sacrifices to be able to call, saving units for this purpose, for example. The Jamaicans abroad are not always able to fill all the expectations they receive 'from home'. Despite of the pros and cons of ICT, it has linked the migrants and their homelands in ways that are deeply meaningful at both ends of the technology. In this sense, the distance between home and abroad has collapsed (Horst, 2006).

Location, physical place, is one of the key features of how we define a culture. Said (1990) argues that we tend to see cultures very local, not that they are, but it is our way of seeing cultures. When we think of a culture we often place it in a physical location, environment, or scene. We give background to the identity; scenery of the mind, a picture-like geography (Hall, 2003). Hall questions if, in postmodern times, we are gradually shifting from one's roots to one's routes when talking about formation of identity (Hall, 2003, p. 126). Whereas Rastas (2007) argues that children and youth have transnational roots in plural tense. In her study of children and youth who look visibly different from traditional Finns – either because they have been adopted to Finland or have at least one non-Finnish parent – Rastas characterises them as having several roots rather than a single root in their present home country.

In the current research, home is defined as the location, space, where the transnational family operates. It is used in the concrete sense to describe a physical place and the surroundings of the transnational families. However, home is also used in a broader sense to describe the socio-space, in Carrington's (2002) sense, where the walls and borders are invisible.

¹¹ Olwig's (2003) anthropological research has focused on African-Caribbean cultural processes and her most recent research focuses on the family as an integrating institution in Danish society.

2.4 Encountering others

The migration not only affects the migrant family and its members transnationally but has significant impact on society in the new home country. At grass roots level, increased migration to Finland leads inevitably to encounters between Finns and newly arrived immigrants. Encounters with new cultures in Finland and newcomers' behaviour patterns raise emotions. In public discussions, topics like – What is the correct number of refugees for Finland to receive annually? ... or ... Should the Christian elements of Christmas and spring celebrations in schools be omitted because of Muslim children at school? – easily create controversy. Most likely, the debates like this will end with a shouting rivalry between the yes and no groups. The differences are clearly evident in the Finnish society and attitudes towards immigration vary. At the European level, based on European Social Survey (ESS) data (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007), people with higher levels of education and occupational skills are more likely to favor immigration. More educated respondents are significantly less racist and place greater value on cultural diversity than do their counterparts. They are also more likely to believe that immigration generates benefits for the host economy as a whole. At general level Finns do hold comparatively negative attitudes towards increasing the number of immigrants in Finland (Ervasti, 2004). However, as he turned to more specific items on economic and especially cultural threat, Ervasti found that Finns were as tolerant as or even more tolerant than other Europeans. His findings about Finns attitudes are also based on European Social Survey (ESS) data. In this section, scholarly ways of understanding these cultural encounters are sought. Enzensberger's (2003) metaphor gets to this point.

'Two passengers are in a cabin of a train. We know nothing about them, their origins, or goals. They have made themselves comfortable by making use of little foldable tables, wardrobe hooks, and luggage shelves. Newspapers, jackets, and handbags cover empty seats. The door opens and two new passengers enter. Their arrival is not appreciated. One can clearly see how unpleasant it is to stand up, clear space, and allow the new arrivals to make use of the train cabin. Even if the two passengers didn't know each other earlier, they now show surprising solidarity towards each other and act as a group against the newly arrived passengers. It is about their area, their space. Every new passenger is an intruder. They see themselves as natives who should have the whole space for themselves. Open fights are not often seen; passengers obey rules set by the Train Company and unwritten rules like formal politeness. So, newly arrived passengers are tolerated and one gets used to them; nevertheless, they stay stigmatized' (Enzensberger, 2003, p. 22).

In the same way, the encounters in Finnish society between foreigners and native Finns will create some sort of tension just as in the train carriage scenario.

Once the newly arrived immigrants have stayed a bit longer at their destination, researchers see different patterns in their settling. Below, the multicultural encounters will be described by using acculturation model (Berry, 1992), dimensions of xenophobia, xenophile and xenosofia (Lehtonen, 2004), concept of cultural intelligence (Earley & Ang, 2003), chameleonic learner (Bourke & Burns, 1998) and cultural citizenship / ethnic succession (Ong, 2003). In other words, these are some approaches to understand how transnational family (defined in section 2.2) interacts with its new home country.

Berry (1992) explains the process of transforming from one culture to a new one with a model of acculturation. *Integration*, according to Berry, is the situation where one keeps her own identity but also has close contact with the new culture. If the immigrant group is not

welcomed by the majority culture, Berry talks about *segregation*. In *separation*, the minority group decides to keep away from the majority culture. *Marginalisation* is the situation where one is no longer part of one's own culture but does not belong to the new culture either. In *assimilation* one gives up their own identity and adopts the new culture as their own. Assimilation is defined as where one gradually adapts to the surrounding environment: gives up parts of her own culture and starts following the habits of surrounding culture.

Meeting new cultures can, according to Lehtonen (2004), be described in three ways. One can either fears strangers (xenophobia), experience blind admiration towards new cultures (xenophile) or possess wisdom and understanding towards cultural differences (xenosophia). Xenophobic people fear different elements of the otherness. They fear what they cannot understand or what they have not experienced before. Some are afraid of diseases brought from abroad. Some are scared to, or unable to, talk to people in a foreign language. Others are fearful of eating new foods. People are somehow frightened that the others will threaten their well being in one way or the other. Xenophobia means that one is extremely anxious about people who are different from oneself. Xenophobes cannot understand the differences between people. They only see the differences and shared human qualities are nothing to them. They think that people who differ from them cannot be understood (Lehtonen, 2004). However, this can also be the first stage when entering a new situation and it can change to curiosity about new cultures.

Xenophiles, on the other hand, admire people different from themselves and assume they understand different people. A xenophile does not see the differences; all that matters are the shared features (Lehtonen, 2004, p. 264). We are the one human race to a xenophile. Lehtonen (2004, p. 266) claims that contemporary xenophiles are found among wealthy and educated groups of society. They can afford it. They are not threatened in any way by the influx of cultures. They can consume – on the plate, in the CD player, in their interior decoration – a variety of cultures, as they please. In contrast, lay people who live with uncertainties in their daily lives and have a lot to lose if a foreigner takes their job or threatens their social comfort.

In the labour market, opportunities to work in a foreign country are highly desirable. Finnish people are looking for opportunities to find better-paid and more challenging employment abroad. Students are encouraged to do part of their studies in a foreign institution in order to gain language skills and to be more competitive in the labour market. The grass sometimes seems greener on the other side of the fence. At times, we daydream about being somewhere other than in our daily routine. We long for sun, sandy beaches, and lazy holidays. It seems that enjoyment, fun and exotic experiences are behind the fence, abroad. We want to experience a change of climate, variety of foods, and be surrounded by exotic strangers. Their otherness resembles an illusion of joy.

Could xenosophia –wisdom and understanding of differences – give any fruitful answers? In xenosophia one tries to see both the differences and the equality existing at the same time. Everyone has the right to be different, personal, and even unique. However, we also seek equality; we expect to receive the same salaries, believe that everyone should have the right to vote, accept that men and women should share work equally, and believe that all professions should be open to all people on the basis of ability alone. Can different people be equal? How can different people – for example, a young Somali woman who is a professional nurse or an unemployed man – a Finnish IT specialist – both seeking work in Finland, be handled equally? Treating people the same way, as though they are interchangeable part of a machine,

leads to injustice. Treating people equally, however, entails that their differences are equally taken into account. This is what xenosophia is; it is not only wisdom regarding others but the knowledge about one's self in relation to others. It is not enough to ask 'Who are you?' but 'Who am I?' (Lehtonen, 2004, p. 268–270). The Tan Dum concert discussed earlier (section 1.2) is to me an example of xenosophia in practice. There two different approaches were woven together and formed something new. Löytty (2006) argued that xenosophia does not make much of noise about itself. According to his experience examining the missionary literature, xenosophia is almost invisible.

Enzensberger (2003, p. 35) opens the discussion further. Enzensberger claims that the better the immigrants are educated, the warmer welcome they will experience. An Indian astrophysicist, a top Chinese architect or a black African Nobel Prize winner are welcomed everywhere. Talent is accepted but, the real tolerance towards differences is seen when one accepts the weaknesses and mistakes of minority persons. Enzensberger (2003) reminds further that the poorer the aliens are, the stranger they appear to us.

Cultural intelligence (CQ) is, according to Earley and Ang (2003, p. 6.) an individual characteristic; each individual can have his or her unique CQ and this capability is based on unique experiences. A person who is able to generate new and appropriate responses in new cultural situations has a high cultural intelligence. Earley and Ang claim that the challenge for an international sojourner is that most of the cues and behaviours that are familiar at home may be lacking in highly novel cultures. So, entirely new interpretations and behaviours are required. Three features of a person's cultural intelligence are; cognition 'Do I know what is happening?'; motivation 'Am I motivated to act?'; and behaviour 'Can I respond appropriately and effectively?' (Earley & Ang, 2003, p. xii).

Earley and Ang see an emic construct when it has its basis within a given culture and is only fully appreciated in this context. An emic construct gains meaning from its context and, if fully absent from its contextual interpretation, it cannot be appreciated (Earley & Ang, 2003, p. 64). An etic feature, on the other hand, exists across cultures and is universal; for example, all people have certain cognitive functions such as memory and recall, and social institutions like marriage and mourning of a lost loved one (Earley & Ang, 2003, p. 65). Earley and Ang's emphasis is on an etic aspect of intelligence that provides individuals with the capacity to operate across various cultural boundaries (Earley & Ang, 2003, p. 16).

A chameleonic learner – a term coined by Bourke and Burns (1998) – is able to deal with the diversity of environments and has recognised the necessity of learning to adapt flexibly to circumstances. As with the chameleon, the ability to change colours is part of the learner's repertoire for self-preservation. In dealing with the diversity of environments, settings and communities, the learner becomes adept at being a member of multiple learning cultures and communities.

Successful integration often requires that one keeps, in some form, strong cultural ties to one's own place of origin. Ong (in Johnson, 2004) introduces two divergent views of integration and citizenship: cultural citizenship and ethnic succession. Cultural citizenship refers to the right to be culturally different from the nation's dominant norms, yet included as full and equally valued citizens. The Swedish-speaking minority in Finland would be an example of this (Liebkind, 1995). Ethnic succession suggests that, through the trials and hardships of each generation, successive generations will rise to a higher level and eventually be equivalent to the mainstream in terms of citizenship.

These are some scholarly approaches to study multicultural encounters. They each focus the encounters with other cultures from different points of view. Lehtonen (2004) focuses on how one acts and feels about 'others' whereas Earley and Ang (2003) have named the personal ability to deal with encounters as cultural intelligence. Bourke and Burns (1998) claim that adapting to new environments requires specific learning skills and from Ong's (2003) point of view successful adaptation requires that one can maintain something valuable from the past but still be valued in the new culture. These different approaches to encounters with different cultures will be further discussed in connection with the research findings (see sections 5.3 & 5.4).

This chapter described how migration trends have changed over past few decades and how families have been affected by it. At the moment, Finland is experiencing elements of a multicultural society, or as Vertovec (2006) put it, becoming a super-diverse society. Transnational families, as described in this chapter, portray evidence of an elastic relationship with their place of origin, creating complex communities in their host societies as they build their survival units. The rate at which immigration has increased in Finland has created a phenomenon that is obvious in all walks of society. Finns are meeting immigrants at their work places and neighbourhoods daily.

For a researcher, all this provides an interesting arena with numerous possibilities for research settings and questions. This research focuses on immigrant families and their homes. As the number of immigrants increases, it is important to gain more knowledge about transnational families. Such information is needed not only in the field of home economics, but also in other professions. So far, within the field of home economics there is hardly any teaching, education and research about migration and the circumstances of transnational families.

Interaction between Finns and foreigners creates an interesting contact point. Earley and Ang (2003) suggested that a concept of cultural intelligence is useful in describing the encounters amongst different nationalities. Whether measuring of such a quality is possible or not, it is important to facilitate the encounters with different people. One should be able to move towards the characteristics of a chameleonic learner (Bourke & Burns, 1998) who would easily adapt to new situations. This type of learning has similarities with the concept of expert novice introduced by Pendergast (2001, see chapter 1.3.). She argues that home economics must teach students how to continue to learning in adapting to change. As the changes affect both immigrants and indigenous Finns alike both groups need to learn new patterns. This has probably not been fully taken into account in the existing domiciling projects nor in the formal education field. The domiciling projects and formal education for immigrants have almost fully focused on how immigrants should change and adapt whereas more emphasis should be placed on the adjustments needed from Finns. Finnish people would need more cultural knowledge as they meet immigrants as colleagues, employees, customers and possibly as employers as well.

To characterise the environment where transnational families and their homes operate, the context of this research, everyday life, will be defined in next chapter. The theoretical framework of this study will be also explained.

3 THEORIZING EVERYDAY MIGRANT LIFE

Theorizing everyday life is a challenge for researchers. Everyday life is every where. It is in the homes of origin where the immigrants have left and it also exists in their new Finnish homes. Some practices in everyday life might change. Settling in inevitably requires some adjustments but everyday life continues. This makes everyday life, and the changes in it, a meaningful concept to be studied in relation to migration.

In this chapter the theoretical framework of this research is established. First, the concept of everyday life is defined (see section 3.1). Second, the socio-cultural approach (see section 3.2) is discussed. This has the ability to look at human behaviour in relation to its environment and pays attention to the tools that mediate actions. It focuses also how tools change the actions. Third, the usability of the eco-cultural theory (see section 3.3) in this research is examined. Eco-cultural theory focuses on human actions and their potential in adaptation.

3.1 Everyday life as an active process

In this section the concept of everyday life will be discussed from the historical point of view. It is first defined as a modern concept and then discussed as a post-modern notion. It was first defined through its opposite qualities, but is now seen more of an overall concept to view human life. Everyday life has been characterized by dimensions like time, space and mode. Everyday life also has social dimensions.

Everyday life is an apparently self-evident concept, it seems to be everywhere yet it is nowhere to be found (Felski, 1999/2000, p. 15). In a way it is a synonym for the habitual, ordinary and mundane, although, there is more to this concept. Felski describes everyday life as a democratic concept:

‘We are all ultimately anchored in the mundane. Everyone from the most famous to the most humble, eats, sleeps, yawns, defecates; no one escapes the reach of the quotidian¹². Everyday life in other words does not only describe the lives of ordinary people but recognises that every life contains an element of the ordinary’ (Felski, 1999/2000, p. 16).

Ironically, this democracy weights heavier on women and working class people generally. Everyday life is concept that emerged together with modernization. Lefebvre (1961, 1984), one of the French philosophers who first studied everyday life, saw everyday life as a modern concept. He argued that the identification of everyday life as an object of philosophical interest is a distinctively modern phenomenon that only emerged in the nineteenth century. It become known together with industrialization and people moving in large numbers from agricultural communities to big cities. The modern world separated the different areas of human life, like work life, leisure time, education and care of children, care of elderly. Lefebvre has rather negative view towards quotidian (1984, p. 73). He sees women as quintessential representatives and victims of quotidian. Lefebvre (1961, p. 61) notes that no cultural practice escapes the everyday: science, war, affairs of state and philosophy all contain a mundane dimension.

Everyday life has been described by focusing what it is not or what it is opposite to. Salmi has summarised Marxist philosophers’ concept of everyday life (1991, pp. 102–113 & 2004,

¹² Quotidian is a French word for everyday life

p. 19). Life is divided into everyday life and non-everyday life. Everyday life is the given reality where one is born, raised and educated. It becomes self-evident and one takes it for granted without reflecting and consciously thinking about different options. According to these philosophers, cognitive thinking and activity cannot develop further, because one is too tied up with the routines and self-evidence of everyday life. Non-everyday life and everyday life are gendered practices. According to Salmi (2004, p. 11), human life is often divided into work life and family life or working time and leisure time or to public and private life. Everyday life has been described as secular because it is not connected to the miraculous, magical or sacred (Felski, 1999/2000). She noticed that the concept of everyday life has emerged as an alternative to theory and as an arena of authentic experience. The concept of everyday life has even been deployed by intellectuals to describe a non-intellectual relationship to world. Felski (1999/2000) has also noticed that scholars separate art from the everyday uses. A piece of art, before it is regarded as having aesthetic value, has to be removed from the pragmatic needs and demands of the quotidian. Heller (1984) defines everyday life activities as opposite to activities where one is part of larger circles like art, science, justice or politics.

As we move to the present time, the concept of everyday life requires a refreshed definition. Converses seemed not to work any more and everyday life appears to be more of a continuum that contains both ends. According to Kosik (in Salmi 1991), everyday life is not opposite to feasts and celebrations. Exception, once-in-lifetime experiences are part of everyday life. Everyday life does not suffer if something unexpected happens. Kosik reminds us that events - like child birth – seem to bring along changes but soon become part of the everyday life routine. Poster (2002) argue that the boundary between quotidian and extraordinary, private and public, has almost vanished. Place and space has transformed in such a way that what had been regarded as the locus of the everyday can no longer be distinguished as separate from its opposite. Poster sees that it has been the wide dissemination of information machines (as he calls it) and media that are responsible for this change (Poster, 2002). Currently, everyday life is a concept that provides an overview of human life as it helps to perceive not only one sector of life but the entity of one's life (Salmi, 2004). Everyday life could also be viewed as a critical concept that can prevent us from seeing life only as fragmented and institutionalised. Everyday life also provides a critique for the growing distance of various institutions and the daily human practices (Salmi 2004, p. 12).

Everyday life should be viewed as having three facets: time, space, modality (Felski, 1999/2000, p. 18). The dimension of time is discussed first. Lefebvre (1984) sees the contradiction between the linear time of modern industrial society and cyclical time of everyday life. Linear time is forward moving abstract time where as everyday life has circadian rhythm that has changed little over the decades. He compares the pace set by the modern industrialized society to the bit romantic image of one's own time where activities are done at one's own pace. In Felski's (1999/2000) definition temporality refers to repetition. According to Southerton (2006, pp. 437–439), the temporal organization of the day can be characterized as being constituted by practices that have fixed position with schedules. These are surrounded by interrelated practices that have a more malleable position within sequences, leaving a stock of practices contingent on filling empty slots within the day. Fixed practices require a high degree of co-operation, a high level of obligation to others, a significant amount of personal commitment and long duration. Time, defined by Fine (1996, p. 55), has five dimensions. *Periodicity* refers to the rhythm of the activity. It means how frequently actions

are repeated. It describes how regular or irregular the activities are. *Tempo* describes the speed of the activity - how rushed or leisurely it is. *Synchronization* refers whether practices are planned or happen without or require no planning. *Duration* presents how much time is used for different activities. *Sequence* refers to the order in which activities are conducted and distinguishes activities that have a fixed time slot from those which take place in 'empty' time slots (contingent).

Felski (1999/2000) explains that the spatial ordering of everyday life is anchored in a sense of home. The existing literature on the spatial element of everyday life is limited – apart from mentioning home and its surroundings.

The mode of everyday life describes how it is experienced and what kind of habits everyday life contains. Habit describes not only an action but an attitude (Felski, 1999/2000). The mode of everyday life is the way how everyday life is lived. The modality is further elaborated with five paradoxes of everyday life (Jokinen, 2005, pp. 158–159): daily life is everywhere but is difficult to find (1). It is both easy and light but also tiresome and difficult (2). Daily life is praised and despised (3). Women command daily life but it is a burden for them, whereas men have an easier role in daily life but do not quite master it (4). Ordinary daily life sustains life but also closes out others out by rejecting outsiders (5).

Routines also describe the mode of everyday life. 'Everyday life is a lived process of routinisation that all individuals experience. Certain tasks which at first appear awkward or strange – driving is an obvious example – gradually become second nature to us over time. Controversially, the everyday lives of others can seem deeply alien to us, precisely because the quotidian is not an objectively given quality but a lived relationship' Felski (1999/2000, p. 31). In writing this, Felski, who has special interest on feminist theory, suggests that everyday life is not static but rather a process. It is not only the heavy load on women but belongs to every human being and it is not a character given by outsiders but is personally defined. Salmi (2004), a Finnish sociologist, defines everyday life as a positive routine; routines of using daily time, routines that save time and thus provide time for other things. Everyday life means familiarity and creates safety. Jokinen (2005, pp. 47, 160) defines a good daily life as having routines, a homely atmosphere and a rhythm or speed that one is in control of. These features are easily seen in household chores: routine, unremarkable and habitual doing, making things homelike, a clear division of labour, and adjusting the outside speed and demands to one's own rhythm.

Everyday life takes place inevitably in a social context. Everyday life is the combination of those activities one does to maintain one self (Heller, 1984). However, she continues to define the everyday life activities to be the ones that are targeted to one's self and to the immediate others. Salmi (2004) includes the constant movement between the actors and structures of society as the core of the everyday life concept. According to Salmi, one of the challenging research tasks is to find out, how the structures of society shape the everyday life lived by people and how people on the other hand shape these structures and create new structures. Salmi (2004) concludes her definition on everyday life to be a process where people shape the structures of everyday life as part of their personal life experiences. It emphasizes the interaction between the structural level of the society and the everyday practices of people; this creates both continuity and change.

In relation to family life research, everyday life has been defined as 'Everyday family life is a process that family members are constantly creating with their individual and collaborative actions and emotions in time and space. Space is often the home but also

includes other spaces and contexts that family members use collectively' (Rönkä & Korvela, 2009, pp. 98–99). Rönkä and Korvela see everyday family life as an important, although under studied family research concept, that requires far more research attention. They see everyday family life having three dimensions: emotions, actions and temporality (Rönkä & Korvela, 2009, pp. 90–93).

In this research, everyday life is the context where transnational families operate and where their homes exist. Transnational families are formed by the people and their homes are made out of the family-hood they manage to create. Everyday life is the context, the environment where they operate, act and by doing that they change their everyday life. Everyday life is the context where the habitual and mundane daily activities of immigrant women take place. Everyday life is an active process. It belongs to everyone and is personal and uniquely experienced. Everyday life exists and also continues in transnational families' home of origins as well as in their new home country. Thus everyday life is a meaningful context to study immigrant women. In this section the aim has been, with the much appreciated help from scholars like Felski (2000/1999, 2002), Salmi (2004) and Jokinen (2005), to define everyday life as *personally experienced active process and a social context where the people operate*. Everyday life has dimensions like *mode* and *space*. The concept of everyday life and its dimensions are further examined first as the data analyzing tool is created (see section 4.4.2) and, second, in data analysis (see sections 6.1 and 6.2).

If the concept of everyday life has been challenging to define it is even more challenging to use it in research. Methodological aspects of everyday life will be discussed in more detail later (see section 4.2). The socio-cultural approach, introduced in next section, provides useful concepts for understanding the relationship between people, their activities and the context where they operate.

3.2 Socio-cultural approach

In previous sections everyday life was defined as the context where transnational families operate and their homes exist. The socio-cultural approach (Vygotsky, 1989; Wertsch, 1991a, 1991b, 1995) to human behaviour provides useful concepts for understanding the context-dependency of human activities and for the study of social interactions in a cultural context. The socio-cultural approach focuses on the relationships between human action, on the one hand, and the cultural, institutional and historical situations in which this action occurs, on the other. Such a tenet contrasts with approaches that assume, implicitly or explicitly, that it is possible to examine mental processes such as thinking or memory independently of the socio-cultural setting in which individuals and groups function. Human mental functioning is inherently situated in social, inter-actional, cultural, institutional, and historical context. The notion of action and mediation are inherently related. Action and the mediational means that it employs exist in the real world of complex cultural, institutional and historical settings. These settings inevitably shape the cultural tools that are invoked in carrying out action. The basic goal of the socio-cultural approach to mind is to create an account of human mental processes that recognizes the essential relationship between these processes and their cultural, historical and institutional settings. (Vygotsky, 1989; Wertsch, 1991a, 1991b, 1995). The socio-cultural approach focuses on context, action, mediated action, tools and interaction and learning. These concepts will be discussed next and their role in this study explained.

In this study the *context* for action is the scene of transnational families' everyday life. The context is also affected by numerous forces, laws, rules and regulations from the outside world which affect the everyday lives of the immigrant women residing in Finland. It is also shaped by transnational movement; goods and information pass through national borders and social interaction crosses borders as well. Context is thus seen as dynamic.

The sociocultural approach emphasizes with the assumption, that *action* is mediated and that it can not be separated from the milieu in which it is carried out. Human action is situational; it has its cultural, historical and institutional location. The action, the human who acts and the tools needed for the action form an entity (Wertsch, 1991a, 1991b, 1995). In this research the focus is on everyday life activities, those daily tasks that are mundane and repetitive but also exceptional and desultory. The actors are mainly the immigrant women who live their life in a new homeland with their family members and friends.

Action is *mediated*. Human action typically employs 'mediational means' such as tools and language and that these mediational means shape the action in essential ways. Mediational means provide a link or a bridge between the concrete actions carried out by individuals and groups. Cultural tools and artefacts involved in mediation certainly play an essential role in shaping action. They do not determine or cause action in some kind of static, mechanistic way. Mediation is an active process. Mediation always involves constraints as well as empowerment. It opens up new ways of action. Mediational means emerge in response to a wide range of social forces. The mediational means that shape mediated action typically do not emerge in response to the demands of this action. Mediational means are not generally a product of conscious design but are products of cultural, historical and institutional forces that may have little obvious relevance to the local settings in which they are employed (Wertsch, 1991a, 1991b, 1995).

Human actions are mediated by technical and psychological *tools* (Wertsch, 1991/b, pp.28–29). Psychological tools are those symbolic artefacts – signs, symbols, text, formulae, graphic organizers – that, when internalized, help individuals master their own natural psychological functions of perception, memory and attention. Each culture has its own set of psychological tools and situations in which these tools are appropriated. Literacy in its different forms constitutes one of the most powerful of psychological tools. (Kozulin, 2003, pp. 15–16). Cole (2005, p.200) defines an artefact as ‘an aspect of the material world that has been modified over the history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action’. Cultural tools are powerless to do anything on their own. They can have their impact only when individuals use them. Tools change the process. Tools and artefacts change the action. Similarly, an introduction of a new cultural tool into active process inevitably transforms it. However, cultural tools usually emerge for reasons other than to facilitate many of the kinds of action they in fact end up shaping (Wertsch, 1995, pp.65–70).

The sociocultural approach focuses on *interaction and learning*. It suggests that development depends on interaction with people and the tools that culture provides to help form their own view of the world. There are three ways a cultural tool can be passed from one individual to another (Vygotsky, 1989; Wertsch 1991a, 1991b, 1995.). The first one is imitative learning, where one person tries to imitate or copy another. The second way is by instructed learning which involves remembering the instructions of the teacher and then using these instructions to self-regulate. The third way that cultural tools are passed to others is through collaborative learning which involves a group of peers who strive to understand each other and work together to learn a specific skill (Wertsch, 1991a, 1991b, 1995). In the domiciling process of immigrants the imitative learning would possibly be successful. This is in fact what is done in a lot of immigrants’ domiciling projects (Rauhanen & Martikainen, 2006) (see section 2.1) where useful skills are taught on how to manage in Finland. The instruction will only be beneficial when the instructor and the learner share same language. The third way, mentioned, collaborative learning, would possibly be useful especially if the learning setting facilitated Finns and immigrants learning and teaching each other. This kind of collaborative learning, if it could meet the challenge, would enhance xenosophia (see section 2.4). Or, put in other words, if xenosophia could be taught, then it might be achieved through collaborative learning.

3.3 Eco-Cultural Theory¹³

The interaction between humans and the social structures in everyday life has been the interest of Salmi (see section 3.1). The socio-cultural approach builds on the context dependency of human action. The eco-cultural theory (Gallimore et al., 1989, 1993a, 1993b) is also interested about the relationship between human and society, but more precisely family and its environment. Eco-cultural theory sees family as proactive, as constantly determining how the limits set by the society, global and national economy and ecology affect the family. A family changes its daily routines in order to accommodate with changes of the environment. These ecological features and changes, either global or local, directly affect the daily routines of a family. For example, the hurricane in North America affected oil prices, the price of fuel went up and, as a result, a mother on the other side of the world had to commute to work by public transportation and the picking up of the children from day care had to be reorganized. Global changes have local effects, and eco-cultural forces affect the family routines. Eco-cultural theory forms the theoretical base for this research. It guides the research question formulation (see section 4.1), assists in the analysis of data (see section 4.7) and structures the summarisation of results from this research (see chapter 8).

Background of eco-cultural theory

Eco-cultural theory was derived from a psycho-cultural model developed by Whiting and Whiting (1975), combined with elements of Cole's (1991) notion of cultural activity theory. Eco-cultural theory draws on socio-cultural theory which emphasizes the socially constructed nature of cognition and mind. Eco-cultural theory was first used with families with disabled children, to look at the changes the family had to face in their daily routine. Weisner and Gallimore (1994) argue that it can be used in various settings of family life and in cross-national settings (Table 1). It has been used with Chinese-American, Japanese-American, and Asian immigrant families, Navajo and Japanese families, Italian families with infants, working poor families facing welfare reforms, and Mexican immigrant families in California (Weisner & Gallimore, 1994, p. 20). In eco-cultural interventions, the present situation of a family is carefully examined by asking: what are the actions families are already taking that have adaptive value, and where can we find slots where new practices could fit?

¹³ A brief working paper of eco-cultural theory in this this research context can be viewed at <http://www.feem.it/NR/Feem/resources/EurodivPapers/ED2006-033.pdf> For reference see: Janhonen-Abuquah, H. (2006b).

Table 1 Eco-cultural theory used in previous studies.

RESEARCHERS	STUDY	COUNTRY	REMARKS
Gallimore et al. (1989, 1993a, 1993b)	Families with disabled children	USA (California)	Explored the changes families had to face in their daily routine.
Taanila et al. (1995) Taanila (1997)	Children with special needs	Finland	Explored changes in the work of health care professionals. The expertise does not only lie in the hands of health care professionals but also within the family.
Cooper et al. (1998)	African American and Latino youth in academic outreach programmes	USA (northern California)	Students were challenged to navigate across their multiple worlds and negotiate with brokers who help them and gatekeepers who create difficulties for them, as well as relying on themselves.
Määttä (1999)	Children with special needs	Finland	The family is seen as an expert in the education and rehabilitation of children with developmental delays.
Lowe & Weisner (2004), Lowe et al. (2005)	Low-income families	USA (Milwaukee, Wisconsin)	This study seeks to understand why low-income families' use of program-based child care and subsidies for such care is often low and/or episodic.
Tonttila (2006)	Mothers with disabled children	Finland	Study emphasised parent-professional partnerships and how motherhood could be supported.

According to eco-cultural theory, children's constant participation in daily routines is the single most powerful influence on their development. Eco-cultural theory features dynamic family adaptation and construction of sustainable family routine. According to Weisner and Gallimore:

'The eco-cultural model draws on socio-cultural and activity theory and research which emphasize the socially constructed nature of cognition and mind. Activities and practices are the constitutive elements of daily routine that produce developmentally-sensitive interaction. Within these activity-created interactions arise zones of proximal development in which more capable individuals assist communicative and cognitive apprentices to perform at levels which they will eventually achieve' (Weisner & Gallimore 1994, p. 13).

By using this approach one can see the unit of analysis changed, and families and their daily activities are seen as more dynamic. The eco-cultural theory uses the daily activities as units of analysis (Gallimore et al. 1989, p. 217). The activity settings of the daily routine can be analyzed from five different angles:

1. Who? (Who is present?)
2. Why and what reasoning? (What are their goals and values?)
3. What? (What are they doing?)
4. How and why? (What are their motives in relation to the action?)
5. What limitations? (What are the rules and laws regulating the situation?)

By analyzing daily activities, the social construction of an eco-cultural niche can be revealed. Eco-cultural research methods used in previous studies have been based on interviewing, home visit procedures and observation. Weisner (2002, p. 276) claims that the eco-cultural family interview provides a window into children's and families' daily routines and activities.

Every cultural community provides developmental pathways for children within some ecological-cultural (eco-cultural) context. Cultural pathways are made up of everyday routines of life, and routines are made up of cultural activities (bedtime, playing video games, home work, watching TV, cooking dinner, soccer practice, visiting grandma, babysitting for money). Activities are useful units for cultural analysis because they are meaningful units for parents and children to understand, they are amenable to ethnographic fieldwork, systematic observation and interviewing methods, they are what children and parents experience and they crystallize the important aspects of culture. Activities include values and goals, resources needed to make the activity happen, people in relationships, the tasks that activity is there to accomplish, the emotions and feelings of those engaged in the activity, and a script defining the appropriate, normative way we expect to do that activity. (Weisner, 2002, p. 276).

Eco-cultural theory and its relation to ecological theories

The eco-cultural theory is complementary to other family ecology theories. Below the milestones in ecological framework are discussed in chronological order. Home Economics scientific research is traditionally linked strongly to human ecology. In North America the discipline at universities is also called human ecology. Thus, it is useful to briefly review what thinking underpins the word 'ecology' and how it leads to eco-cultural theory used in this study. A summary of the ecological framework is drawn in Appendix 2. The scholars presented in Appendix 2 are briefly discussed below.

In the ecological context, adaptation is a crucial concept.

'The notion of adaptation in ecology is far reaching. It reaches down to our biological roots up to large-scale interactive processes that at the level of populations of organisms. The concept of adaptation can be applied to an individual organism's successful adaptation to a specific environmental niche or to global changes such as increases in ultraviolet radiation' (White & Klein, 2002, p. 200).

'Ecology' could be translated as 'knowledge of residences in the world'. German biologist Ernst Haeckel (1873), coined the term ecology. The etymology of the word *ecology* clarifies its meaning. *Oik*, οἶκος, *oikos*, is a Greek word meaning 'place of residence' or 'household'. *λόγος*, *logos*, is Greek word as well and means 'knowledge'. *Oekologie* is a German word, *oe*-prefix changes the term to be universal concept (White & Klein, 2002).

'Science has to apply its knowledge to improve that unit of the community, the home; for upon the welfare of the home depends the welfare of the commonwealth' argued Richards

(Clarke, 1973, p. 141). She claimed that humans should be included in ecological research. Richards argued that science should aim at improving human life (Brown, 1993 p. 361–362). She favoured developing interdisciplinary ecological and environmental sciences in the broadest sense. Ellen Swallow Richards (1842-1911) was a natural scientist with an interest in environmental issues. She was a pioneer in water purity analyses and the first female student in MIT, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Her thinking differed from other scientists at the time. Richards was the first president of the American Home Economics Association and is seen as the founder of Home Economics (Miles, 2008-2009). Concern for the welfare of individuals and families in their daily lives seemed to arise as the mission for home economics at its inception a hundred years ago. The mission claimed to include: contributing to women's freedom, preparing homemakers, training women, and improving conditions of home life. (Vaines, 1981).

The Ecological Society of America was founded in 1916 and publishes a journal called *Ecology*. Both the society and the journal still exist. The society summarises 21st century ecology as 'the study of the relationships between living organisms, including humans, and their physical environment; it seeks to understand the vital connections between plants and animals and the world around them' (Ecological Society of America, 2009).

Human ecology developed in association with sociology. Researchers like Burgess, Hannan, Freeman, Hawley and Park derived much of their initial thinking from plant ecologist, especially the concepts of ecological succession and species dominance. Burgess and Park (1921, p. 509), for example, argued that 'society is made up of individuals spatially separated, territorially distributed, and capable of independent locomotion'.

The Chicago School of Human Ecology became known studies about spatial arrangement of the urban setting. McKenzie (1924) claimed that in year 1924 the subject of human ecology was a practically unstudied field by comparison with plant and animal ecology.

'Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position (the place relation of given community to other communities, also location of individual or institution within the community itself), in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behaviour. These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility. Human institutions and human nature itself become accommodated to certain spatial relationships of human beings' (McKenzie, 1924, pp. 287–288).

This statement, made 85 years ago, applies well to the present day and even to this research setting where the focus is on humans moving into a new environment. The tradition can still be seen in the publishing strategy statement made by the interdisciplinary journal *Human Ecology*.

'Probing the complex and varied systems of interaction between people and their environment. Contributions examine the roles of social, cultural, and psychological factors in the maintenance or disruption of ecosystems and investigate the effects of population density on health, social organization, and environmental quality. Articles also address adaptive problems in urban environments and the interrelationship between technological and environmental changes' (Human Ecology, 2009).

The history of ecology is connected with great scholars like Malthus, Darwin and Mendel to mention a few. Human ecology is linked to population ecology which united social demography with the bio-ecological study of populations. Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) brought an ecological focus to the emerging studies of economics, sociology and demography

by highlighting the interaction of environmental and biological variables with social and human variables. Ecology traces its paternity to Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and his central notion of adaptation. He became known about natural selection and evolution. Darwin argued that a species or population evolved principally by the process of natural selection or elimination of those members of the population that were less adapted to survive in the environment. Gregor Mendel (1865) provided a theoretical understanding for the genetic mechanisms that drive evolution and studied population genetics. Pearson (1857-1936), Galton, (1869), Fisher, (1958) and other statisticians and demographers were interested in the mathematical nature of population genetics.

Lewin's (1945) contribution was to bring a more contextual approach to ecological research and he emphasised interaction between the developing human being and the environment. Lewin, a social psychologist and philosopher, came out with 'force field' analysis which provides a framework for looking at the factors (*forces*) that influence a situation - originally social situations. It looks at forces that are either driving movement toward a goal (helping forces) or blocking movement toward a goal (hindering forces). Lewin stated that field is the combination of existing features that are interdependent. His key concept is life space where the world is seen as the person experiences it at a given moment. This includes one's personal and his psychological environment. Life space changes through actions (Pietikäinen, read 2.6.2009).

One well known family ecology approach, that eco-cultural theory criticises, is Bronfenbrenner's theory (1979, 16-42). Bronfenbrenner emphasizes the study of relations between the multiple settings in which children and their families are directly involved. His model also examines how individuals make their transitions among their different ecological settings. He looks at the influence of external environments on the functioning of families and studies how intra-familial processes are affected by extra-familial conditions (Bronfenbrenner 1986, p. 723). It is an ecological systems theory in which he defined four types of nested systems. He called these the *microsystem* (such as the family); the *mesosystem* (which is two microsystems in interaction); the *exosystem* (external environments which indirectly influence development, e.g., parental workplace); and the *macrosystem* (the larger socio-cultural context). He later added a fifth system, called the *Chronosystem* (the evolution of the external systems over time). Each system contains roles, norms and rules that can powerfully shape development. Eco-cultural theory criticises the holistic perspective in the Bronfenbrennerian tradition of research. When everything is connected to everything, it is difficult to find the unit of analysis. Eco-cultural theory also claims that human ecological theories tend to be static and are not able to capture dynamic changes in families. These theories see the role of family members as passive rather than as active agents who are capable of changing, learning and affecting their surroundings (Gallimore et al. 1989). However, the latest versions of Bronfenbrenner's theory have included more dynamic features in its structure. In addition, eco-cultural theory is distinguished by its attention to the organisation of everyday routine in family life.

Bronfenbrenner also influenced family theorists such as the home economics scientists Bubolz and Sontag. They examined the interplay between family and its environment and developed a family theory where the environment not only means the natural environment but also the socio-cultural and human built environment (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993).

To summarize this historical overview and to draw a link to the eco-cultural theory used in this study, the following notes could be made. Humans and their interaction with the

environment have been, and can be, studied from numerous points of view and eco-cultural theory provides one approach. Adaptation is a crucial concept in ecological research. Darwin's evolutionary ecology and Ellen Swallow Richards' human ecology are quite different in their understanding of adaptation where Darwin believed in natural selection, Richards believed in educating people. The reason that eco-cultural theory is chosen for this study is that it sees family as an active unit that by its actions makes the best possible choices in given situations.

Key concepts of eco-cultural theory

The key concepts in ecocultural theory are accommodation, niche, niche features, family action, family features and ecological forces. These concepts are shortly defined below. *Accommodation* refers to the proactive, social construction actions of the family in adapting, exploiting, counterbalancing and reacting to many competing and sometimes contradictory forces: income needs, health, domestic workload and the like. Such accommodation can be unconscious, and the forces that drive families may be only dimly perceived by the parents.

Although families are strongly affected by social and economic forces, families take individual and collective action to modify and counteract them. From this mix of forces and actions, families construct their *eco-cultural niches* (Gallimore et al. 1989, p. 217–218).

Family features are described through concepts like family themes and family culture. Family themes are like aims or aspirations of the family; for example, 'providing a normal childhood for the children or keeping the family together'. Family themes are put into practice through daily family activities. The specific family culture is made out of a combination of family themes. The concept of culture is not seen as national or ethnic culture but as family culture, and it is not a stereotyped view but one that sees the family as unique. The changes in daily routines are steered by the specific family culture.

Niche features are like the statistical facts describing the family. They provide the fringe area where the family action can take place. The niche features are interconnected and hierarchical. These features can be either positive resources or negative constraints. A good education and high salary are not necessarily resources, and a low income is not automatically seen as a constraint. The valency of features depends on the meaning a family gives to them (Gallimore et al. 1989, p. 222). Niche features can be for example as following: family subsistence and financial base, accessibility of health and education services, home and neighbourhood safety and convenience, domestic tasks and chore workload for family, child care tasks, child play groups and peers, marital role relationship, social support, father's role and sources of parental information and goals¹⁴.

Family action. Families proactively construct their family ecology and routine, families shape as well as they are shaped by the social world around them. Meaningful daily routine, sustainable daily life is one that has moral and cultural significance and value for family members. According to Weisner et al. (2004, p. 3), sustainable routines of daily activities share at least four of the features explained below. First, 'Social ecological fit' means to find stability given family resources, competing interests and goals, and to be able to juggle and balance these resources in a functional adaptation. It does not mean more resources, but it means that the available resources roughly match and support the activities that the family weaves into a daily routine. The family ecology fits with the available resources. Parents have

¹⁴These eco-cultural features were found to be specific to families of children with developmental delays (Gallimore et al. 1989). In different families the eco-cultural features vary.

to assess competing interests of family members. Second, 'Congruence and balance' shows the results of parental efforts to fit their routines to individual needs and competencies of different family members. It balances inevitable family conflicts. Parents try to organise their routine in a personally, culturally and morally correct way. In whatever ways families respond to their concerns about their children, will they feel that they have made the right choices? Third, the right choices are those that are more 'meaningful' and which fit with morally and culturally significant values and goals. It has meaning with respect to goals and values. Fourth, sustainable daily routines require adaptation and are a dynamic process, but frequent change in a chaotic, unpredictable daily routine is not a sign of sustainability and thus 'stability and predictability' are required. It provides some stability and predictability for family members.

All families, according to ecocultural theory, seek to make meaningful accommodations to their ecocultural niches through sustainable daily routines. These *activity settings* have been examined from three different dimensions. First, who are the people involved. Second, what are their salient goals, values and beliefs and, third what are the recurring communication patterns like planning, negotiations (Gallimore et al. 1993b, Cooper et al. 1998, p. 113).

There are several benefits from the study of transnational families' everyday life using an eco-cultural model. The model allows transnational families to be studied not only from the point of view of a specific national culture (e.g. Kurdish, Pakistani) but also from the point of view of a family facing a new situation to which they have to adapt. A key assumption is that all families seek to make meaningful accommodations to their ecological niches through sustainable routines of daily life (Cooper et al. 1998, p. 113). The eco-cultural model explores categorical concepts such as culture, ethnicity and family in a novel way.

'When ethnicity and culture are included in discussions of identity, they are typically treated as separate domains of identity or as static labels rather than as dynamic parts of adolescents' ongoing experiences. How can researchers move beyond the categorical treatment of ethnicity, culture and family?' (Cooper et al. 1998, p. 111).

The transnational family can be comprehended as a net of emotionally-attached people stretched across the globe (Basch et al. 1994). This net has strengths, limits, power and weaknesses, it meets unknown eco-cultural forces and has to adapt to the new situations. They have to re-evaluate their everyday life practices. Eco-cultural model might help to assess, examine and develop immigration programmes from the perspectives of newly arrived immigrant families. The eco-cultural model helps to approach everyday life from holistic point of view but still have a focused unit of analysis. The overall notion that exist in the lives of transnational families, in the concept of everyday life, in the socio-cultural approach, in the ecocultural theory, and in migration in general, are change and adaptation. These are also the fundamental elements where this research focuses. The eco-cultural concepts will be discussed further during this research, first in setting the research questions (see section 4.1) and finally in the review of results (see section 8).

Chapter three aimed to introduce the theoretical framework for this study. Everyday life was defined as *a personally experienced active process and a social context where the people operate*. Everyday life has dimensions like *mode* and *space*. The socio-cultural approach brought particular tools to the understanding of human behaviour in a given environment. Eco-cultural theory focused on activities having the activity setting as the unit of analysis.

The theoretical standpoint, outlined by these elements, directs the research in the following way. As everyday life is personally experienced, it is unique for each woman. Thus immigrant women are not seen stereotypically to form some kind of a coherent group nor are

women from the same ethnic background perceived to be alike. Women are also distinguished as active subjects of their own lives, not objects nor targets of surrounding environment. As everyday life is perceived as social, a sense of communality is searched. The mode of everyday life means, in this research context, that the form, style, type of everyday life is described. Clarifying the spatial dimension in their everyday lives needs to be studied further as it is only vaguely described in the existing literature.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The previous chapters have defined the key concepts – transnational family, home, everyday life – and their importance in this research context. This chapter focuses on the research design. First the research questions will be discussed in detail and then the research approach is explained. Data construction and analyses are clarified at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Specified research questions

‘Life in Finland, it is half of the life’ as one of Pentikäinen’s (2005) respondents said in her refugee research. Pentikäinen has described refugees’ transitional process in terms of four stages; getting detached, in-between, attaching and settling. She claimed that the refugees have crossed various borders; not only national borders, but borders between religions, languages, cultures and even the border between life and death. My research aims to capture the everyday life regardless of national borders and how life, across national borders, is constructed. Transnational families move; once, twice or more often. Nevertheless, where they move, their everyday life continues. The main aim of the study is to examine *how transnational families construct their everyday life across national borders*. Everyday life experiences in a fairly new environment are the focus.

During the last ten years a large number of projects have been established to improve immigrants’ well-being in Finland. These domiciling projects (Janhonen-Abruquah & Palojoki, 2005; Rauhanen & Martikainen, 2006) rather tend to focus on problems and narrow sectors of life. As new immigrants continue arriving in Finland there is a need to further develop existing practices and create new ones. Everyday life provides, according to Salmi (2004), an overall perspective without the need of dividing the life into different sectors. The holistic approach (Turkki, 1999, 2004) aims to view human actions from a similar wide perspective. Everyday life is often a focus when these projects are planned, but it is a concept that is taken for granted. The everyday life assumed by project coordinators might not be the same as everyday life experienced by the immigrant women themselves. This research aims to study transnational families’ everyday life from the point of view of immigrant women and their experiences. Thus, the first research question is:

1. What is important when transnational families are constructing their everyday life?

As the everyday life can be viewed from three angles; time, space and modality (Felski 1999/2000), these dimensions should be studied for transnational families. These dimensions give a certain structure to everyday life and make everyday life more approachable for research and intervention purposes. The transnational family is a survival unit (Schmalzbauer, 2005a) that manages to navigate through rough times and takes care of its members. According to the eco-cultural theory, this navigation is made easier through sustainable daily routines (Weisner et al., 2004). By understanding these mundane, repetitive, day-to-day activities on a family level, it is possible to understand better the life and challenges of a transnational family. It is also important to look at the context where social activities are performed. Thus the second research question focuses on the daily activities and how they are performed. The second research question is:

2. What kind of daily activities characterize the everyday life of transnational families?

Families do not operate in a vacuum but are instead in constant relationship with its environment. Various ecological forces are affecting everyday life (Gallimore et al., 1989, 1993a, 1993b). These forces might be as opportunities, limits, potentials or hindrances in the everyday life. It is important to see what these ecological forces are and how they are present in the lives of transnational families. Salmi (2004) sees this even more concretely. According to her, it is important to look at how individuals affect the structures of society and how the societal structures affect lives of individuals. The study aims to make visible processes whereby the family accommodates its life to the circumstances available. The aim is to highlight practices where traditions are kept and reproduced, where actions refer to processes that relate to domiciling and to activities where new practices are produced. The creativity of performing daily activities will be on focus. The innovative solutions to tackle the daily challenges will be highlighted. The third research question is:

3. What kinds of accommodative measures do the family use?

These three research questions are closely connected to each other. It is not always easy to separate the focus from activity to accommodation or to interaction with the environment. After all, this is not a limitation or weakness as they each search for answers in the same overall research aim but approach it from three different angles. They all answer the same question - how is everyday life performed? - but from three different points of view. Firstly, what are the important themes? Secondly, what practices are carried out? Thirdly, how the practices have changed?

4.2 The research approach

The methodological challenges of researching ‘invisible’ everyday life are recognized by researchers (see section 3.1). Salmi (2004, pp. 14–15) claims, that if one has everyday life as the focus of theoretical reasoning it has to be removed from the personal experiences of researchers. This is of course impossible for a researcher as she has her own everyday life. Salmi suggests two approaches to avoid this dilemma. Researchers should explicitly describe their connection to the research and focus on everyday life that differs from their own. This way, the researcher might be able to see through the self-evidency of everyday life (Salmi, 2004, p. 15). This research has the methodological challenge of developing an everyday life research method that would meet the requirements defined by the research questions.

4.2.1 The ethnographic eye

Ethnography as a framework for researching the home and its activities offers an opportunity to construct research data in a joint and confiding process that can be useful both for the researcher and research participant (Lappalainen et al., 2007). The ethnographical approach has potential to open unique avenues for home economics research (Janhonen-Abuquah, 2006a), because it has four distinct strengths. First, ethnographical research is able to provide an interpretative view of everyday life as it is experienced by people themselves. Ethnography, as illustrated by Geertz (1973) provides ‘thick’ [i.e. comprehensive] description of a culture. Second, it enables the researcher to analyze thoroughly the cultural and social processes in the family - and the meanings given to them. Ethnography can give the means to excavate the processes from which tacit knowledge is produced. Ethnography is able to take into account the multifaceted ways in which subjects are produced through the historical categories and the context in which they are placed and which they precariously inhabit. Third, critical ethnography is often described as a way that can give voice to the research subjects. Fourth, data is constructed in a process involving mutual recognition. Ethnography is characterised by reciprocity where the research participants give information so the researcher returns the favour to provide them with something that may be useful.

Previous research has succeeded in capturing important aspects of daily life by using different research approaches and methods. Table 2 summarizes selected everyday life research. First, ethnographic approaches (Table 2/A,B,C) are and then the utility of mixed methods (Table 2/D,E) is discussed. Video recordings (Table 2/F, G), interviews (Table 2/H,I,J) time use surveys (Table 2/K,L) and longitudinal research methods (Table 2/M,N) are also presented.¹⁵ These research examples are given here in order to show their usefulness for this research context where the focus is on transnational families and their everyday life. The studies presented here have also been an inspiration for the development of research methods (see section 4.3.1) used in this research.

¹⁵ The categorization of research in chosen categories is somewhat imprecise. All these methods can be used in ethnographical research but not all of them are ethnographical studies.

Table 2 Examples of everyday life research.

RESEARCHER	DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY	TARGET GROUP	REMARKS
ETHNOGRAPHY A) Carlspecken, 1996	Critical ethnography starts by passive observation. Then primary record is collected from carefully selected sites and times by recording everything one person says and does within 5 minutes. Includes field journal, diary type notes. After preliminary coding and reconstructive analysis starts dialogical data generation by interviews, group discussions and interpersonal process recall.	Schools ethnography, educational settings, schools in communities.	Offers straightforward practical guidelines how to proceed in school ethnography. In this study research participants' everyday life activities cannot be successfully observed.
B) Schmalzbauer, 2005a, 2005b, 2004; Anastario & Schmalzbauer, 2008; Dodson & Schmalzbauer, 2005	Multi-method study: observations, time diaries managed by phone recalls, in-depth interviews, and interpretive focus groups. Two year two-country (Massachusetts USA and Honduras) study of one ethnic group. Used grounded theory approach.	Trans-national Honduran families (n=157).	Schmalzbauer immersed herself in the world of respondents. The use of interpretive focus groups was convincing. Research also aimed helping the Honduran people living in USA.
C) Tiilikainen, 2003	Ethnography within one ethnic group.	Somali women in Helsinki area, Finland.	Tiilikainen, as an ethnographer, sometimes felt like an advisor or friend but also at times like a spy or intruder. Her 'home' and her 'field' sometimes blended together.
MIXED METHODS D) REAL LIFE METHODS (read 20.4.2009) REALITIES (read 20.4.2009)	Aims to produce social science knowledge and explanation that resonates with real life experience, rather than being too abstract or distanced from everyday lived reality. Qualitatively-driven by starting from qualitative research, but moves outward from these, and spans and transcends the qualitative/ quantitative divide.	Great Britain.	Opens innovative mix of methods and approaches to study 'real life'.
E) CELF, Center on the Everyday Life of Families (read 20.4.2009) CEEL, Center for the Ethnography of Everyday Life (read 20.4.2009)	Interdisciplinary approach to record the current changes in society: the rise of the two-career family, the juggling of schedules, the fading boundaries between work-time and family-time, work-place and family-place.	Middle class everyday work and family life in United States, Los Angeles and Michigan.	Created a digital archive of everyday family life research.
VIDEO RECORDINGS F) A Day in A Life (read 20.4.2009)	Aims to develop cultural understandings of toddlers in a specific context. Each child's 'day in the life' was filmed. Data was supplemented with interviews. Local investigators' participation was crucial. Interactive stage of data collection included videoed discussion with the family.	Childhood in diverse global communities.	Uses ecological research approach.

Table 2 Examples of everyday life research (cont.).

RESEARCHER	DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY	TARGET GROUP	REMARKS
G) Korvela, 2003	Aimed to study the dynamics of everyday life. Video camera recordings were operated by the families themselves and complemented by interviewing the mothers.	Three Finnish middle class families.	Enabled the study of on-going activities in real context. Researcher's presence does not interfere the activities. Video camera recordings are not always accepted by all informants.
H) INTERVIEWS Jokinen, 2005	Studied the everyday life of adults. In-depth interviews lasted about 3 hours. Drawings helped the 24 hour memory recall.	Finnish adults.	In-depth interviews are impossible if there are language barriers.
I) Vaïou & Lykogianni, 2006	Focus of the study is urban everyday life in two different areas. Data were collected using life histories (n=33), in-depth interviews (n=27), research into local publications and archives, interviews (n=9) and systematic observation in public places.	Two neighbourhoods one with local and another with Albanian inhabitants in Athens, Greece.	The study that has both everyday life and immigration as its focus.
J) Southerton, 2006	Dimensions of temporal organization: duration, tempo, sequence, synchronization and periodicity were studied through semi-structured interviews (n=27).	Single households as well as couples with and without children; age 25-65 from Bristol, England.	Operationalises the temporal dimension of everyday life.
K) TIME USE SURVEYS Ellegård, 1999 Ellegård & Wilborg, 2001	Research categorizes everyday life. Open diaries (n=165) asked: What time the activity started? What activity is performed? Where the activity is performed? With whom is it performed? Open space for other comments. Research participants defined 'activity' by themselves.	Swedish middle class families.	Informants have to be willing and able to keep written diary.
L) Pääkkönen, 2005	Time use survey based on interview survey in which the respondents keep an accurate diary of their time use over a two-day period.	Carried out by Statistics Finland.	Not possible to distinguish immigrant women from the data.
M) LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH Beiser & al. 1994	Longitudinal study studying changes in stress, social resources, coping, mental health, employment, English language ability, family reunification, consumer practices, and traditional and Canadian customs over the first decade of resettlement. Carried out using interviews: first data collection (n = 1348) 1981, third data collection (n=666) 1991-93.	South Asian refugees, the so-called Vietnamese Boat People, in Canada...	Requires a large research group with constant funding. Translations of interviews are fundamental in structured interviews
N) Perhoniemi & Jasinckaja-Lahti 2007	Longitudinal study carried out using postal questionnaire. For the first study in 1997, n= 1 146 immigrants took part. For the second study in 2004, n= 898, could be located.	Russian speakers, Estonian speakers, Somalis, ethnic Finns from abroad, Arabic speakers, Vietnamese and Turkish in the Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland.	Translations of questionnaires are important.

Ethnography

Carspecken (Table 2/A) provided quite structured guidelines for undertaking critical ethnography in educational settings. He starts by compiling a secondary record using passive observation. Later, a primary record was collected from carefully selected sites and times by recording everything one person says and does within 5 minutes, and then the research focus shifts to next person. Collecting a primary record means tape recording everything and transcribing it. Verbatim speech acts are therefore recorded, as are body movements and body postures. Neutral vocabulary is used, time is recorded, observer's comments (in brackets) and context information is provided. Verbatim speech acts are put in italics, the record is typed and a diagram of the setting is noted. In his example he recorded for two hours at a time for 20 occasions and then chose eight occasions for primary records, with 12 being less comprehensive. The primary records were accompanied by journalistic records or a field journal that looks like a diary. In the field journal no verbatim speech acts are written down, they can be sketchy and may jump from one topic to another. Carspecken stressed the role of key informants. To ensure validity - what makes primary record trustworthy - Carspecken suggested the following techniques: use multiple recording devices and multiple observers, triangulate accounts, have a flexible observation schedule, spend a lot of time in the field, undertake peer-debriefing and member checks. After preliminary coding and preliminary reconstructive analysis he would start dialogical data generation using interviews, group discussions and interpersonal recall. Carspecken continues his study by describing system relationships and then uses these for explanations of findings. This is what Carspecken calls 'critical ethnography'.

What is appealing in Carspecken's approach is the straightforward practical guidelines: step 1, 2, 3 etc. However, this is not totally applicable to the current research setting. Research participants' everyday life activities cannot be successfully observed. Thus, Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) point out that the field is not a pre-given natural entity but something we construct and Carspecken's ethnography might be bit too structured. Foley (2002) on the other hand gives a totally different picture of critical ethnography. He calls Carspecken's approach 'scientific', meaning 'clinical', in the sense that it looks and tries to apply too much precision to something that is both flexible and emergent.

Some researchers (Schmalzbauer, 2004, Table 2/B) was immersed themselves in the life of target groups and thus got an insider's view as done, for example, in the study of Honduran families living in Massachusetts. Schmalzbauer carried out extensive multimethod fieldwork in a two year, two-country - Massachusetts USA and Honduras - study that included 157 people. She used a grounded theory approach. The data were collected through observation, time diaries managed by phone recalls, in-depth interviews, and interpretive focus groups. People were recruited by snowballing. Schmalzbauer said that 'I immersed myself in the world of my respondents' (Schmalzbauer, 2004, p. 1322). Her research has impressed me in various ways. She knew her respondents and their lives well before carrying out the research. Her use of interpretive focus groups was convincing. After gathering the information she would call the focus groups and say: 'this is what I have found out, does it sound right, familiar to you?' (Schmalzbauer, 2004, p. 17). Her research has also an attempt to help the Honduran people living in USA. Schmalzbauer's research to me is an example of critical ethnographic research, but she herself never uses the word ethnography. This type of multi-

site ethnography (Marcus, 1998; Levitt, 2001, 2009) meets the challenge of transnationalism. As the research participants travel, so does the researcher.

Interestingly, Schmaltzbauer collected data also through time diaries (Anastario & Schmaltzbauer, 2008). Urban Honduran migrants were followed over a seven day period. Time diaries were managed by 24 hour phone recall. Researcher would call exactly at the same time and discussions in Spanish. Time diary studies have been limited only to US residential populations. Little has been done to understand how ethnic minority and immigrant populations spend their time. The same gap exists in the Finnish time use surveys. The use of participatory ethnography created an environment more conducive to the trust of respondents.

Tiilikainen (Table 2/C) studied everyday Muslim practices amongst Somali women in the Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland. In her ethnographic study she was interested in Muslim women and how they experience Finland. Tiilikainen's study is one of the first Finnish immigration studies. Tiilikainen studied women from one particular immigration group.

Mixed methods

Methodological attention to the study of everyday life has been given in several research projects. 'Real life methods', 'Realities', 'CELf', 'CEEL' and 'A day in a life' have similar aims to grasp the multidimensionality of everyday life.

Real Life Methods (Table 2/D) research project and its subprojects; Connected Lives, Living Resemblances, Family Background and Young Lives aim to develop a creative and innovative mix of methods and approaches. The social science research group, that is based in Leeds and Manchester, United Kingdom believes that this is required if the aim is to fully grasp and explain the different dimensions through which real life is lived. The board approach is described as 'qualitatively-driven', because it starts from some of the best principles of qualitative research. However, it moves outward from these and the research spans and transcends the qualitative/quantitative divide. The approach is based on interdisciplinary collaboration because there is a creative tension and energy in the dialogue with different disciplines. The group are committed to producing social science knowledge and explanation that resonate with real life experience, rather than seeming too abstract or distanced from everyday lived reality.

Real Life Methods project is closely connected to Realities (Table 2/D) research project. It aims to develop methods and approaches that can capture the combination of vital, tangible and intangible dynamics in the way that personal relationships and relational ties are lived. A creative methodological approach is taken combining traditional methods, both qualitative and quantitative, with innovative qualitatively-driven approaches. One interesting example of their research (Mason & Tipper, 2008, p.139) is about how children create their kinship. Children were invited to say who matters in their lives either in positive or negative manner and then the research aimed to expand how and why this was the case. They used a variety of methods; semi-structured interviews, asking children to draw pictures, to complete a 'circles map' exercise for charting emotional closeness, and prior to each interview take photographs 'who matters to me' which were then used in the interviews. The interviews were ethnographic in style involving walking tours of gardens and houses and interactions with other family members, pets.

In the United States, middle class everyday work and family life is studied at research centres like Center for the Ethnography of Everyday Life, CEEL, in Michigan and Center on the Everyday Life of Families, CELF in California. CELF (Table 2/E) is an interdisciplinary

centre where anthropologists, applied linguists, education specialists, and psychologists study how working parents and their children approach the challenges of balancing the demands of work, school, and family life using detailed, ethnographic research of everyday life. The centre aimed for detailed, ethnographic research on the home life of middle class working families, creation of a digital archive of everyday family life, providing research training opportunities for scholars of family life and informing public dialogue on working family life. An interdisciplinary team of University of California, Los Angeles, staff and graduate students followed 32 Los Angeles households over five years. They scrutinized their subjects as if the family members were a newly discovered pack of exotic animals. It meant excruciatingly detailed observation of the subjects, all middle-class, and dual-income families. Moms, dads and their school-age kids were videotaped for several months from the moment they woke until they left for work or school, then again later in the day, until the kids' bedtime. Everything was fair game for interpretation —meals, errands, interactions with the world and each other. Even the families' homes were studied, mapped and measured, with families shooting their own video tours; up to 1,000 photos were taken of rooms, furniture and artefacts.

CEEL (Table 2/E) documents the changes in the lives of the American Middle Class as indicators of deeper currents in meaning and motivation. It is asked how they connect to our senses of relatedness, self, obligation, and character. The changes surround us: the rise of the two-career family, the juggling of schedules, the fading boundaries between work-time and family-time, work-place and family-place. At CEEL the focus is on the concrete experiences of real people, places, and lives. Researchers follow everyday lives - in schools, offices, factories, farms, small towns, suburbs, and urban neighbourhoods - observing, recording, and documenting.

Video recordings

Both the little girls ('A Day in the Life', Table 2/F) and the entire family (Korvela, 2003; Table 2/G) have been in the spotlight of a video camera for research purposes. 'A Day in the Life' (Table 2/F) is an ecological investigation of culture in the interactional construction of childhood in diverse global communities. Regarding culture as a dynamic, interactionally produced dimension of the child's activities and socialization, as it is for her caregivers, the project methodology endeavoured to enact as well as explore such processual notions.

In this study, girls aged two and a half years, together with the caregivers they interact with and the values expressed by those caregivers are the foci of attention. The approach taken is to film a 'day in the life' of each child and supplement these data with interviews in which core values in the child's family existence are explored. A crucial element of the project was the full participation by local investigators. Several months after the filming there was an iterative stage of data collection, including a videoed discussion with the family of a 'compilation' tape from the day. The interplay between members of the research team and participants, the collaborations between the local researchers and other members of the international research team, were critical components of this effort to develop new cultural understandings of these toddlers in context. This type of data collection allows various approaches for data analyses. Familial support for the development of strong children; the nature of interactions in child-care giving relationships including the role of extended family members; key engagements with artefacts; musicality, conceived of as ways of engaging with and accommodating to the world; pre- and early literacy activities and their

environmental/social supports; eating events and humour are the research foci that has been used.

In a Finnish study video camera recordings were able to capture the dynamics of family life (Table 2/G). The cameras were placed by the researcher but operated by the families themselves. Two to three cameras captured the daily events. Families were instructed to switch on the cameras while they were at home. The video recordings were complemented by interviews with the mothers (Korvela, 2003).

Interviews

In-depth interviews assisted by picture drawings have also been used to capture everyday life amongst Finnish adults (Table 2/H). Jokinen (2005) asked research participants to recall their memoirs of the previous day with pen and paper. They drew the events on large paper and later discussed it with the researcher. As a result of her studies, Jokinen was able to write about the paradoxes of everyday life (see section 3.1).

A study of urban everyday life (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006) was undertaken in two different areas of Athens, Greece (Table, 2/I). It described how neighbourhood was experienced by both local and immigrant women. The picture of women's everyday life was drawn by their in-depth interviews and observations at public places. Women were the pole around which life in urban neighbourhoods was organized and they managed to create a homely urban life in a non-homely environment. Casual meetings and chance encounters contribute to form a network of "weak ties" which builds a sense of familiarity in the neighbourhood. It sees neighbourhood as an important social and spatial scale at which urban life takes place, but it is not a bounded space (ibid, 2006, pp. 741–742). In relation to the current study, it is argued that this study places more emphasis on everyday life outside the homes. It focuses on women's daily routes and their relationship to the neighbourhood rather than life inside their homes.

Time use

Everyday life has been studied from the time use perspective (Table 2/J,K,L). Southerton (2006) described the rhythm of daily time use with five dimensions: duration, tempo, sequence, synchronization and periodicity (see section 3.1). His time use study was conducted using semi-structured interviews. He analyzed non-work practices because, according to him, non-work practices required that respondents had a degree of discretion over participation. Southerton described how socio-demographic constraints (gender, age, life-course and education) affect the temporal organization of daily life. Although, his research group is relatively small it is interesting how he has operationalised Fine's (1996) five dimensions and used them. It is an attempt to structure everyday life and get hold of it for research purposes.

In Ellegård's time –geographical approach she has developed an interesting hierarchical categorization scheme to study individuals' daily activities (Ellegård & Wihlborg, 2001, Table 2/K). Open diaries with some guideline questions gave detailed and accurate information about the type of daily activities as well as the duration of activities amongst Swedish families. She collected 165 open diaries and asked the following questions of the participants. What time the activity started? What activity is performed? Where the activity is performed? With who is it performed? She also reviewed the open space for other comments. Individuals themselves were expected to define what they experienced as an activity. The hierarchical categorization scheme had five levels of detail (sphere, category, class, sort,

specification). For example, household care (sphere), care of home (category), tidy up (class), clean up (sort), and sweep (specification). The scheme consists of about 600 different types of activities. This hierarchy of activities offered an opportunity to compare diaries that are written at different level of details (Ellegård, 1999).

The time-geographical approach takes account of four different contexts: everyday context, project context, social context and geographical context. In project context, many different types of activities are combined and related to a long or short term aim. The activities do not necessarily follow sequentially one after the other but are interrupted by activities belonging to other project contexts. 'Bringing up children' is one of the fundamental projects whereas 'gardening' is an example of narrower project. The everyday context is a mix of activities related to different projects, an uninterrupted flow of activities, the sequence of activities during a given period. Some activities are preferably done with someone else. The social context includes all individuals whose activities, in one way or another, are intertwined with other persons. Geographical context describes the relation between activity and location (Ellegård, 1999). A diary is able to provide detail written information if participants are motivated to write and share a language with the researcher.

The Finnish time use survey (Pääkkönen, 2005) was an extensive interview survey in which the respondents kept an accurate diary of their time use over a two-day period (Table 2/L). Besides the time used for different activities, the survey also studied the daily and weekly rhythms of time use, and the time spent with other people. Some of the classification data derive from administrative registers (the Population Register or the Tax Administration's database). Activities described by the respondents themselves were coded according to the 185-category classification of activities. Background variables for the time use data included such as the main type of activity, age, stage in life, level of education, socio-economic group, type of municipality, major region, province, time of the year, day of the week. Starting in 1979, and collected every ten years, data were most recently collected in 1999-2000.

Longitudinal studies

A longitudinal interview study (Table 2/M) using structured questionnaires described changes over the first decade of South Asian refugees' resettlement in Canada (Beiser, Johnson, & Roshi, 1994) . The first data collection (n = 1348) was undertaken in 1981. For the third data collection, that took place from 1991-93, 842 respondents could be located and 666 of them granted an interview. This study permitted analysis of the various aspects of life: changes in stress, social resources, coping, mental health, employment, English language ability, family reunification, consumer practices, and traditional and Canadian customs over the first decade of resettlement.

The longer people were in Canada, the better the employment situation appeared to be. Good pay and steady work were chosen as the most important characteristics of a good job. One fifth of those with jobs were self-employed, and their businesses tried to serve two markets: the non-ethnic and ethnic communities. A majority used their native language with parents and with their spouse, but used English and their native language equally with others. Formal classes and regular contact with Canadians were the most helpful ways for respondents to learn English. Virtually all of the respondents became Canadian citizens. Two thirds of the former refugees said they felt at home in their adopted country. For those who did not, their reasons for wishing to return to Southeast Asia were to be with relatives, a longing for the familiar, and a preference for the scenery and climate of their former homes.

One quarter of the Southeast Asians said they had had direct experience with racism. However, the respondents expressed satisfaction with a wide variety of life domains; forty per cent reported no worries. Moreover, the trends documented suggest that while worries about family tend to disappear over time, unemployment and finances continue to occupy the mind of many new settlers. This research has a parallel setting to a Finnish immigration study (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2007) discussed in section 2.1). The results are also quite similar even though in the Finnish study there were seven different ethnic groups taking part (Table 2/N). Both these longitudinal studies – Canadian and Finnish - are congruent with the aims of the current research - what happens to people when they change cultures? I am impressed with the length and scale of both the researches but it is still questionable if ‘the truth’ can be found through an interview – a time and content limited interaction - even though it is a follow-up interview and the interviewers are well trained.

Each of these methodological approaches has its strengths and weaknesses as presented above and summarized in Table 2. In the current research, it is argued that there is a need to see transnational families and their context dependency. This, of course, has implications for the methodological choices. In research carried out by Phenice et al. (2009), they emphasised on the importance of social justice and valuing the balance of power between the researcher and the participants of ethnic communities. They state that there is a need in family and consumer science¹⁶ for culturally sensitive research (ibid, p. 300). Phenice et al. suggest community-based participatory research that emphasizes the active participation of ethnically diverse groups. Their participatory research was carried out amongst obese Native American youth who are at greater risk than other ethnic groups and whose obesity levels are expected to keep rising (ibid., p. 307). They developed an ecocultural adaptive research design where the intervention design is revised based on the participants’ ‘voice’. The cultural sensitivity increased during the intervention as several revised intervention designs were implemented and resulted the cultural validity to increase as well. In their research they also saw the importance of including family members as participants. Long-term effectiveness was seen to depend on how well the environment supported the changes. Involving research participants in a mutual research process was challenging. In next section, the possibility of using photographs in a participatory approach will be considered.

¹⁶ Home economics science is also called as family and consumer science in North America.

4.2.2 Photographs in research

H: Do you have some things from your home country that are very important?

S: Not really. Photographs are probably the most valuable things.'

(Transcription notes, discussion with Inga)

Previous research has made use of photographs in various ways ranging from illustrations (Soenen, 2003) to photo-elicitation interviews (Harper, 2003) and as an instrument for social change (PhotoVoice, 2008). This chapter gives a short overview to the various functions that photographs have had in research. The focus is on how photography can be used as a data collection method in research that aims to capture the passing moments of everyday life. Common for all these approaches, described below, is that they have all tried to make visible something that is not easily seen and where words seem not to be enough.

Photographs can *illustrate* the research findings as done in, for example, an anthropological study conducted on public transportation in Antwerp. The photographer joined the researcher at times for the field work. The research findings were then illustrated by some of the photographs (Soenen, 2003). Photographs thus clarified and emphasized the research findings.

Photographs as part of the data collection process can make it easier for the researcher *to become familiar with the research context*. Gold (2004) used photographs to build trust with the respondents in his research among ethnic and minority communities. It is possible, via the photographs, to get a sense of how the participants see their world. Photographs force one to *see the world through someone else's eyes* as, for example, in a study where Scandinavian children took pictures of their daily food and eating practices (Johansson et al. 2006). The children were happy to use disposable cameras and were eager to see their own pictures as well as these of other children and talk about them. In this particular study the researchers were not always satisfied about the technical quality of pictures. They saw it as a weakness of the study. In this case, however, the children gave the researchers a sense of how they saw their foods and eating habits without adult censorship. A Danish study (Rasmussen & Smidt, 2002) examined children's everyday lives through the photographs taken by the children themselves. Rasmussen (2004) claims that children's everyday life has become institutionalized and he sees their everyday life staged in three arenas: school, home and recreational facility. In Rasmussen's (2004) study children presented their everyday places to the researchers. Rasmussen (2004) analysed them to present places for children and children's places. He asks if adults have become less tolerant and accepting *vis-à-vis* children's places as they encapsulate and design places for children. (Rasmussen, 2004, p. 172).

Gold (2004) benefited from the *social interaction* involved when taking the pictures, showing the images to respondents and *sharing* prints with colleagues and students. Gold found that the taking of pictures and sharing them helped him build social relationships with the participants. Pictures allowed him also to share the research findings with colleagues. Holm (2008a, 2008b) developed this social interaction even further as her research participants, graduate students, also participated in the analysis of the pictures they had taken. In her study, the making and presenting of the photographs allowed the students to construct and perform visually their identities as doctoral students.

Although there is the limitation that still pictures cannot capture the dynamic aspect of actions, Power (2003) argues that pictures can be stronger than words and provide more information. She also argues that since daily and routine activities can be difficult to discuss,

using photographs can help generate conversation and stimulate discussions. *Photo elicitation* (Harper, 2002) is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into research interview. The photographs can elicit information and evoke feelings and memories that might not have emerged in the interviews without the photographs. Photo elicitation resembles stimulated recall discussion method (Haaranen, 2006) although, in stimulated recall discussion, the stimulus can be any kind of prop that enhances memory, not only photograph.

Using a slightly different format, family photograph *albums* enable both the researcher and research participants to visit history. It gives an opportunity to revisit different moments in the research participant's life and capture meanings attached to visual representations (Twine, 2006). In Twine's longitudinal ethnography, the photographs chronicled the life of one family over twenty years of time. She was interested in how white birth mothers of African decent children negotiate their 'racial profiles' in public and private arenas. Twine paid attention to both what was in the pictures and what was not seen. Another kind of family album was photographed by two sisters who both were professional photographers living in 1920s in Rovaniemi in northern Finland (Autti, 2003). Autti analyzed the pictures from a women studies point of view with regard to how the sisters were seen and how they saw themselves. The photographs portrayed an active, even cosmopolitan picture of the sisters in the 1920s which is totally different view than what is normally remembered about life at that time in a remote area of northern Finland. It is almost contradictory to the official history of Rovaniemi. These pictures transmit powerful representations from the past to the present day.

Photographs can be seen as tools to *display a family*, argues Finch (2007). She claims that families cannot exist solely in one's own consciousness. They need to be understood and accepted as such by others (Finch, 2007). Important tools for displaying families are physical objects like photographs and domestic artefacts which don't necessarily carry much monetary value but which symbolize the relationship. Finch thus argues that families are not only made doing family things but also in the way that they are displayed.

The dialogue between family photographs and viewers has been also a research interest in another study (Ulkuniemi, 2005, 2007). She positions her research as visual communication in art education. Ulkuniemi's photographs were seen as a potential tool for being in touch, but they enabled at times the return to traumatic memories. The importance of daily life pictures was emphasized in her photographs and viewers reported the value of documenting everyday life moments in addition to family portraits.

Finch and Ulkuniemi were pointing to the importance of photographs in building family stories but photographs are also powerful tools and agents that can build self-esteem or even generate social change. The Loveliest Girl in the World (Savolainen, 2008; Voimauttava Valokuva, 2007) is an *empowering* project carried out by the photographer and social worker Savolainen. She worked over a decade with girls from a foster home. The fairytale quality of the photographs reveals a truth often obscured by the rough and tumble of daily life, namely the person each young girl feels she really is inside herself. It allows the girls to regard themselves as strong and undamaged people. These photographs are deeply authentic, revealing the universal desire to be seen as good and valuable. She has further developed the therapeutic method of using photographs with patients (Halkola et al., 2008). Savolainen (2008) argues that photographs have the ability to clarify for the participants what is important and empowering in one's life.

As the empowering and therapeutic use of photographs aim to improve individual lives PhotoVoice (2008) is a method that aims to generate *social change*. It is a combination of a

grass roots approach, photography and social action. It helps people to record their community's strengths and weaknesses; it enhances dialogue and involves policy makers. Photography is often about power; who takes pictures and who is in the pictures. PhotoVoice aims to undo this power division. It helps to change the ones in the pictures as active agents of their own lives. Through the photography they tell their stories and reach up to policy makers. The idea is that local photographers and NGOs (non-governmental organizations) work together with the people. PhotoVoice has been successful in number of projects. They have worked with immigrants, who have arrived alone in the London metropolitan area, potential risk groups of HIV/AIDS people or enhancing the dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian war victim youths.

A recent Finnish example of PhotoVoice is a project where disabled parents recorded their everyday life experiences (Björkman, 2006; Kehitysvammaisten tukiliitto, 2007). Disabled parents had the experience that society sees them as helpless and incapable of raising children. PhotoVoice gave them a possibility to share their everyday life experiences with others and thereby accomplish a change in other people's perceptions of them. They share the importance of everyday life moments – as family, relative, children, joy of children, importance of vacations, independent reasoning and sense of humour- through a photograph exhibition and a book (Kehitysvammaisten tukiliitto, 2007).

Common to all the various uses of photographs in research is that they try to make visible something that is not easily seen or noticed. Pictures are used when words are not enough. I have previously studied photographs in family research (Janhonen-Abuquah & Holm, 2008) and in home economics research (Janhonen-Abuquah, 2009). The advantages of photographs are their ability to capture real life moments and the research participants' interpretation of the photographs provide deeper understanding of the events. With immigrant women sought as participants for the current research, photographs have potential as a medium of communication across cultural and language barriers. The case for using photographs in research is strengthened not only by the wider use of visual images but by the related simplification of photographic technology. Photography does not require professional skills and is inexpensive to use as a data collection method. The weaknesses of photographs are that they do not capture the *process* of human actions nor the non-visual context of interaction.

4.3 Data Collection

The target group and the focus of this study - immigrant women living in Finland – demanded that the data collection methods ought to be developed further. The previous sections (4.2.1 - 4.2.2) have paved the route for developing it. The method is influenced by ethnography. It aims to capture the quickly passing daily moments and tries to present the research participant's view of life.

4.3.1 Data Construction Technique

During the prestudy (June 2005 – July 2005) the preliminary research method was planned. The idea was that the research participants would keep a written diary for couple of days. Guided questions were given out to help the writing. This did not work out. It was difficult to recruit volunteers. Those who volunteered did not write much and it was difficult to find time to interview them. A research assistant was helping at this point. The data that were finally obtained was scanty and it had registered quite random events of life. One main reason for the difficulties was that at this point the focus of the research and the research question were not crystallised. It also became obvious that the research group, immigrant women, were not able to write much. The women were not eager to write or speak much partly because of poor literacy skills in English and Finnish and my inability to understand Russian, Estonia, Kurdish, Swahili or Arabic. We did not share common mother tongue and that would need to be taken seriously. These immigrant women were neither a homogeneous cultural nor ethnic group. Something that could bridge the cultural and language barriers was needed.

Challenges met in the prestudy encouraged the development of a four step approach to data collection (Table 3). Participatory observation notes (Table 3/1) were taken each time the researcher entered the sites. The notes were written in a research diary manner, researchers emotions were recorded as well as all kinds of events that seemed interesting at that point. Participant observations attached the study into a certain space, context and environment. It described the location and atmosphere by providing an overview of the various settings where data was gathered and provided background information for the data gathering. Participant observation did not aim to provide a context for women's everyday life but rather provide the context for the research. It gave opportunity for the researcher to get to know the women, discuss with them and require whether they would be interested taking part in the research. Often discussions dealt with everyday life practices like shopping, finding different products from the grocery store, child upbringing, cooking to mention some. Participant observation meant that the researcher took part in various activities organized by the NGOs.

The researcher met research participants at least three times. The researcher had seen some of the women several times before and after the actual data collection as the researcher was doing voluntary work at the research sites. Meeting places and times were agreed through mobile phone calls or text messages. Meetings took place in schools, classrooms, corridors, NGO offices and cafeterias. At the first meeting, the idea of the study was presented. In the second meeting the research agreement (Appendix 3) was signed, the background questionnaire (Appendix 4) was filled out and technical assistance on how to operate the cameras was provided. In the research agreement, it was agreed that the researcher had the right to use the pictures for research purposes, but they would not be published. This was

important as the idea was to get pictures of everyday life not of how the women wanted their daily life presented in a scientific publication. During the third meeting the pictures were viewed together by the researcher and the participant who had taken the photographs.

Table 3 Four-step research method developed in this study.

PHASE	CLARIFICATION	AIM	CHALLENGES	REMARKS	WHERE TO FIND THE ANALYSED DATA?
1 Participant observation notes	Researcher keeps her own diary and collects personal thoughts, opinions, feelings etc. in the form of participant observation notes.	Provides background information and context for the data gathering. Describes the location, atmosphere, as providing an overview of the various settings where data were gathered.	Separating observations from researchers own interpretations.	An application of an ethnographic field notes.	Section 4.3.3 Sections 5.1 – 6.2
2 Introductory interview/questionnaire	Detailed questionnaire (37 questions for example about countries lived, languages spoken, occupation, family ties, social relations).	Provide demographic data, who, what kind of people took part in the research?	Questionnaire is necessarily long, filling in is very difficult and time consuming, language problems.	Electronic form was used. Researcher used a paper copy of the questionnaire during the interview and later transferred the data to the database.	Mainly section 5.1 Women in the research
3 Keeping a photographic diary for a couple of days	Disposable and digital cameras are given for the respondents to use.	The aim is to get a picture of respondent's normal, daily life. The researcher's interest lies on the activities. What are they doing?	Clear instructions were needed; 'when you start a new activity take a picture'.	Preliminary concern, how to make them take daily life pictures not tourist pictures?	Sections 5.2.- 6.2
4 Stimulated recall interviews based on photographs taken, individual discussions	Dialogic data are generated through in-depth discussions. The individual interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The picture and story attached to it were carefully kept together.	Sets of photographs helps as a memory tool in stimulated recall interviews. Enables collection of data that would not appear in research using other methods. Photographs reveal things that researcher did not think of asking and respondent did not think would be of interest to the researcher.	Language and communication challenges.	Topics in conversations: What is happening? What are they doing? Who is present?	Sections 5.2.- 6.2

The background questionnaire (Table 3/2, Appendix 4) aimed collecting information that could answer the question 'who are the women in the research' (see section 5.1). As 'immigrant women' are a large and heterogeneous group, the background questionnaire was targeted to provide further knowledge about research target group's cultural background. It covered areas like countries lived in, languages spoken, occupation, family ties and social relations. It contained 37 questions. The questionnaire tried to categorize the immigrant women although this kind of categorization can be criticized. Many researchers, like Vertovec (2006), are using the concept of super diversity as it is more and more difficult to classify people according to their nationality, ethnicity, and religion. Super diversity is a challenging concept for any research method. The background questionnaire had its limits. Did the women understand the questions in the same way as researcher had planned them and how much the process of constructing the questionnaire already serves to classify the women. Despite such shortcomings, the background questionnaire provided important basic information about the women. The questionnaire was long, and filling it out was difficult and time consuming. There were also language difficulties in that some of the participants did not understand Finnish or English very well. The researcher used a paper copy of the questionnaire during the interview and later transferred the data into an electronic database. The questionnaire gave researcher also a chance to practice how to plan and implement an electronic questionnaire and how to handle the data in electronic form. Both the questionnaire and participant observation provided background information that helps in understanding the photographs better.

Photographs had been used successfully in some domiciling projects where children had been taken the pictures. At one of the research sites, *immigrant's site* (see further section 4.3.3), successful projects with pictures had been carried out. This encouraged me to use photographs in this research as well. Photographic diaries (Table 3/3) turned out to be a friendly way for research participants to express themselves. Clear instructions were needed to guide what kind of moments should be photographed. Women were asked to take a photograph when they are doing something and take a photograph even if they are not doing much. In the beginning disposable cameras were used and later digital cameras were found to be more practical. When using the disposable cameras, the researcher got the pictures developed and gave copy of the picture for the participant. Halfway of the research digital cameras were bought, and lent for the women. The research participants got a copy of the pictures on a CD. Digital technology became more affordable and researcher's digital picture handling skills improved during the research project. Women had at least one week time to take the photographs. The idea was that both weekdays and weekend days would be photographed. At times the women had the camera almost up to one month as it was difficult to find a spare moment for discussions. No special consideration was given so that the photographing time wouldn't coincide with particular holidays. In fact, some of the women graduated during the photographing phase, which was a special time of their lives. In this research everyday life is understood to include both regularly occurring events as well as exception, once in lifetime experiences.

The aim of photographs was to use them in photo elicitation manner (Table 3/4) in order to get a rich picture of research participants' everyday life. During the recall discussions stimulated by the photographs it was important for the researcher to not to ask so much but to listen more intensively and in a sensitive manner. The idea was to allow the photographs to stimulate and generate the discussion not that the researcher's questions would lead the

discussion. Questions like: what is happening? what are they/you doing? who is present? were asked, but often the conversation lead freely depending what women wanted to tell. It was like looking through family album and explaining the pictures to a stranger, in this case to the researcher. Photographs also had an important role in establishing good rapport (Ryen, 2001, p. 337). Photographs were not analyzed as primary data but combined together with the discussions women told. All the discussions were recorded and transcribed.

The data construction was carried out through this kind of four step method and the data obtained is described in next chapter.

4.3.2 Ethical issues

Good scientific practice (National Advisory Board on Research Ethics, 2002) requires that researchers follow the general principles accepted by the scientific community. This means honesty, accuracy and diligence while planning the research, in collecting the data, analyzing it and reporting the results. One ought to practice transparency throughout the research process. Other researchers' scientific achievements are to be presented respectfully and credit to them should be fairly given. For the non-medical human sciences (National Advisory Board on Research Ethics, 2009) there are three ethical ground rules: to respect the research participants' right of self-determination, refrain causing any harm for them and to provide anonymity for the research participants in a way that they are not recognizable.

Throughout this research process, the researcher carefully pondered 'what is right, what is wrong' in research. Good scientific practice seems easy to follow especially in non-medical human sciences and particularly when the research focus is everyday life. What harm could this research cause? The major ethical considerations in this research deal firstly with the researcher-research participant relationship and secondly publishing the photographs in the research report.

It was important for the researcher to enter the sites (see further 4.3.3) as a researcher; not as a teacher, not as a home economics expert, not a wife of an immigrant, not as a mother, not as a friend, but as a researcher. I introduced myself as a researcher and explained the type of research I was doing. This I found very important for research ethics. I also wanted to keep the relationship as research focused relationship. I did not want to establish a friend-like relationship and then use the information for my professional research work. This was done as I respect my research participants and the privacy of their family life. As part of developing relationships with my research participants, I took on deep ethical obligations (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 34–35). These included the obligation to report the interviews accurately and fairly, the responsibility to keep any promises made in order to get the interview and the commitment to not harm the interviewees. Although ethics requires kindness and gentleness towards research participants as a researcher I am also obligated to be accurate in what I report. This leads to the second ethical tension.

Using photographs in the research report, is an example of how the research process evolved and not everything can be planned nor predicted before hand. Originally the idea was to use the photographs only to ease the conversation. Data would be the transcribed discussions, not the photographs as such. During the research process it become obvious that the photographs were such a central part of the data. Some of them needed to be published in order for the reader to able to follow the research.

As a researcher I am quite careful of publishing the photographs. It is important that they do not enhance stereotypic way of thinking. They should not be taken out of the research context. It is important that the photographs in this research report do not form an academic or scholar way of prying into someone else's family life.

To address these difficulties, it was necessary to devise a strategy which simultaneously gave flexibility to publish photographs illuminating scenes of everyday life and yet respect participant anonymity. Photographs are not published in this research report as they were originally printed and viewed. They have to present enough detail and information for the reader, in order that reader is able to follow the research process. On the other hand, the researcher was very careful to protect the anonymity of the research participants and the locations where the photographs were taken. Photographs have to be able to represent the context without infringing the personal anonymity of the participants. The photograph editing was done in a manner that the anonymity of persons and places would be ensured but enough information for the reader could be provided. As the persons are recognizable into some extent, a permission to publish the modified digital photograph was sought from the research participants¹⁷. The photographs were edited even when permission to publish pictures as such were granted. All this was done in order not to violate the participant anonymity. Below (Photograph 1) is an example of how the photographs were edited for publishing purposes.

The manipulation of photographic images as line-drawing representations has been done successfully in previous research. Family photographs were in focus of a study (Mäkiranta, 2008) where photographs together with narrations acted as producing the autobiography of research participants. Line-drawing was used in the publication of photographs (Mäkiranta, 2005).



Photograph 1 Researcher (right) discussing with a research participant (left) (D A1).

¹⁷ Researcher met research participants again in September-October 2009, showed the manipulated line-drawing representations of their photographs and asked their permission for publication.

4.3.3 Access to immigrant women

In qualitative research the researcher has to constantly negotiate her/his presence and is always looking for the proper place, role and position as a researcher. It seems like a vicious circle - if the researcher is not in the field she/he cannot construct data but if she/he is, then the field will change and is not the same because of her/his presence. In this chapter, I explain how I entered the field and how I negotiated my relationships with the field. I entered my field first through third sector non-governmental organizations (NGOs)¹⁸ and then approached it through vocational education institutions.

I chose my respondents through actively operating NGOs because the third sector does significant immigrant work. According to Rönnerberg (2000) there is the goal of a more communicative society in which the importance of people's own messages and voices is growing. Citizens are seen as actors – subjects in their lives. Third sector could be described as a social community, which participates in the planning of society and influences – with varying success – political decision-making through its experience-based expertise. It is a fairly large economic “non-profit” actor that produces goods and services and influences life styles and ways of consumption. It is also growing as an employer. Its nature as an independent actor and creator of communication has not been sufficiently understood yet. As a social community, it is fairly close to people. It uses everyday life as starting point and its expertise is strongly based on people's own experience based knowledge and know-how. ‘In third sector activities, volunteering is a central principle. People seem to act when they are motivated to do so’ (Rönnerberg, 2000, pp. 88–89).

At the start of this research, I played something of the active teacher role in the field. As the research proceeded I withdrew from the stage to the audience and learnt to enjoy the role of researcher that looks quite passive from outside. I got into the field of research through three NGOs. The field was not physically far, I did not get the chance to travel into remote unknown countries, but found the surprisingly unknown territory quite close by my daily routes. Experiencing daily life with the people in the NGOs made me look at my own daily life, the so familiar shops, streets and my fellow Finns through different eyes. It opened a new sight for me. I am surprised at this because I thought that I had quite a bit experience through my own rather transnational family life, but no. My field of research was able to surprise me over and over again.

The first two NGOs provided help, support and advice for immigrants the third NGO was a Finnish women's organization. All of them got part of their funding through the Finnish Slot Machine Association. One is targeted only at immigrant women and I call it in this study *Women's site*. The second one provides services for all immigrants and thus it is called here *Immigrants' site*. The third NGO is here called *Course site* as it has a long tradition educating Finnish women. All the sites welcomed me warmly. In my previous job as a teacher I had co-

¹⁸ Non-governmental organization (NGO) is a term that refers to a legally constituted, non-governmental organization created by natural or legal persons with no participation or representation of any government. The voluntary sector or non-profit sector is the sphere where NGOs operate. This sector is also called the third sector, in reference to the public sector and the private sector (Rönnerberg, 2000).

operated with them but now entered the sites as a researcher. I was a little worried about how I would be received in my new role; but my worries turned out to be groundless.

The women's site (data collection period: May 2005 – December 2005) is located in a suburb where the number of immigrants is quite high. The block of flats is rather dull looking as well as the buildings around it. But once you opened the door you entered a totally different world. A rather spacious front room welcomes you and you are most likely to meet Russian, Kurd, Finnish women, the permanent staff, numerous trainees, volunteers or the regular visitors.

It is quite a cultural mix here. A lot of languages and nationalities, a lot of women, it is difficult to keep track of who is who. At first it looked like there are two groups: Finnish staff and foreign immigrants. Then I saw differences amongst the Finns; middle aged director, young new employee, return migrant from Russia, a Finn who had lived most of her life in North America. The immigrants seem to be either from Russia or have Kurdish background. But I'm still seeing the immigrants in a very stereotypical way. (Participant observation notes, 5.9.2005)

The women's site organizes Finnish language courses, other activity groups and provides help with daily problems. It is also a friendly meeting point where one could just come for a chat with friends or to make new friends.

In the beginning I was confused as to what would be my place at the *Women's site*. I was constantly moving my little back bag under the wardrobe by the entrance, to behind the sofa in the front room, to the corner of the kitchen and to the corner of the office. Finally I felt at ease when I sat by the kitchen table and talked with the women. It was easy to start the conversation with food. 'What do you have in the sauce pan? What would you put there next? hmm... it smells so good etc.' After a couple of weeks, I was asked to plan the weekly menu with the women, do the shopping and, once a week, cook Finnish food. This made me feel good and from this point on I was introduced as 'volunteer who cooks Finnish food' or 'one of the students'. At the same time that I was a participant observer, I was engaged with food-related activities, advising on nutrition, food knowledge and practical cookery. Food was way to the life of immigrant women.

It was only today that I realized how good cookery books the food packages make. I keep the packages and when the food is ready I explain with the packages how the food was prepared. I also realized how good Finnish language rehearsal the food packages provide. Combined language and recipe book together with food! (Participant observation notes 21.11.2005.)

The women's site operated actively. There were four permanent staff members and numerous volunteers who actively organized courses and activities for women. Finnish language courses were important part of the daily routine. Women came with their children and the volunteers provided child care services while the mothers attended the course. The site had very good connections with the wider society and various immigrant work bodies. Thus there were many visitors, journalists, and also researchers there. At the time, I got the impression that there was like a crowd of researchers. Every one was trying from their own interest point of view to improve immigrant women's life. I was one of them.

The immigrants' site (data collection May 2005 – September 2005) is located in the central business district, almost at the top floor of an office block. They promoted the integration, supported immigrant initiatives, offered co-operative opportunities to organisations and integration services to officials. Russian, Kurd, North American and

Finnish background staff welcomed immigrants in a spacious office. Through the staff I got the opportunity to visit various immigrant groups and their special events.

A Kurd Association excursion day to Finnish recreation park made me feel very alien in my own country, own neighbourhood. But I still realized that this must be good experience. This must be the feeling immigrants feel in Finland. The lunch was amazing experience. In a rainy, cold park the women managed to pull out the steaming pots of wonderful foods and perform their motherly duties. The joy, when I was offered some of the delicacies was overwhelming. I was accepted. (Participant observation notes 21.8.2005)

A Finnish women's organization had a long tradition educating rural women but nowadays this included whole families in cities as well as in countryside. They have also organized courses for immigrant women. I took part in one of their household courses for women. Here I call the place *Course site* (January 2007 - February 2007). I saw that part of the city with new eyes. I had received detailed directions from the course leader how to find my way. I rang the doorbell of a big grey block of flats. On the door there was a notice about the cooking course. The course leader came smiling to open the door. The course participants entered one by one, Somali mothers with their children and one Finnish mother with her two children, people from the block of flats close by, children were running around and playing. The course leader started by talking about the foods that they would be preparing. This was a course that combined beautifully home economics education and immigration work. It combined my professional background and my research interest. Thus it was an ideal research site for me but paradoxically the data I received there were scanty and confusing. It was rather difficult to recruit the immigrant women to take part in the research. I would have needed a far longer period to gain rapport amongst the women. Those two women that were able to take part in the research did not take photographs (see Table 4). They were happy to be interviewed but Raisa did not take the camera at all and Nisa returned an empty camera. She said that she had taken pictures but her husband did not want their family pictures to be given to strangers.

Health care school 1 (data collection November 2005 – December 2005) was a university of applied sciences and provides polytechnic level education. It was a multidisciplinary institution where the health and social sector studies were strongly emphasised. They also ran some degree programmes in English language. I had previously been teaching in that university of applied sciences but did not know the students who ended up participating in my research. These were recruited for me by the teacher who taught the Finnish for Foreigners language course.

Health care school 2 (data collection in January 2007) provides vocational level education in the social sector. I had also taught some courses in this institution previously. The lecturer of social studies allowed me to recruit research participants from her class.

Health care school 3 (data collection January 2007- April 2007) provided both vocational and polytechnic level education and had a long tradition educating immigrants for the social and health care sector professions. When entering the institution, it clearly looks multicultural. The students in the hallways and corridor seem to come all parts of the world. One of the class teachers welcomed me and encouraged her students to take part. As the students were doing their own bachelor's thesis in the end of their education both the teacher and students reaction towards research was quite positive. Students' Finnish language skills were good as the education was in Finnish. The students spoke their native languages, amongst the friends but all tuition was in Finnish.

Participants for this research were recruited from six different sites, three NGOs and three schools. The advantage of this kind of recruiting process is that it is almost impossible to trace the identity of the research participants. Also the role of particular site and staff on that site is smaller and greater emphasis is on the woman herself. I did not either become as part of the site's staff but maintained to be an outsider. Of course, this type of recruiting process presents difficulties because it requires the building of trust in so many different sites. First, one needs to get to know the staff and the key persons who then help the researcher enter the field, and secondly, slowly gain trust amongst the women in the site. In this research, there were thirteen different brokers, who facilitated my introduction to immigrant women. These intermediaries encouraged women to take part in the research and were important for the positive response I obtained. Those immigrant women who seemed to be interested and volunteered were accepted to take part in the research. Their transnationality was not examined before recruitment. It was enough that they had ethnic background other than Finnish and were taking part in the domiciling activities.

The schools ended up being from the social and health sector institutions. Social and health care sector employs immigrants reasonably well (see Forsander 2002, 2007) and also the training has been established (see Teräs 2004, 2007) and provides education opportunities in both the Finnish and English language for immigrants. Immigrants are also helped in the unemployment office to enter the social sector and health care field. Catering and cleaning sector jobs are also the fields that are fairly easy for immigrants to enter, but for some reason it was easier for me recruit research participants from the social and health care institutions.

Data saturation occurred where I had been constructing the data in three different schools and three different NGOs. At that point I had introduced my research project to 13 different middlemen – course leaders, project workers, project managers and teachers - who had given me a permission to enter the field. Twenty women had taken part in the research. Of course I could have continued the data construction and had the opportunity to hear more interesting life stories. However, at this point I had been able to record enough variety but also required degree of similarity among the women's stories. Immigrant women's profiles are presented in section 5.1. Next section, 4.3.4, describes the kind of data that were obtained.

4.3.4 Description of data

This section describes further what kind of data the data collection technique produced: observation notes, background data forms, photograph diary and the discussions with the women (Table 4 Summary of Data Obtained). Participant observation notes from six sites, three NGO's and three formal schools providing courses for immigrants, provided a description of the contexts. Background questionnaires brought knowledge of women's cultural background. Photographic diaries constructed by the 20 immigrant women living in Finland produced 459 photographs. Stimulated recall discussions based on the pictures produced narrations initiated by the photographs. The four distinct data collection techniques each produced a different kind of data. Observation notes, background data form, photograph diary and the transcribed discussion data were separately analyzed, but the data are presented to provide a coherent whole.

Participant observation notes were written after 38 visits to the research sites. Right after leaving the site, short notes were written in a note book and when researcher returned to the office notes were typed. Notes were about the events that took place; what happened, who where there, what was discussed. Notes also described the feelings of researcher entering and being at the sites. Participant observation notes from 'Women's site' are from 18 different days, 'Immigrants' site diary notes are from four separate events, 'course site' four visits, 'school 2' three visits, 'school 3' nine visits.

Questionnaires provided a way of recording background information about the research participants. Eighteen questionnaires were completed. Researcher asked the questions and entered participant answers on the form. The Information on paper was later entered into a database. The questionnaire was long and it was not possible to fully complete with all of the participants. The researcher was able to enter some additional information based on information on participant observation notes (see Table 5).

Photographs and stimulated recall discussion provided insights into the daily activities. The aim was to get a picture of respondents' normal everyday life. The researcher's interest was primarily in the activities. What were their daily routines, habits and activities? At the beginning, the idea was to use only the transcribed text as data and not to pay so much attention to the pictures that elicit the words. However, it was soon noticed that the pictures themselves contained a lot of interesting information. The images and the words did not tell a different story, but complemented each other. For the analysis, the pictures and the text were inseparable. Although the pictures generated a lot of discussion the speech was not always directly connected to the image.

Discussions based on women's photographs resemble responsive interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 30–35) - an approach for carrying out in-depth interviews. Responsive interviewing, is based on the idea that it is a discussion amongst two human beings and they form a relationship during the interview. The goal is to generate depth understanding. Responsive interviewing requires that the research design remains flexible through out the study. In this research, even though the research focus was clear throughout the data collection, photographs steered each discussion to follow a unique route.

At first glance, the women's photographs portrayed an orderly and harmonious daily life. There were a lot of photographs about cleaning, tidying up, washing. Dishes were washed up and laundry was washed. Dirty laundry waited in big bags to be washed and clean clothes were ready to be folded in to cupboards. Living rooms were vacuum cleaned and bed sheets

were changed. Homes looked clean and things were in order. Even when children's toys were scattered around, it looked as though they could be collected in a few. It is not weeks of lack of cleaning but a daily mess that will soon be rearranged. Food was bought, prepared and eaten. The photographs were taken together with family members, friends and relatives. In some pictures the walls were bare and shelves were empty, scenes indicating of recent moves and few belongings.

Changing from disposable cameras to digital ones did not change the type of pictures that were received, only the number of pictures increased from 27 to over hundred. Use of digital cameras did not automatically mean an abundant number of photographs. Once the digital camera was returned and only four pictures had been taken. In the beginning it was also challenging to get pictures of daily life and not tourist pictures. In the end this was not a problem as the pictures were clearly the ones no one would put into their family album or send to relatives overseas.

Research participants' comments about taking the pictures were quite positive. One participant commented that her family did not even notice that she had a camera at home. Another participant's daughter had asked where she got the camera. When she explained that it was from school her daughter did not ask anything further. For one participant was quite familiar using a digital camera and she had saved some pictures for herself already before the interview. Another participant commented that it was difficult to take pictures as she lived alone with the little daughter. In one case it was unfortunate but she had lost most of her pictures due to some technical reason. During the interview she described some of the situations that she had photographed. This type of memory technique worked out surprisingly well.

One of the disposable cameras was lost, one participant's pictures were developed but she was unavailable for an interview and on one occasion the digital camera was returned but the pictures deleted. Otherwise, there were no problems with the pictures or cameras.

The 'truth' produced by the photography method should be critically examined. The question arises whether the results illustrated a true picture of women's everyday life or contrived depictions of their lives. One should critically reason if these are randomly recorded incidents or if they are typical moments of everyday life. Pictures taken by research participants themselves provide a representation of themselves. One can ask whether the photographs portray women as they see their reality or how they wish to display it to others.

In qualitative research data collection ceases at a point when researchers have enough data to build a comprehensive and convincing theory. That is, when saturation occurs (Morse, 1995, p.148), but when is this point reached? Morse (1995) described further the qualities of saturated data as following. The process starts by using a cohesive sample which still addresses the characteristics of a research focus. Selecting a theoretical sample will, according to Morse, hasten the saturation. Snowballing or convenience sample will result in slow data saturation process and in a random sample one might never reach data saturation as it might be theoretically inappropriate. The quantity of data in a category is not theoretically important to the process of data saturation. Richness of data is derived from the detailed description, not the number of something is stated. The 'negative cases' should be given equal attention as to the main storyline. Saturated data is rich, full and complete. The more complete the data is the easier it is to build a comprehensive theory (Morse, 1995, pp. 148–149).

Even though theoretical saturation of a purposive sample has such an important role in qualitative research, it has rarely been operationalised and there are only a few evidence-

based recommendations for sample sizes (Guest et al., 2006). Guest's research team used data from 60 in-depth interviews (Guest et al., 2006, p. 59). They systematically documented the degree of data saturation and variability over the course of thematic analyses. They operationalised saturation and were able to give recommendations for sample sizes. Saturation occurred within the first 12 interviews, although basic elements for meta themes were present already after six interviews. However, in most research where the aim is to understand common perceptions and experiences among a group of relatively homogeneous individuals, 12 interviews should suffice (Guest et al., 2006). Purposive samples need to be carefully selected and 12 interviews would probably not be enough if a selected group was heterogeneous, the data quality was poor or the inquiry was vague. Similarly, researchers would need larger samples if the goal was to assess variation between distinct groups or correlation among variables (Guest et al. 2006, p. 79).

In this research, the data collection and preliminary planning for the analysing method (see section 4.4) were started almost simultaneously. Data was collected as long as a satisfactory analysing method was achieved. Content analyses (section 4.4.1) one is basically able to carry out endlessly. As there seemed to be enough data for the analyses done with the everyday life matrix (section 4.4.2), the data collection was seized. In this research, for the data saturation one needed data from twenty research participants in order to be able to carry out meaningful data analyzes. These analyses are explained in next section.

Table 4. Summary of Data Obtained.

	OBSERVATION NOTES	CONTACT PERSON	RESEARCH PARTICIPANT (pseudonym)	ABBREVIATION	LANGUAGE USED IN DISCUSSIONS (level of language proficiency described by researcher)	QUESTIONNAIRE	NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS	TRANSCRIBED DISCUSSION	MEETING PLACE
Prestudy	no	Mathew (1)	Lisa Mathew		Good English English as mother tongue	yes yes	no, written diary no, written diary	yes yes	- Researcher's office
Women's site	yes	Manager of the site, three employers (4)	Inna Liina Beene Zara Zara's daughter Beene's friend	Z HL B A F -	Poor Finnish Poor Finnish Poor Finnish Fair English Fair Finnish -	yes yes yes yes no no	23 26 23 27 no 26	yes yes yes yes no no	Women's site, pair interview Women's site Women's site, park Women's site Women's site
Immigrant's Site	yes	Manager of the site, two officers (3)				no	no	no	Office Refugee centre Park
School 1	yes	Finnish For Foreigners Teacher (1)	Stina Dephany Ida Study friend	C ST L -	Good English English as mother tongue Good English -	yes yes yes no	22 4 15 (7)	yes yes yes no	Café Café, pair interview Café, pair interview -
School 2	Yes	Finnish Society Teacher (1)	Merdith	J	Fair/poor English	yes	4	Yes	Café / School
School 3	yes	Class Teacher (2)	Aija Inga Lidia Ina Maria Anna	TN SI D R TM HN	Good Finnish Good Finnish Good Finnish Good Finnish Good Finnish Good Finnish	yes yes yes yes yes yes	53 40 80 + 33 11 26 35	yes yes yes yes yes No	School School School Researcher's Office / School Researcher's Office / School School
Course site	yes	Course Leader (1)	Nisa Raisa Pictures taken by researcher	AL RA	Good English Good Finnish	yes yes	no no 4	no no	Bus & course site Course site
Total	6 sites	13 persons	21 persons (1 man, 20 women)			18 questionnaires	16 diaries 459 pictures	15 Transcribed	

4.4 Data analyses

This section explains how data, described in previous chapters, were analyzed and what kind of analyzing tools were used. First, themes emerging in the narrations were analyzed closely (section 4.4.1). Second, the activities described in the narrations were noted (section 4.4.2). Third, the accommodation was examined (section 4.4.3).

4.4.1 Analyzing data for themes

At first, each of the photographs was combined with the actual piece of transcribed discussion text. For example one participant's photograph (ST 24A) of her computer screen on the corner of table brought out the following discussion.

Hille (H)

24A

Well, we are now at café.

It is 3rd of February (2006) and we are looking at Dephany's pictures. There are a couple pictures that she took. What is the first one about?

Research participant (RP)

Well, this is my computer. And I would say that it has a big part in my social life as I keep in touch with my dad and with my friends. I talk on the telephone on the computer because it is free, and I can talk to my friends free all over the world, so I spend a lot of time on my computer

H

Could you give me list of people whom you are in contact with the people or whom you talk with the computer?

RP

Well I have a lot of friends in Norway. They work with computers so I can catch them quite often My friends in Norway; My best friends in US; My Dad. And who ever else who is on, because most of my American friends I do not have a commitment to the computer; usually I don't get to catch my American friends because of the time difference.

H

Can you estimate how much time would you spend daily/weekly talking to your friends?

RP

When I have school it is honestly not much time, during the weekends I probably spend about four hours daily

H

Is that talking or writing?

RP

Both, because I type as fast as I can talk. So, it does not matter which form it is in.

H

Do you use it for studying purposes as well?

RP

Some. Of course yes. But because I can type so fast, it is not practical to type notes by computer, because I can not remember half of it

H

Yeah, Let's look at the next picture

After reading the women's narrations - that is reading the transcripts and looking the photographs – the data was enriched by reviewing the observation notes and background data. Through content analysis the following themes emerged from the data:

- Motherhood; daughters, mothers, grandmothers
- About moving
- Labour market
- Social life
- Information technology
- About religion
- About cultures and languages, mine and others
- Relation to Finns and Finland
- About food
- Organizing one's life
- Taking the pictures for this research

These themes are briefly described in Appendix 5. It indicates what kind discussions were recorded behind each of these themes. Even though the research was carefully planned, some of the themes which emerged were somewhat surprising. The research focus had been their daily activities but participants showed, through their photographs a wider range of issues. These themes were considered to be important in their lives as the women had photographed and discussed them.

The important themes in their lives are discussed in three chapters starting with their situation in a new culture (see section 5.1). It deals with the theme called 'Motherhood; daughters, mothers, grandmothers.

Second, their journey to settlement in Finland – the transition from having an address to feeling 'at home' – is described (see section 5.2). It deals with themes 'About moving', 'Labour market', 'Social life', 'Information technology' and 'About religion'.

Third, their narration of different cultures, countries and languages is discussed (see section 5.3). It deals with themes 'About cultures and languages, mine and others' and 'Relation to Finns and Finland'.

The themes 'About food' and 'Organizing one's life' are further discussed in daily activities chapter (6.2.3 and 6.2.4) as they mainly deal with practices. 'Taking the pictures for this research' theme is discussed in the research ethics section (4.3.2).

4.4.2 Everyday life matrix

Earlier in this research report everyday life was defined as ‘*personally experienced active process and a context where the people operate*. Everyday life has dimensions like *mode* and *space*.’ As the content analysis did not reveal much about daily practices, the next step of the analyses focused on daily practices¹⁹. What were the women doing? What was happening in their pictures and their stories? Who were present? Where did the practices take place? As the practical everyday activities were the focus of this research, one of the aims was to find some structure to represent it. Women’s actions, as narrated, were placed and analyzed in a matrix (Figure 1). The matrix was developed based on the theoretical understanding of everyday life (section 3.1) and reveals the modal, social and spatial dimensions of the practices. When analyzing the activity settings according to eco-cultural theory (see section 3.3) one ought to ask five questions: Who are present (1.Who?), what are their goals and values (2.Why and what reasoning?), what are they doing (3.What?), what are their motives in relation to the action (4.How and why?) and what are the rules and laws regulating the situation (5.What limitations?)

The activities were taken from those portrayed in the photographs and elaborated in the discussions. The data, that is photographs together with the transcribed discussion, were examined for where someone (1) was doing something (3). These daily activities were placed in to the matrix where the modal, social and spatial dimension was taken into account. Some of these most interesting daily activities were analysed further into activity settings by clarifying why (2) these activities were carried out, how they were performed (4) and what kind of regulations were limiting the practice (5).

¹⁹ In this research the concepts of *Activity Setting* and *Daily Activities* are used as Gallimore and Weisner have defined them (see section 3.3). Practices, Activities and Daily Activities are used as synonyms. As there is some connection between eco-cultural theory and cultural-historical activity theory, CHAT (Vygotski 1989) (see section 3.3) I need to clarify the use of some concepts. I am aware that activity theory differentiates between Operation, Action and Activity. In this research the concept of *Daily Activities* is similar to the concepts of Operation and Action. Although I have not separated the *Daily activities* into automated like Operations and conscious Actions.

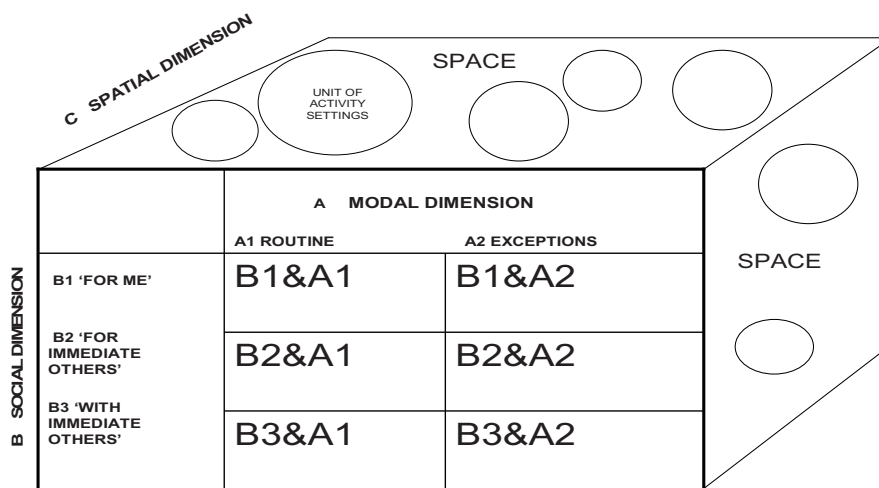


Figure 1 Matrix developed for data analysis in this study.

A Modal dimension: Routine – Exceptions

Earlier, everyday life was defined as personally experienced active *process*. The process dimension is clarified by highlighting the modal elements of daily activities. This analysis uses Kosik's (1976) thinking that once-in-life-time experiences are part of everyday life and new events that seems to bring change soon becomes part of the every day routine. The modal dimension of activities describes whether activities take place regularly and continuously or if they present exception to this routine. Activities were divided to present either *routine* activities or *exceptions for the routine*. Routine and exceptions were defined as they were presented in the women's narrations. Routine (A1), is something that happens regularly e.g. daily, weekly and is or can be planned to some extent. Exceptions (A2), take place unintentionally or require special, long- term planning.

B Social dimension: For me – For immediate others – With immediate others

Social dimension of daily activities describe how activities are carried out in the social context. This classification follows Heller's (1984) distinction between these everyday activities that are undertaken 'for me' and 'for others'. The social dimension describes activities that are done in order to benefit us, the family, the immediate others. Sometimes things are done mainly to benefit the one who is doing them. In everyday life favours are done for others but activities are also carried out together with others. Of course the dimensions are closely tied together. Activities undertaken to benefit one's self will often benefit one's immediate others and *vice versa*.

Activities that are done 'for me' (B1), are those where one is working towards one's own goal - to improve one's future, to provide pleasure or enjoyment. In the data, it was mainly the women but also family members who were at the times doing things for their own benefit. Often these 'for me' activities were done alone but, at other times, were done without

collaboration in a social setting, for example in a class room where everyone is studying, but not engaged in a joint activity. Activities could be quite personal and depend on their life stage and circumstances. For example, those living alone had more opportunity to do things just for themselves. Doing laundry is classified in single person's household as 'for me' – practice, but families, where there are more persons living in the same household, it gets classified as 'doing for immediate others'.

Tasks carried for immediate others (B2), are classified in this category. They are activities where one is caring for others, doing something for other family members' well-being. In the data it was mainly the women themselves but sometimes their family members who were caring for the immediate others. Tasks that elder siblings were doing for little ones and household chores done by children were classified in this category. Tasks in this category would most likely be the ones that the family needs to negotiate how the division of household chores is done in this particular family. These practices are the chores that might cause conflict. 'With immediate others' (B3), category presents daily activities that are done together with others. There are tasks that are carried out jointly, but also events and times were people simply are together.

C Spatial dimension

The context of a practice is described in this category. It highlights the *location* of the activity. Where did it take place? In the simplest form it means whether activities take place in the physical home or outside: it is a category of indoors – outdoors activities. The locations are physical places where activities were taking place. Locations are indicated in the matrixes in bold letters e.g. 'Borrowing school books from **the library** (TN13)'.

Activity setting (Gallimore et al., 1993b) describes the combination of particular activities; the ones who are doing it and the location where it takes place. In other words, something happens at a specific location. In the activity setting, the activity has a specific location but it takes place in social and temporal context. 'Borrowing school books from **the library** (TN13)' is an example of activity setting of course presented here in very short manner. Often it was the whole picture with a story attached to it that formed the activity setting.

In this research the activity settings were then combined into *units of activity settings*. These units of activity settings show important activities/features that are performed in different mental and physical locations and in various social contexts. In this research seven different units of activity settings were formed (see sections 6.2.1–6.2.7).

4.4.3 Analysing accommodation

The analysis matrix focused on everyday activities. One of its limitations is that it almost entirely hides the cultural, ethnic and national dimensions of the daily life. Thus, it is important to focus on cultural aspects further to reveal the role of accommodation in daily practices. As accommodation is one of the key elements of eco-cultural theory, examples were sought in the data. Eco-cultural theory sees family as a proactive unit that tries to adjust its practices to each given situation. The sociocultural approach emphasized the importance of context and how artefacts and tools change practices and how practice shape tools.

Accommodation is analyzed through three phases; maintaining traditions, adapting and re-creating practices. In other words, women's narrations were analyzed in terms of how they were maintaining traditions, how they were learning to perform Finnish practices and what novel ways were invented to carry out daily activities. The matrix presented in previous chapter is further developed here. The units of activity settings are analysed in the light of how traditions (T) are maintained, how adaptation / accommodation (A) takes place and what kind of new practices are re-created (RC). Special attention was given to the use of tools and artefacts.

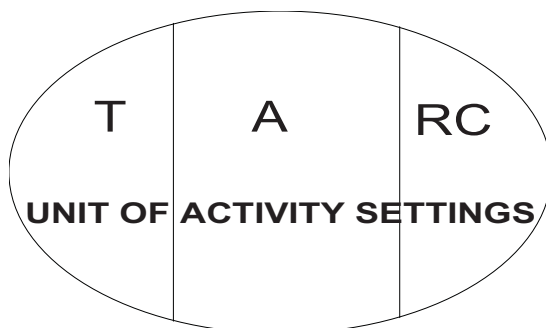


Figure 2 Analysing instrument for accommodation. Activity settings that show traditions (T), accommodations (A) or re-creation (RC) of practices.

Practices that maintain traditions (T) can be described in: pictures contain an element that does not quite seem to fit into that situation, moment or context. Some artefacts look bit out of place or the actor does not quite fit with the background. Some artefacts are brought from home of origins.

Practices that show that some kind of accommodation (A) has been taken in places which can be described as following: Often there is a Finnish element on the picture, some kind of Finnish tool, Finnish people or context that is some how very Finnish.

Practices that show that new practices are been re-created (RC) can be described as following: narration portray a novel way of acting, the practice looks well functioning and seems to fit the family context well.

These analyzing methods; first content analyses (section 4.4.1), then the matrix (section 4.4.2) and lastly the accommodation instrument (section 4.4.3), were used to find answers to the main research question; how transnational families construct their everyday life across national borders. The results are presented in the following chapters.

5 THE IMPORTANT THEMES IN THE LIVES OF TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

This chapter starts off by describing the women who took part in the research (see section 5.1). Then, the three dominant themes emerging (see section 4.4.1) from their narrations are discussed. The women describe their relationship with three themes; different starting points of the women in a new culture (section 5.2), the challenges starting and living life in Finland (section 5.3) and their relationship with the mix of other cultures (section 5.4). Their narrations answer the first research question: What is important when transnational families are constructing their everyday life?

Text written in *italics* show the direct quotes from the women's transcripts. Themes are here discussed in relation to previous research findings.

5.1 Women in the research²⁰

The women in the research have all moved to Finland from some other country and Finnish is a foreign language for all of them. They are women; but also daughters, mothers and grandmothers. They all share the difficult experience of trying to enter the Finnish labour market. Women in this research have been taking courses for immigrants, participated in activities organized by NGOs for immigrants or have studied in programmes targeted at immigrants. Thus it is the Finnish educational and social system that has defined them as immigrants and that is a common feature that all the participants shared. They were defined as immigrants as they attended courses intended for immigrants or had found their way to a place that provided services for immigrants.

Immigrants are not homogeneous nor are the women in this study a unified group. They present different nationalities and have started their journey from different countries of origin. They have moved to Finland for different reasons. Their age and marital status differs. Some of the women have stayed in Finland more than 10 years whereas some of them arrived quite recently. Their ability to speak Finnish varies. In this study, research participants were at the intersection (see section 2.2) of being a woman, finding it difficult to enter the Finnish labour market, presenting the otherness and acting in their transnational social unit.

Table 5 illustrates the range of cultures among the women. They come from fourteen different countries of origin. Between their home of origin and Finland they have lived in places like Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt and the Netherlands. Their mother tongues are Russian, Kurdish, Estonian or Romanian but they speak a variety of other languages besides Finnish.

I have chosen seven different women from among the twenty women in the whole study as they illustrate and represent the variation amongst the women. They are of different nationalities and are of different stages of their lives. From a research point of view their narrations provided rich data; a good number of pictures and abundant discussion data. These women were from three different research sites - one NGO 'women's site' and two different 'health care schools'. Four of these seven women are from the same health care school. These 'seven sisters' who comprise the participants of this study are not sisters in the blood-related sense. They are each unique but they share many transitional experiences. I have highlighted

²⁰ A short article 'Immigrant Women in Finland' is a description of these women. It is published in a journal called *Jahrbuch Junge Haushaltswissenschaft XXI*. For the reference see: Janhonen-Abuquah, H. (2008).

their exact words in *italics* when they are quoted. Their profiles are shown in Table 5 and family maps are provided in participant descriptions. The maps indicate those people whom women talked about in their narrations and who were present in their pictures. The maps are drawn by the researcher not by the women themselves. Blue circles indicate that people were living in Finland, red circles point out that people were living outside Finnish borders.

The family maps of the women (see section 5.1) define their family members for the context of this study. Family is here broadly defined as a group of emotionally attached people. Those people, whom the women talked about and who seemed to be important in their lives, were drawn into their maps. They are not necessarily blood-related family members and the divide between friend and family member is vague. When does a good friend become family member and when does a blood-related family member stop being a family member? For this research it was useful to define family broadly as those ones who are taking part, one way or the other, in everyday life events and practices and whom are talked about. Pets were not included into family maps; even they paid a major role in some of the women's photographs (Liina, Maria, Anja, Dephany).

The mix of several cultures is present in their everyday lives. Statements like *'I have Finnish passport but I'm Kurdish'* or *'I feel am half Finnish half Russian even Im not Finnish citizen'* exhibit the transnationalism in their lives. In Anja's and Maria's home, close family members have moved little by little and ended up living close by each other. Beene who had arrived to Finland as a single mother built her family including immigrant women who have been in Finland longer and an important friend in Cameroon is in regular email contact. Signe defined her family: husband, children in Finland and the two grandmothers in Estonia. Stina's family was kept together through internet calls and e-mails whereas Dephany has an almost constant online connection to her loved ones overseas.

According to Liebekind (1994) migration may be a threat for mental well-being if the following risk factors are present. You cannot speak the language of the host country. You suffer a significant decrease in socio-economical status. You are separated form family members. You experience hostility or rejection from the surrounding society. You are separated from people who also come from your homeland. You experienced trauma or long-term stress just before migration or were a teenager when migration started. In the current study, the participants had been subject to one or more of these risk factors. In the women's profiles, it is clear that they might have been in danger of marginalization but they all have strengths that have made them succeed.

Table 5 Facts about women.

RESEARCH SITE ²¹	RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PSEUDONYM	AGE GROUP	HOME OF ORIGIN OR NATIONALITY	TIME LIVED IN FINLAND	REASON FOR MOVING	COUNTRIES ALSO LIVED IN	LANGUAGE SKILLS	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, FIELD OF STUDY	IS YOUR LIFE NOW EASIER THAN BEFORE?	CURRENT WORK PLACE
Prestudy	Lisa	30-39	India	½-1 year	to work	Germany Taiwan Seychelles England	Hindi English	telecom engineer	no	international telecommunications company at the university
	Mathew	18-29	British, Welsh	½-1 year	to study, family reasons	England	English German Finnish	sociologist student	no	work training, at the university
Women's site	Inna	40-49	Iran	5-10 years			<i>Kurdish</i> <i>Finnish</i>			<i>work practice at women's site</i>
	Lina	50-59	Iran	5-10 years			<i>Kurdish</i> <i>Finnish</i>			<i>work practice at women's site</i>
	Beene	18-29	Cameroon	½-1 year			English French	practical nurse		unemployed
	Zara	40-49	Afghanistan	4-5 years	to seek asylum	Pakistan	<i>Kurdish</i> <i>Finnish</i>			<i>work practice at women's site</i>
	Zara's daughter		Afghanistan							
School 1	Beene's friend		Congo							
	Stina	18-29	Romania	½-1 year	to study		Romanian Hungarian English French Italian Finnish	nurse	no	student, unemployed
	Dephany	18-29	American Finn	5-10 years	family reasons		English Finnish	student nursing student		student
	Ida	18-29	Russian	2-3 years	family reasons	Estonia	Russian Estonian Finnish Swedish English	nursing student		student
	Study friend	18-29								student

²¹ Information in this table is summarized from the background questionnaires. Information in *italics* is added by the researcher from participant observation notes. **Information in bold shows seven women discussed further in this research report.**

Table 5 Facts about women (cont.).

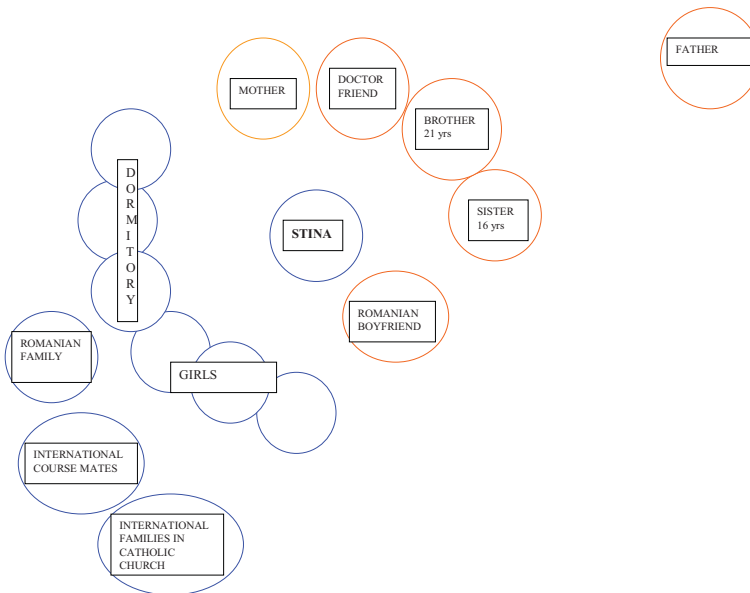
RESEARCH SITE ²²	RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PSEUDONYM	AGE GROUP	HOME OF ORIGIN OR NATIONALITY	TIME LIVED IN FINLAND	REASON FOR MOVING	COUNTRIES ALSO LIVED IN	LANGUAGE SKILLS	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, FIELD OF STUDY	IS YOUR LIFE NOW EASIER?	CURRENT WORK PLACE
School 2	Merdith	18-29	Kenya	2-3 years	family reasons		Luo Swahili English Finnish	student	yes	<i>studying</i>
	Anja	30-39	Russia	over 10 years	family reasons		Russian	nurse	yes	studying
School 3	Inga	30-39	Estonia	over 10 years	family reasons		Estonian Russian English Finnish	nurse	no	works at hospital
	Lidia	30-39	Iraq	5-10 years	seek asylum	Turkey	Kurdish Arabic English Finnish Turkish Persia	nurse	no	substitute nurse at hospital when needed
Course site	Iina	30-39	Estonia	over 10 years	family reasons		Estonian Russian Finnish	nurse beautician caterer	yes	hospital
	Maria	50-59	Russia	5-10 years	need a change in life		Russian Finnish Vepsä-language English	nurse	no	old peoples' home, service centre
Course site	Anna	18-29	Byelorussia	2-3 years	need a change in life	Ukraine	Russian Belarusian English Finnish Ukrainian Polish	nurse	yes	unemployed student
	Nisa	18-29	Somalia	over 10 years	family reasons	Netherland	Somali Arabic Dutch, English Finnish	mother, housewife, student	no	
Course site	Raisa	30-39	Somalia	over 10 years	seek asylum	Egypt Italy	Somali English Finnish Arabic, Italian	practical nurse	no	Sick leave

²² Information in this table is summarized from the background questionnaires. Information in *italics* is added by the researcher from participant observation notes. **Information in bold shows seven women discussed further in this research report.**

STINA, a young Romanian nurse studying in Finland

'Everybody says I am so good, so perfect, but I cannot find any work at all. That's why I am upset, may be I have to pack my bags and leave.'

Stina is a young nurse from Romania. She is now retaking her nursing degree to be qualified for work in Finland and elsewhere in Europe. She became interested in studying in Finland as her Romanian boyfriend was working in an information technology project in Finland. Now he is back in Romania while Stina studies in Finland. Dormitory life at the health school had been an enjoyable experience for her. She made good friends with both Finnish and foreign students living there. Stina finds entry to the Finnish labour market difficult and frustrating. She speaks six languages, but cannot find any kind of work.

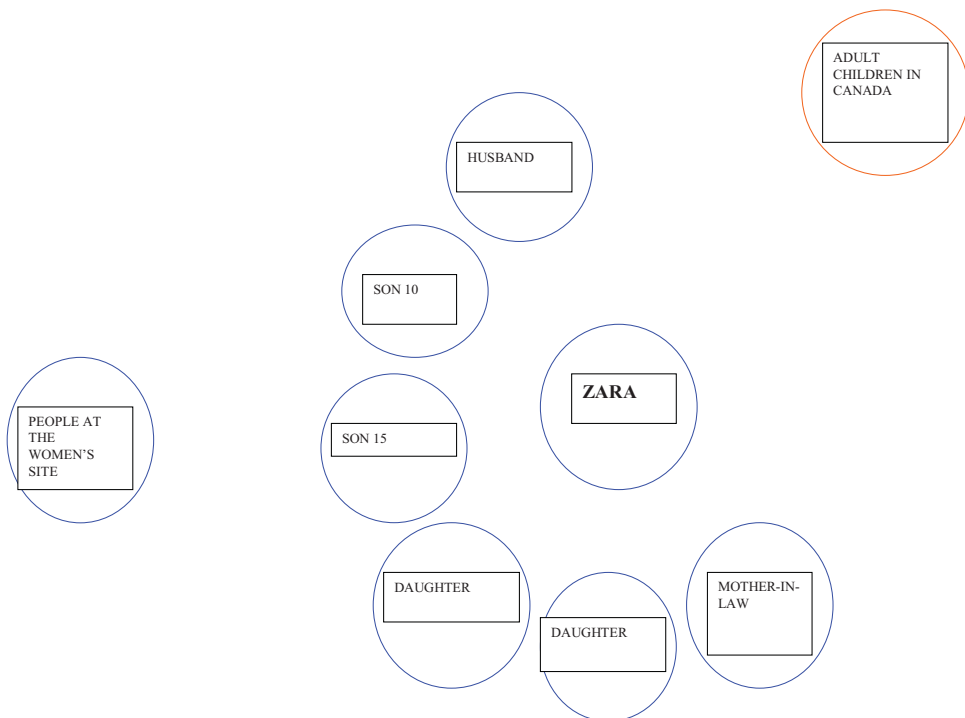


Map 1 Stina's family map.

ZARA; an Afghan wife, mother and grandmother

'A mother is always a mother. In Finland...in Afghanistan...mothers do a lot of work.'

Zara came to Finland first with her small children. Her husband and elder children came later and now her mother-in-law has joined them as well. Zara enjoys the peacefulness of Finland as they left Afghanistan during the war and settled in Pakistan for some time before entering Finland. Their adult children are living in Canada. Zara's days seem to be filled up with care work. Caring for school aged sons, daughters who are studying for a profession, her husband and mother-in-law. Zara is doing her work practice at the women's site and is a hard working and reliable employee there.

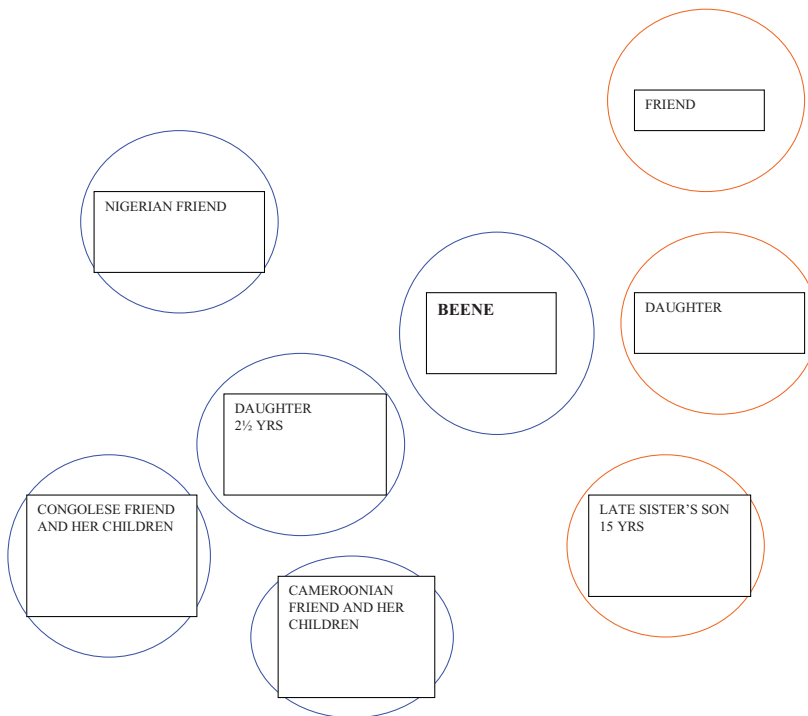


Map 2 Zara's family map.

BEENE, a single mother with daughters in Finland and Cameroon

'You have to be looking good. You have to take care of your self.'

In Beene's narration home is empty, walls are bare, and everything is new and shiny. The mobile phone is always within arm's reach. Her little daughter is well covered in her winter clothing; they are often on the way somewhere - church, day care, school, women's NGO or to a friend's home. Beene regularly writes e-mails to her friend in Cameroon and misses her daughter there. In Finland Beene became friends with a Nigerian woman who has been like a sister for her at Finland. This Nigerian friend introduced her to a Pentecostal church where she has been going regularly ever since. Unfortunately the Nigerian friend is now leaving Finland. Together with her Cameroonian friend and Congolese friend and their children they seem to have established a mothers' support network. Beene is always beautifully dressed and her hair style changes regularly. Beene speaks English and French, but is trying to learn Finnish at the women's site as she believes it is very important in order to find work.

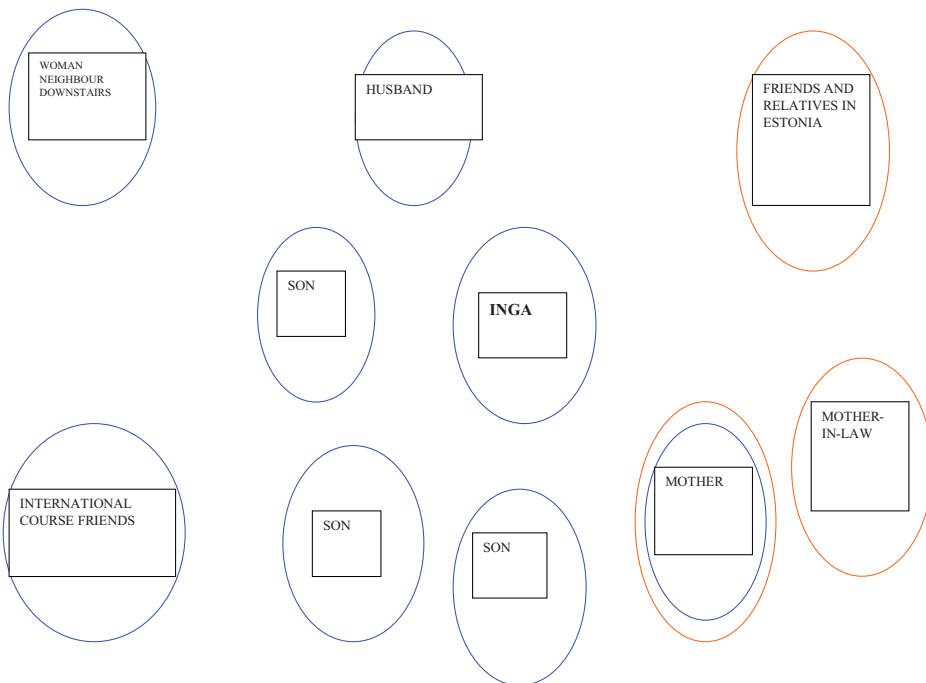


Map 3 Beene's family map.

INGA; a wife with a husband and three sons

'You can have many homes...like I have this home here and I also have home in Estonia with my mother. I think life just gets richer more homes you have.'

Inga moved to Finland from Estonia with her Ingrian husband and now they have three boys. Inga had been a housewife until a few years ago when she started studying. She has just finished her nursing studies. Inga is looking forward to the time that she can also support the family with her salary. Her mother, who still lives in Estonia, visits them regularly. Her Finnish language skills are very good. She has constantly spoken Estonia to her sons but she doubts that they will ever speak either language perfectly.



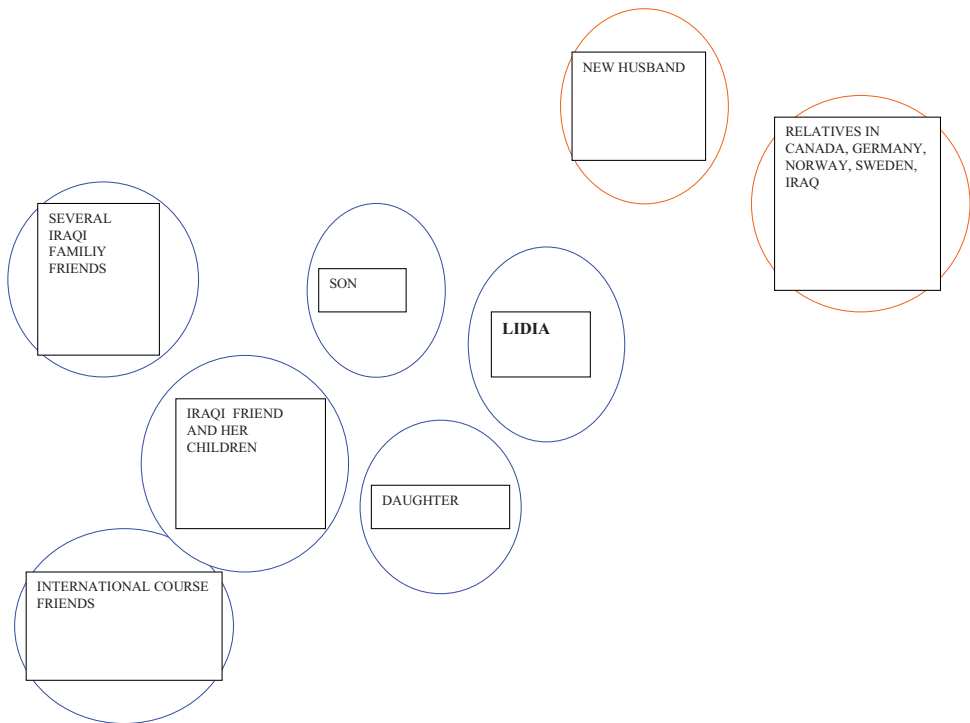
Map 4 Inga's family map.

LIDIA; an Iraqi divorcee with two children

'In Finland you have to run around in order to keep up with daily life'

Lidia is a beautiful Kurdish woman, as her course mates describe her. She divorced her Iraqi husband in Finland. As a single mother she has worked and studied to support her family. She recently graduated as a nurse in Finland. Her children, a teenager son and a little daughter speak Kurdish but at the times they change into Finnish. She has recently re-married a Kurdish man living in Sweden and she will be moving with her children to Stockholm with a few weeks of the interview. She was happy to move and be with her husband and expects life to be easier in Sweden as she is not responsible for everything. Lidia is also looking forward to seeing friends and relatives in Stockholm. On the other hand, she is apprehensive as she had to learn another new language - Swedish. It is difficult for her teenager son to leave his friends. Lidia has a lot of good memories in Finland and the Finnish language has become easier for her. The move sometimes depressed her as well.

Friends play a big role in Lidia's life. One of her good friends has been extremely helpful with the upbringing of her little daughter. Lidia often visits her friends over a dinner, lunch or cup of coffee. When she graduated as a nurse she organized a big dinner party for her friends - there were over 50 of them.

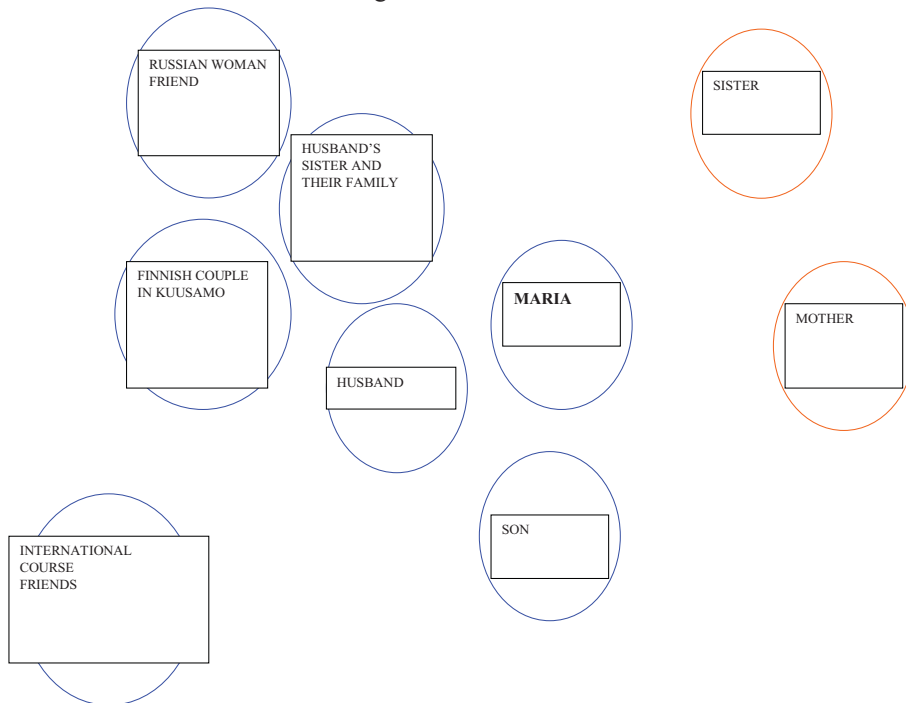


Map 5 Lidia's family map.

MARIA; a Russian couple, adult son moved away from home

'My husband doesn't like big cities. Yesterday he said that we should move back to Kuusamo, but let's see.'

Maria moved from Karelia with her husband and two sons to Kuusamo. As the work situation is difficult in Kuusamo, Maria's husband lost his job and they moved to Helsinki, where they have now lived for two years. They also have good Finnish friends in Kuusamo. In Helsinki, they have Russian relatives, sister-in-law and her family and an adult son and his fiancée. Maria has also finished her nursing studies. She thinks that it is easier to make Finnish friends in a small town than in the capital area. She visits Russia once or twice a year as her mother and sister are still living there.

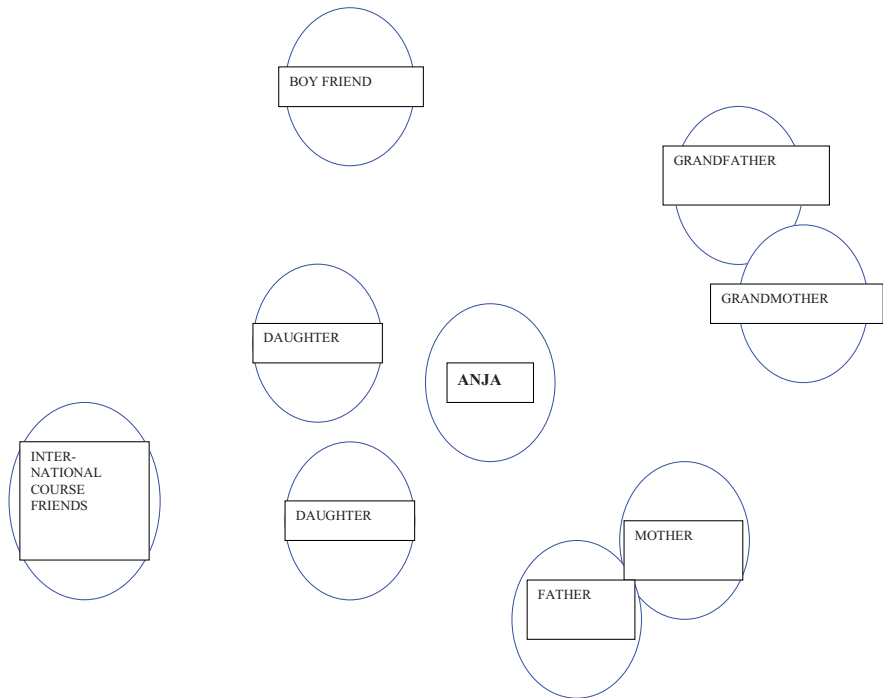


Map 6 Maria's family map.

ANJA; a mother of two daughters from Russia

'We were all there, around grandpa's hospital bed, my grandmother, my mother, me and my daughter...three different languages and two nationalities...one family'

The family seems to be a tight unit according to Anja's narrative. Their entire close family - Anja and her two daughters, her parents and grandparents - had gradually moved to Finland. In their family they speak Finnish, Russian and Karelian. Anja speaks both Russian and Finnish with her parents and grandparents. Her parents and grandparents speak Karelian among themselves. Her daughter speaks only Finnish with the great-grandfather. The sudden and severe illness of their grandfather has shaken the whole family. Anja dates a Finnish man. She remembers the difficult times in Russia and is not very eager to travel there.



Map 7 Anja's family map.

5.2 Women's situation in a new culture

Here life as a woman and stages of the life cycle are discussed in relation to immigration. Immigrant women and their situations in a new country can be seen in this research from three different starting points. Some were independent young women starting her life in a new country or were single mothers meeting the challenge of raising children transnationally. Some migrated with other generations of their family and were experiencing the new country together.

5.2.1 Starting independent life

The three young women, Stina, Dephany and Iida, are starting their independent lives. Stina is a kind of frontier daughter. The first steps in Finland have not been easy, but she looks to a brighter future. The connection to the home country is close. Stina hopes that when she settles down she would be able to bring her Romanian family for visits to experience Finland. *"In fact one of my dreams is after I have settled down...paid my debts...I don't want to go to Romania for a long time...Instead of me going to Romania...just to give my mother and brother and sister chance to visit here. I prefer to give them the money to visit me, they have never been abroad. I've been abroad, I've been in Hungary...America even [though] it was only for short time...but, still, I've seen some things. It is so different to see and experience. So with the money to go to Romania I prefer them to come here. This is one of my really important goals now. This is what I want."* Stina's experience resembles Finns mass migration experiences first in the 40s and 50s to North America and later in the 60s and 70s to Sweden.

Dephany does not talk much of her Finnish mother. She is her American daddy's girl. Dephany now studies in Finland, but in an English speaking course. She does not really interact with her mother even they live in a same city. She is living now in her mother's home country, but has lost connection with her mother and does not speak her mother tongue. She describes herself as been "the Finnish girl" in USA and "the American girl" in Finland. She said that children from two language/culture homes should have the right to learn the both languages when they are little. Then later on they can choose which language they want to use.

Iida's mother lives in Finland but in a different town. Iida is enjoying her independence; her nice student flat and its kitchen. *"When I was in Estonia...it was my grandmother cooking...and my mother was doing the cooking. When I came to Finland, and started living independently, I started cooking. So, I am not so good at it yet"*. Iida's mother has remarried to a Finnish man, but Iida does not like the man.

5.2.2 Single mothers' challenge

Lidia and Beene have been living the single mothers' challenge in a new country. Beene tells how difficult it is for her to be away from her children in Cameroon but it might also be difficult to have these children in Finland with her. She describes her family: *I would say [it's] my children [who belong to my family]...one here and one in Cameroon...also a girl...and my late sister's son. He is also still in Cameroon. He is almost fifteen now. He's just with a friend because there is nobody to take care of him. I am only...left alone...We were actually two but she [my sister] died and I am left alone. I have one girl...they are two...but one is still in Cameron. She, [the] older one...eight years now. She is really missing me... and even myself also...Just planning to apply for her as soon as possible but it is not easy. The*

children, they always like to be beside their mother. She is with the father, and now the father is married to another wife. It is not every woman [who] loves other children from outside...It is so difficult. Mothering afar is a challenge as Schmaltzbauer (2004) described in her study of Honduran mothers staying in Massachusetts.

Lidia's experience is that in Finland she has to take care of everything. From school to shop, and from shop to day care, and from shop to home to cook and wash dishes. She feels that she did not have a single minute free time. *My daughter is at such an age that if I sit down she would call me to bring her a glass of cold water.* When Lidia graduated as a nurse, one friend said at the graduation party. *We are proud of you. You graduated as a nurse even you have been a single mother and a foreigner.*

Raising children in a new culture is challenging. Somali mothers in Helsinki area are concerned over their children's well being (Tiilikainen, 2003). Some of them feel disappointed at how their children behave and how irresponsible the children are in carrying out their responsibilities of as part of the family, Somali community, and Finnish society. Mothers feel weak as mothers in comparison to those in their homeland. They don't have enough time and resources to support their children as they wish. In Somalia, all adults share the responsibility of bringing up a child collectively. In Finland, the responsibility lies with biological parents and governmental bodies, like social workers and police. Some Somali mothers' emphasized that they would like to move to Somalia or to an Arabic country when the children start school. If the children behaved badly the mother would especially be ready to send them elsewhere to gain a proper Islamic upbringing (Tiilikainen, 2003, p. 179, p. 181, p. 183).

The tiredness a Somali mother expressed is partly due to the fact that they are indoors the whole day with the children. A woman's task is to stay at home. A tired mother cannot take the children out and, because the children are at home, mothers find it difficult to move outside of the home. Housewives are tired because they alone have to carry the responsibility of home and children. "If I complain to the husband, he would say that my mother took care of ten children. Here you have cooks, household appliances, and everything. Why do you complain?" reports one Somali mother (Tiilikainen, 2003, pp. 204–203).

5.2.3 Three generations

For Liina, Anja, Zara and Inga, three generations can be in daily face-to-face contact even when they have migrated. Liina is performing her duties as a grandmother every day in the same neighbourhood. In Anja's family even four generations live close by and Inga has her mother visiting them annually for longer periods.

Every afternoon, Liina goes to her daughter's family. She prepares food for the whole family. Her youngest grandson is in the day care and she is there when her elder grandson comes home from school. Her daughter is doing her work practice in a hair salon. *"When they all have come home...my daughter, her husband and the boys...and when they have eaten... then I go to my home."* Care across three generations is performed. A grandmother plays her part as a grandmother even though she has moved from Iran to Finland.

Anja's pictures of four generations of women from Russia are powerful. They are all gathered around grandfather's hospital bed: Anja, her grandmother, mother and Anja's daughter. In Anja's family they speak three languages; Russian, Karelian and Finnish. It is not only women that appear in Anja's pictures; her grandfather, father, her Finnish male friend and her daughter's boyfriend are in the pictures. Anja has good relations with her two daughters. The elder one lives with a boyfriend. *"If she wants she can come back home...I*

would want that she comes". She says that they have arguments every now and then. *"Of course there are problems but we discuss."*

Inga has her mother visiting from Estonia. When she is with them she helps with the cooking and the daily chores. Inga's relatives have criticized her decision to move to Finland with her Estonian husband and three sons and leave her mother alone in Estonia. *"Mother has told me that our Estonian relatives have criticized my decision to leave my mother alone...I don't have siblings and my father has died...in Estonia and move to Finland...but...in life, you have to sometimes make decision... how it goes."*

Zara takes care of her elderly mother-in-law, her husband and four children. At lunch time, she rushes home to prepare meal for her mother-in-law and then returns quickly to her work practice place.

The grandmothers - Liina and Inga's mother - seem to naturally take on cleaning and arranging duties. Liina eagerly washes dishes after others have cooked at women's meeting point or vacuums the sitting room. Inga's mother cleans up after her grandsons have finished playing.

5.3 A journey from having an address to being at home

Once immigrants move to Finland it is a starting point for a long journey from having an address in Finland to feeling at home there. Although migration is a personal experience, it has implications for other family members and the host society. Transnational everyday life is challenging for both the societies in sending and receiving countries and of course for the immigrant her self. Also, to enter the social life of Finland can be challenging. In this chapter, there is, first, an examination of how the women have experienced migration. Second, what happened to them in the labor market? Third, their experiences of people who have helped or prevented their domiciling are studied. Finally, the importance of information technology and religion in this domiciling process is discussed.

5.3.1 Experiences about moving

Moving arouses emotions. Maria tells how she missed Russia in the beginning. *I remember when the first Christmas came and I was home alone at home. The boys were at school and my husband was in a Finnish language course. We had Russian friends visiting from our Karelian home town...and when they were leaving...I had tears falling on my cheeks. I knew that everything was well...but it was a sad feeling... like they were going home leaving me behind here in a foreign country. During the first year we had huge telephone bills as I was calling my mother all the time...but then you get used to...little by little... as we have been here over 10 years.* Lidia is moving at the end of the month to Stockholm to live with her Iraqi husband. She is moving with her two children. Lidia is happy to be with her husband. However, Lidia is apprehensive about moving. *One day I felt really depressed and could not do a thing. We have a lot of memories in Finland and Finnish language is easier day after day. Now I have to start learning another language again.* Lidia says that it is difficult for her son to leave his friends and school. *I spoke yesterday with my husband and he said he wants to move somewhere warm. I said NO. Finland and Sweden are alike. Let's see first how it goes in Sweden. As we have a lot of friends and relatives there.*

Hautaniemi (2004) studied Somali boys growing up in Helsinki area. He saw them as examples of transnational life as their family was in diasporas. They were, in fact, the first generation in Finland able to move easily across borders. Transnational roots (Rastas, 2008) or networks spread over several countries enable individuals to move with greater ease and perhaps to find a network of support. Maybe the roots do not grow but a strong network is made and thus moving is easier, as in Lidia's case.

Experiences of moving also unite people. Anja's family – in four generations - has moved to the Helsinki area. Her Finnish boyfriend is also a newcomer to Helsinki. He is from North Karelia, where his mother and brother are still living. National and international migration has some features in common.

Maria's experiences include memories of how they were helped in the beginning and how she later helped her sister-in-law's family. Maria tells how they first got friends with a Finnish couple while still living in Russia / Karelia and when they finally moved to Finland they got two more Finnish couples as friends. Maria's sister-in-law and her family moved couple years after. *We were close in Russia and when they moved to Helsinki area we helped them out in the beginning. Also, when we were still in Kuusamo we visited them at least twice a year. Now we are both close here in Helsinki.*

Zara tells that...*'it was difficult when I was here alone with the children'*. Zara's husband had been in Finland for three years and Zara had arrived a little before him. She finds some

advantages...*'Finland is peaceful. Rooms are warm. Children go peacefully to school...There is peace no war.'*

5.3.2 Experiences from the labour market

The women saw the importance of studying in Finland as a key to the Finnish labour market. Stina commented that her studies had been quite relaxed because she had nurse training in Romania. *'In the beginning, I knew better some things...It is bit useless to do the same thing again but this degree is for Finland and Europe.'* According to Forsander (2002), the origin of a foreigner seems to determine their success or failure in the Finnish labour market. He argued that those from developing countries had the most difficult time finding work. Asians and people from western world found work more easily. A Finnish professional or academic qualification is a good start to enter the Finnish labour market.

Stina's language skills were excellent and she had good professional qualifications but she was still struggling to get work in Finland. *'It's been really, really difficult with this job. I've tried to work in Finland. I could not find anything, not even cleaning. "We have your phone number" or "We don't need you now", they say. This is why I have been upset, because everybody says "You are so good...You do everything so good...so perfect...You are good"... but I cannot find anything at all.'*

The women put a lot of effort in learning the Finnish language. Stina says: *'So I'm really trying with my Finnish language. I have to speak and I have to try. I'm still trying because if my boyfriend is not coming and settling down. I think I will have to pack my bags and go home. I cannot survive. I have lived now with the money I borrowed from Romania until I get something here...It is really difficult. At least for the Christmas, I thought I would get something...which I did not get. So, it is really difficult to live and settle down. Some of my friends say they would not have had the courage to go...just so different language. Of course, all these Romanians in the information technology work use English. Most of them don't know Finnish and lived here for a long time. In the information technology field it is different than in health care.'* The Finnish unemployment office sent Beene to do work practice in an English speaking day care centre... *'but it was not possible because the lady said the place is full and they need somebody who can speak Finnish...It is very necessary for me to understand the language, I'm really putting some effort, I need it. I'm just struggling...'*

Forsander (2002) concluded that Finnish industry in particular employs people from the former Soviet Union. Asians and people from the Mediterranean countries find work in the restaurant industry. Cleaning services also employ immigrants. Immigrants act as buffers in Finnish companies for economic changes because their role is least stable in the company. They are the first ones to be laid off when times are hard but the first ones to be hired when there is a sudden need for workers.

Among the immigrant women in the current research there were also success stories. Lidia reported that she had... *'to had to ask from the unemployment office if I can start working as I had found a job on my own.'*

5.3.3 Experiences of social life

Domiciling is a social process. Women described encounters with people who have either helped or prevented their domiciling in Finland. Very few Finns were present in the photographs. Only teachers, course leaders and staff members from the immigrant support services were seen. Those few Finns that were present in their narrations were described with great warmth as 'third grandmother', 'the Finnish village couple', 'the saving angel' or 'the dormitory girls'.

Tamara, who had made friends with 'Finnish village couple' from when they lived in Kuusamo said that she thought it was easier to make friends in small towns than in the metropolitan area. Lidia, Judith and Stephanie had Finnish boyfriends and Anja dates a Finnish man. '*He is such a nice man; I've said that he's been our saving angel*'. Then there are important social networks with fellow immigrants who act as tutors for the newcomers or the multinational group who had shared the same dormitory in nurse training – dormitory girls. Church, and the people who went to the same church, formed an important social network. For Azra, Halime, Zina and Benedict the NGO and its Finnish workers were their connection to Finnish society. Signe told how important the Finnish mothers in the baby club had been for her as well as the downstairs neighbour who had acted as a 'third grandmother' for Signe's little boys until she moved from the city. The Finnish teachers; language teachers and vocational teachers, acted as role models of Finnish society and how things are done here.

However, there are also those people who by their professional or personal actions make accommodation into Finnish society difficult. Stina was a professional nurse but did not find any kind of at all. Finnish employers were gatekeepers for that most important accommodation tool – a job. Signe had learnt to speak Finnish rather than Estonian in shops. When speaking Estonian with her children she had attracted the attention of security staff. They had followed her as a potential shoplifter. The women in this study had very few Finns as personal or family friends. In general, Finns did not appear in the pictures or feature in their narrations.

Degnin (2004) interviewed Somali women and reported how alienated they felt. They had no Finnish female friends and felt like outsiders and thus withdrew from social life. According to Tiilikainen (2003), Somali women saw Finns as quiet, shy and introverted; or as drunk and violent. Especially during the winter, everyone was in a hurry. Somali mothers did not necessarily know anyone in the block of flats where they lived and no one said 'hello' to them. Contacts with the Finns were mainly either with authorities or the officers of various organizations (Tiilikainen 2003, 163).

Immigrants, especially Somali women in the Helsinki area, saw Finnish daily life in a quite harsh way (Tiilikainen, 2003). Finnish society is experienced as extremely individualistic, parents were incapable of taking care of their children, Finns were racist, people were lonely and suffered from alcoholism. Old people were left without care, and sexuality is intruding and portrayed the female body as an object (Tiilikainen, 2003, p.285).

5.3.4 Information and computer technology in the hands of the women

The women seem to use information technology and new media in versatile ways. It definitely has a strong social function as the women keep in touch with family members and relatives no matter where they live. E-mails, Messenger, chat and internet phone calls were used daily. Dephany commented... *'I would say that it has a big part in my social life as I keep in touch with my dad and with my friends. I talk on the telephone on the computer because it is free...and I can talk to my friends free all over the world...so I spend a lot of time on my computer.'* Dephany has to navigate through different time zones... *'I have a very set routine in the morning. I check my e-mail, and because we have to wake up so early I catch my friend just before they go to bed in the States. So, most of my friends stay up late. So, if I am at the computer at seven it is only midnight there. That's the moment to say "Hi, anything new?" to my friends and wake up.'*

Stina spends a lot of her time on computer e-mailing and mailing cheap internet calls to Romania. I write a big e-mail to all of my Romanian friends. I try to tell them the things we don't have at home. Skype calls are like ordinary discussions at home. My mother and brother are there together with a good doctor friend in that end and I'm here in Finland. My father works at the other side of Romania so it is more difficult to keep in touch with him. As with Horst (2006) study of mobile phones in Jamaican context, cheap internet calls had important role maintaining almost daily contact with important people the 'outside world'. However the new technology made it possible to avoid or neglect other relationships.

The Internet made it possible to read news online from daily papers published in various home countries. Inga had taught her mother how to use Internet, how to switch the computer on and how to find the Estonian daily paper, *Postimies*. Online games and computer games also provide amusement. Inga admits that she has found an Internet gambling game.

The Internet is also used for working purposes - either to visit the home sale company pages or read information about the medicine used at work. Computers were widely used for study purposes either at school in the computer class room or at home for doing homework. The Internet was used for paying bills or searching for information about topics of interest.

Maria used the computer for paying bills, reading e-mail and newspapers from Russia. She has also searched for work-related information on the Internet. She commented... *'Now that relatives have taken a dog, I have searched information about this dog. Some times I want information about certain countries. Once I went for a sushi cooking course and then I become interested about Japan and searched information about it from the internet.'*

Lidia and Anna were heavy users of information technology and it seems that almost all of their activities were connected to the use of information technology. Lidia needed the Internet for bank services, to study English language, to read newspapers from her home country and to make Internet calls to relatives and friends around the world. Messenger, online chat forums and the emails were in constant use. Shopping was also undertaken - especially from the online flea-market.

A recent Finnish media use study (Maasilta et al., 2008) reported the importance of the media for immigrants living in Finland - and how actively they used the Internet. This research claimed that the media played an important role in the domiciling process as well as for contact with the immigrants' homes of origin. Bryceson (2002) had earlier noted the enormous role the new media plays in immigrants lives compared with the times when a letter took months to travel from a new settler in the USA back to Europe.

Maasilta et al. (2008) also argue that differences due to employment and education explain the variety of media used by immigrants. The well-educated and employed people

were able to search and find information and use media in many different ways. This is where the current research findings differ. If there were no computer and internet facilities at home the women – even not highly educated nor employed - had found their way to public libraries or free internet services at schools, meeting points or cafés. Beene did not have a computer at home so she used the internet facilities at the city library *'I go to Internet...yeah that friend ...I'm always in contact with her ...we are always writing, that friend...e-mail...there's an easy access [in Cameroon]'*.

5.3.5 Religion, the importance or denial of it

At times religious practices become stronger and more important as immigrants find themselves in new country and culture. In this study women were mindful of their relationship with some religion. It was either important, a daily practice or a conscious decision that that religion had no part in their lives.

Stina and Beene have become regular church-goers in Finland. For Stina it does not really matter which church she goes to. *'And when I get married I don't even know in which church.'* In Romania, she was not really a church-going person but in Finland she has found a Catholic chapel where she goes regularly. *'Lots of international families go there, I feel good there...I meet nice people...It's small place...more intimate place. There are international people going there and I found a nice Hungarian family. It is like I found my Hungarian part as my grandparents were Hungarian.'* She also tells how she goes to the Orthodox Church when all Romanians gather there and the service is in Romanian.

Beene used to go to the Catholic Church in Cameroon. In Finland, her Nigerian friend took her to Pentecostal church. *'It's nice, a lot of Africans go there... few Finns... The service is in English. There is a Sunday school for the children and coffee afterwards.'* Benedict has become a regular church goer. The social dimensions of church membership were important. A Sunday School allowed children to make new friends while the service was being celebrated and after the church service Beene was able to stay and socialize with her friends over a cup of coffee.

Maria reports that her family was a member of Finnish Lutheran church. They attend the church services. During the remembrance day for the death of her mother-in-law she went to light a candle in a church with her sister-in-law. *'We are members of Lutheran church, normally we go to Cathedral but as it was my mother-in-law's day of remembrance we went to the chapel of the Virgin Mary.'* Zara's daily religious practise is that *'we, as the whole family, pray together in clean place.'* She also tells how enjoyable the ekumenic gatherings for immigrant families have been. They were organized by the local Lutheran church but families with different religious background could attend.

By contrast, Lidia said that religion did not interest her at all. She, her family and friends have seen so much bad done in the name of religion that they have lost their interest in religion. *'Amongst us [fellow Iraqis] religion doesn't matter to us any more. We all have gone trough so much in the name of religion that we have lost our interest.'*

5.4 Talking about cultures

In their narrations women mention different cultures, people with different nationalities, various languages and cultural products like music or food and ways of living and behaving to which they give a cultural explanation. Sometimes there is a tone of *admiration* or a voice of *dislike* in their narration. Often they simply *state cultural facts* that they have noticed or *compare* their own experiences in different cultural arenas.

5.4.1 Immigrant women – going international?

Apart of their migration, the women had not been travelling much. However, they had strong connections to their countries of origin. The Finnish schooling and NGOs – with special courses and service centres for immigrants – had been places where the women in this study had met people from different cultures and become friends with them. Inga, Anja and Maria have become good friends with course mates from Russia, Estonia and Iraq. Zara had Kurdish friends from Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan. Beene had friends from Nigeria and Congo. *'It was one of my Nigerian friends who took me there ...she was here before me when I arrivedShe has been like my elder sister and introduced me to everywhere to show me the place...she is like a sister...it's just that she is moving...another family member going.'* Beene's good Cameroonian friend and her children in Finland speak French. Beene and her daughter are confused with the mixture of English-French-Finnish languages around them. *'At home we speak English. When she goes to day care she hears Finnish. She meets Florence's children they speak French. When I meet Florence I speak French... sometimes I don't know which way to put it and I add Finnish... Oh god, it is not easy.'*

Stina and Lidia have both wide network of friends and relatives *all over world* as they say. Geographically, it is not quite true. Even with these international women, there is still a lot of places yet to discover. Stina had earlier travelled to the USA. Her dormitory seems to have been an important meeting place to learn about different countries. In her narrations she mentions friends from Uganda, Germany, Canada, America, Estonian, Korea, Azerbaijan, Norway, Ireland, Austria, Spain, Holland, and Finland. The Hungarian families in a catholic church in Tampere have become important friends as well. In Stina's case it looked as though the dormitory and the Catholic Church were especially important in the process of meeting people and making friends. Lidia had built a strong and widespread network of Kurdish friends in Finland. In her narration she spoke about relatives and friends in Iraq, Iran, Norway, Sweden, Germany and Canada.

Contact with other cultures inevitably brings comparison. Stina compared the way that children are brought up, how mentally ill people are taken care of and how much free time Finns seemed to have. She says in Romania the children are taught to behave and obey adults whereas in Finland... *'child wants to scream the parents allow her to yell.'* Her experiences in a home for mentally disabled people were positive. She told how the atmosphere there was happy. Lidia saw Finnish daily life as hectic... *'I have to run from the school to day care and then to shop and then home to cook and play with my child.'* Both Zara and Stina have both noticed how Finns do not cook. Anja says it is easier to clean in Finland than in Russia and there is also more to choose in the grocery shops... *'but buckwheat taste better when bought from the Estonian shop.'* The comparison is not only between countries. Maria compares life in Kuusamo and in Helsinki. In the big city it is more difficult to make friends, but there are better chances of work. The weather is different and Maria had to switch her hobby from skiing to swimming. They lived in a row house in Kuusamo and in moving to Helsinki she had to leave her loom in the neighbour's storage. *'[My] husband said yesterday "Let's move*

back to Kuusamo” as he does not like big cities. In Russia, we lived also in the countryside.’ But some things remain the same even if you change countries. *‘Mother works a lot, in Finland and in Afghanistan’* as Zara noted.

Zara experiences Finland as peaceful country. Rooms were warm, and children could go in peace to school. One of the pictures illustrates a major cultural difference. Her son took a picture through the window towards the parking lot, next block-of-flats and streets. In their Afghan home there would not be any windows looking out. The windows would open to the courtyard and the women would not be looking outside.

5.4.2 Admiring and disliking cultures

The women’s narrations illustrated how they liked or even admired some cultural features; either in their own culture or in someone else’s culture. At times they were reminiscing in a nostalgic way about some things from their past, or even longing for something. Beene liked Cameroonian music very much and some from Congo as well. *‘A lady at the NGO brought some African music from Tanzania...She was teaching us [laughs]...it was so interesting... it almost sounded like in my village song when they are dancing.’* Zara is recalling how good the vegetables were in Afghanistan. *‘The beetroots were so juicy. There is another white tuber which was so good and big.’* Finnish culture had provided some happiness. Lidia admires the Finnish Kalevala jewellery and Christina is fond of Finnish porridge. Inga then, on other hand admires how beautiful her Iraqi school friend, Lidia, is.

The admiration of some cultural features resembles what Lehtonen (2004) calls xenophile. Xenophile only sees and approves the positive side of another culture. While these women’s narrations the xenophile attitudes towards Finnish culture were closely connected to their accommodation stage. At first, for Zara, Finland looked like a peacefully and safe country before some negative aspects appeared. Lidia does not talk about Finnish people, but has accepted the beauty of Finnish jewellery.

The tone of dislike comes sometimes when entering the common laundry room in the block of flats. According to Anja, it is the Somalis and the Roma people that cause the trouble there. Inga has had to put up with anger, fear and bitterness when dealing with Finnish security guards in the grocery shops, Finnish neighbours bullying their family and school mates bullying her sons. Beene and Stina have felt the humiliation of being seen as not good enough in the eyes of Finnish employers.

Anja’s behaviour towards Somalis and Roma people could illustrate something what Lehtonen (2004) calls xenophobia. Everything from one culture is somehow frightening. But the women in this study don’t label the whole culture and everything in it alike. Christina’s experiences with the Finnish labour market were devastating but her Finnish dormitory girl friends have been more than helpful for her.

Lehtonen (2004) recalls for xenosophia; to be able to understand others and their way of behaving. Löytty (2006) in his research about Finnish missionary literature claims that xenosophia does “not make much of noise about it self”. If this is true the women in this study possess a valuable amount of cultural wisdom. Their everyday life is full of incidents where different cultural patterns exist in perfect harmony and are almost invisible.

The ability to switch languages and enjoy those situations is obvious. Inga is bit pessimistic about her sons’ bilingualism. She doubts that they will never understand both languages ‘into bottom’, as she puts it. However, Inga tells how the boys enjoy family visits to Estonia and they are surrounded by the Estonian language – in TV, in shops, on streets – and they can understand it. Maria tells how they speak Russian at home, but when Finnish families visit they switch into Finnish. Lidia has learned to speak very good Finnish and

graduated as nurse. Her future in Finland looks good, excellent language skills, a profession in a field that lacks workers and she's about to move to Sweden. Technically she is doing well in Finland. The silence about Finns in her narrations might be important. She has coped with Finland, learned to live in harmony in the society, accommodated well, but has no Finns as friends. Her children go to Finnish school, but at home they speak Kurdish. Anja's family in four generations speak three different languages.

At meals the foods meet peacefully. Zara serves Finnish bread, which she calls the bread made in bread making machine, at breakfast time. At lunch and dinner flat Afghan bread is served. Inga serves her family Finnish food with some Estonian specialities. Beene follows the recipe on flower bag and bakes Finnish bread rolls.

6 DAILY ACTIVITIES

The second research question asks: what kind of daily activities characterize the everyday life of transnational families? Thus the data were analyzed with the help of an everyday life matrix (see section 4.4.2). The results are shown in this chapter. The reason for developing and using a matrix like this was to find structures and activity patterns in everyday life and provide a tool that would be useful when one is – for one reason or the other – interested in studying people’s everyday life. The other reason to use the matrix was to make visible the uniqueness of each woman within the shared experiences of their transnational lives.

Below (section 6.1), three woman’s activities are presented one by one with the help of the matrix. The focus is on activities. What are the women doing? If the practice is performed by some one else than the woman her self it is indicated in *italics*. Activities are categorized according to the social dimension; done for me, done for others and done with others and the temporal dimension; continuous activities or exceptions. The locations of activities are indicated in **bold** letters. The code in brackets for example (B00A) or (B12A, 13A, 14A) refers to the particular photograph(s) in the data files. Examples of selected photographs are shown together with short citation from the transcribed discussion data. After each matrix, the information is briefly summarized. The three matrices presented here are chosen as they illustrate the variation amongst the women. The other six matrices can be seen in Appendix 7. This gives an opportunity to compare women’s activity profiles. The women’s socio-temporal matrixes are also presented in a summary table in order to describe what kind of activities belongs to each of the six categories (A1&B1, A1&B2, A1&B3, A2&B1, A2&B2, A2&B3).

The spatial aspect of activities is presented in section 6.2. Some selected activity settings that seemed important are described in more detail. They were chosen as they were prominent in the narration. These activity settings are either physical spaces as living room, church or hospital or more imaginative fields as connecting with friends and relatives that live far away.

6.1 Modal and social dimension

Beene’s, Lidia’s and Anja’s matrices were chosen as they show some variation among the women. The everyday life matrix (Tables 6a, 6b, 6c) shows the modal and social dimension of activities. Some of the activity settings are **highlighted in brown**. This indicates that those particular activities are further explained with the help of photographs, title of the photograph and a short clip from the transcribed text.

The modal dimension of activities (see section 4.4.2) describes whether activities take place regularly and continuously or if they present exception to this routine. Activities were divided to present either ‘routine’ activities or ‘exceptions for the routine’. Routine and exceptions were defined as they were presented in the women’s narrations. Routine (A1), is something that happens regularly e.g. daily, weekly and is or can be planned to some extent. Exceptions (A2), take place unintentionally or require special, long- term planning.

Social dimension of daily activities (see section 4.4.2) describe how activities are carried out in the social context. Activities that are done ‘for me’ (B1), are those where one is working towards one’s own goal - to improve one’s future, to provide pleasure or enjoyment. In the data, it was mainly the women but also family members who were at the times doing things for their own benefit. Often these ‘for me’ activities were done alone but, at other times, were done without collaboration in a social setting, for example in a class room where everyone is studying, but not engaged in a joint activity. Tasks carried ‘for immediate others’ (B2) are activities where one is caring for others, doing something for other family members’

well-being. ‘With immediate others’ (B3), category presents daily activities that are done together with others. There are tasks that are carried out jointly, but also events and times were people simply are together.

6.1.1 Beene’s everyday life matrix

Beene lives her everyday life with her little daughter. Her days seem to be filled with routinely occurring activities that mainly take place outside of her home. Table 6a indicates in detail how day do by.

Table 6a Everyday Life matrix: Beene (B).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 ‘FOR ME’	Bakes bread rolls, home kitchen (B5A) <i>Studying Finnish at NGO</i> (B00A) Dancing Tanzanian dances at NGO (B12A,13A,14A)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B2 ‘FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS’	<i>Child in a playground</i> (B20A,22A)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B3 ‘WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS’	Looking at books in library (B18A) <i>Child</i> looking at a book in library (B15A) <i>Child</i> listening music at library (B16A, 17A) On the way home from church (B0A) Having coffee after church (B1A,3A,4A) Relaxing at friend’s sofa (B6A) Relaxing at friend’s armchair (B7A) <i>Eating around kitchen table at friend’s home</i> (B8A) <i>Children</i> playing at friend’s home (B9A, B10A, 11A) Getting ready for sauna, block of flats common sauna (B24A)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS

Beene’s narration shows only continuous events (A1). There are no exceptions in her everyday life nor she has not photographed those moments.

Category A1&B1



'We are doing the Finnish course here [at NGO's]. It is very necessary for me for understand the language, I'm really putting some effort, I need it it is so easy for the children (to learn the language) , may be it is because they don't have any other thing to think about, it is so easy for the children, I'm just struggling.'

Photograph 2 Course at women's site (B 00A).

Category A1&B2



'She (the daughter) was at the park, we go often to the playground, But now that she started the day care and when she is back places are dark it is so difficult, It is getting so dark, all is over.'

Photograph 3 Park (B 22A).

Category A1 & B3



'They (children) are always happy when they meet each other.'

Photograph 4 Friend's home (B 8A).

For her own benefit and pleasure (A1&B1) she studies Finnish (Photograph 2), joins a dance course and bakes bread rolls (Photograph 24). At the NGO, Beene attends a dancing course where they all dance African dances. She does things for her daughter (A1&B2) for example as they go to the playground (Photograph 3). Even Beene lives alone with her daughter her photographs portray a lot of activities that are done together with others (A1&A3). She is drinking a cup of coffee after church with friends (Photograph 22). Photographs from her friend's home portray the two women taking care of their children; they are having lunch together (Photograph 4) and children are playing together. Beene goes to the library (Photograph 17) and sauna (Photograph 16) with her daughter.

Beene's photographs are mainly taken outside of the home. There are only two pictures taken at home; one where she bakes in the kitchen and another where she is ready for the sauna in their block of flats communal sauna. All other narrations take place in the library, at the women's NGO, children's playground, church and at a friend's home.

6.1.2 Lidia's everyday life matrix

Lidia and her two children live a busy life: Lidia in her professional studies, her son in school and her daughter in day-care. Table 6b below shows in detail how Lidia spends her time.

Table 6b Everyday Life matrix: Lidia (D).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	<p>At home son sitting in armchair (DA132,133)</p> <p>Reading a book at home in bed (DA20)</p> <p>Computer class room, teachers at school(DA7,8,9,10, 119)</p> <p>Being at home (DA15)</p> <p>In town trying new clothes (DA25)</p> <p>Son playing computer game at home (DA16) DA19)(DA128)</p>	<p>Being sick at home (DA 130)</p> <p>Graduation party at school (DA33, 32, D1,23,5,4,7,8,9,10,11)</p> <p>Graduation party in a restaurant (D 15, 16, 17, 18,19,20,21,22,23,24)</p>
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>Daughter in shower at home (DA11,12,13,14)</p> <p>At home daughter brushing teeth (DA17,18)</p> <p>At home daughter reading a book in bed (DA21,22)</p> <p>At home, daughter in bed (DA 134)</p>	<p>Organising a party for friends at community centre (D 136-180)</p>
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>In town with a friend finding a restaurant (DA23,24)</p> <p>Family friends (1) home, kitchen, dining table, child's room, living room, dinner visit, daughter playing, (DA 26,27,28,29,30,31)</p> <p>Friend's (2) home, picking up daughter(D 25, 26, 27, 29,30)</p> <p>Family friend (3) home, visiting as they have a new born baby(D 34,36,37,41,42,43, 40, 44, 45,49,51)</p> <p>Friend and her daughter visiting at Lidia's home (D 78, 90, 91, 100,101,105,</p> <p>Friend's home (4) dinner visit (D 111,113,114,115)Visiting friend's work place (5) coffee shop (D117,118)</p>	<p>NO PHOTOGRAPHS</p>

Category A1&B1



'My daughter took picture of me'

Photograph 5 Reading in bed (D a20).

Category A1&B2



Photograph 6 Daughter brushing her teeth (D a17).

Category A1&B3



*'This is at
friend's home,
she had cooked
wonderful
food'*

Photograph 7 Children playing (Da26).

Category A2&B1



'Holding the diploma and rose. It was like main dream came true, it is so big thing, I cannot explain'

Photograph 8 Graduation rose (D11).

Category A2&B2



'I was so pleased after the party, I was tired, but everything went so well'

Photograph 9 Party for friends (D147).

Lidia does things for herself (A1&B1) as she studies at school (Photograph 20), reads a book at home (Photograph 5) and is shopping for clothes in town. Lidia's son is also doing things for himself as he plays with the computer at home. Lidia's 'doing for others' routine practices (A1&B2) are centered on caring for her little daughter (Photographs 6 and 28). In Lidia's everyday life visits to friends' homes and friends visiting her were taking place regularly. When Lidia does something together with others (A1&B3), she visits friends (Photographs 7 and 21) or friends are visiting her.

Exceptions for her own routine (A2&B1) take place when Lidia is sick, or when she celebrates her graduation either in school (Photograph 8) or in restaurant. Exception for 'doing for immediate other' routine (A2&B2) happens when she organizes a big party for her friends (Photographs 9 and 19). There are no exceptions (A2&B3) in 'doing with others' category.

6.1.3 Anja's everyday life matrix

Anja together with her teenager and young adult daughters live their everyday life in close contact with Anja's parents and grandparents. Also Anja's boyfriend has an important role in their life

Table 6c Everyday Life matrix: Anja (TN).

B SOCIAL DIMENSION	A MODAL DIMENSION	
	A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B1 'FOR ME'	<p>Daughter sleeping, bedroom at home (TN22) Walking home (TN1,2)</p> <p>Walking to library (TN11,12)</p> <p>Borrowing school books from the library (TN13)</p> <p>Reading at bus (TN 15)</p> <p>Doing homework in front of computer at home (TN 43)</p> <p>Getting ready for sauna, block of flats common sauna (TN8)</p> <p>At computer class room, waiting for class to start (TN47)</p> <p>Drinking beer, block of flats common sauna (TN51)</p>	<p>Visits solarium at shopping mall (TN18)</p>
B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>Greets the dog, at home (TN3)</p> <p>Doing laundry at block of flats common laundry room(TN4)</p> <p>Doing groceries at the shopping mall (TN14)</p> <p>Changing bed sheets at home (TN16)</p> <p>Vacuuming at home, livingroom(TN17)</p> <p>Walking the dog, home quarters (TN21,TN45, TN5,6)</p>	<p>Cleaning the floor after dishwasher pipe burst, in kitchen, at home (TN 44)</p>
B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>Elder daughter with the dog at home quarters (TN 42)</p> <p>Having breakfast, at home (TN36, 38)</p> <p>Eating evening meal, dining table, at home(TN20)</p> <p>Daughter with the dog in living room (TN10)</p> <p>Walking the dog together with boyfriend at home quarters (TN19)</p>	<p>Visiting the grandfather at the hospital (TN23,24,TN25,26,27,28,29 TN 40,41)</p> <p>Father's birthday at parent's home (TN 30,31,32)</p>

Category A1&B1



'At the block of flats Sauna with my daughter'

Photograph 10 Ready for sauna (TN8).

Category A1&B2



'Doing laundry'

Photograph 11 At the block of flats common washing room (TN4).

Category A1&B3



'Eating at home with boyfriend and daughter'

Photograph 12 Evening snack (TN 20).

Category A2&B1



'Relaxing'

Photograph 13 Solarium at shopping mall (TN18).

Category A2&B2



'Cleaning kitchen'

Photograph 14 water pipe broke (TN44).

Category A2&B3



Photograph 15 Four generations of women around grandfather's hospital bed (TN26,27).

Anja's 'for me' (A1&B1) activities include studying, doing her home work and borrowing books from library regularly. She also goes to sauna (Photograph 10) weekly. When Anja does things for 'immediate others' (A1&B2), she cleans (Photograph 18), washes (Photograph 11), does the shopping for her family and walks their dog. Regularly, together with her family members (A1&B3), Anja dines (Photograph 12) and walks their dog.

Exception to her own routine (A2&B1) is her visits to the solarium (Photograph 13). Exceptions to the 'doing for immediate others' routine (A2&B2) took place when water pipe burst accidentally and she dried the floor (Photograph 14). Exceptions (A2&B3) to this family routine 'doing with others' are the visits to her grand father at the hospital (Photograph 15) and her father's birthday party.

Anja's events take place both at home and close by home; school, library, supermarket, kotikortteli, hospital and parent's home.

Profiles of everyday life

The matrices produced profiles of women's everyday life and they can be summarized as following. Beene's narration portrays a life where *everyday life takes place outside of home*. In Lidia's everyday life *friends play an important role*. Anja's photographs show everyday life that is built on support of *four generations* living close by. Zara's, Stina's, Dephany's, Ida's, Maria's and Inga's analyzed matrices can be viewed from the Appendices 4a-4f. Zara's chart is an example of a *hard working mother's everyday life* where there are no exception in the routine nor things done for her own benefit. Stina's chart is an example of *single woman's everyday life* where things are done for one's own benefit as there are no others living in the same household. Dephany's narrations indicate *student's social life* where friends play an important role. Ida's student life takes place *between home, school and work practice*. Maria life is at the stage where her children have moved out of home and she has bit more *time both for friends and cultural activities*. Inga's pictures reveal how the pattern changes when there is *house help in the everyday life*. The regular activities done for others were done by Inga's mother. In Lidia's and Maria's life routine happens at home. Regular activities done for one's own benefit and for others mainly happen at home. The chart does not necessarily reveal family structure patterns. Lidia is a single mother of two children whereas Maria's children have moved out of the home and she lives with her husband. In both cases the women's friends played an important role.

6.1.4 Categorizing everyday life practices

The activities of nine women are summarized in Table 7. A more detailed table can be seen in Appendix 7. The reason for this type of summary was to test the usability of the matrix and further describe the categorization. Otherwise, combining different woman in same chart is not meaningful, especially when there were such a small number of women. Every woman was unique as the previous sections have illustrated.

Table 7 Summary of matrices

	ROUTINE A1	EXCEPTIONS A2
Doing for one's own benefit B1	Studying (12) On computer (number of photographs:11) Reading (8) At home (8) Household tasks (6) Eating (5) Personal hygiene (4) Dancing (3) Shopping (1)	Graduating (33) Decorating new home (2) Personal health (2) Going to theatre (1)
Doing for others B2	Child care (13) Food preparation (12) Home care (9) Care for pets (5) Sewing (1) On computer (1)	Organizing a party for friends (numerous) Giving feedback about studies (2) Cleaning up water after water pipes burst (1) Moving to a new home (1)
Doing with others B3	At Friends' home (34) At home; playing, with pets, with friends (16) At School (11) At home, eating (9) In town (7) At relatives' home (7) Church (5) At home watching TV (4)	Visiting grandfather at the hospital (9) Father's birthday (3) Visiting Finnish language teacher (3) Doing voluntary work (3) In restaurant (2) Visiting church at a Remembrance Day (1)

'For me', Routine (A1&B1)

Continuous things done for one's own benefit (A1&B1) include reading, studying, being on computer, eating, taking care of personal health and hygiene, cleaning and washing, shopping, playing and simply being at home. The women are on computer at home and in school. They study, do home work and search information from the internet. Their children play computer games and a grandmother reads daily news from home country. The women study both at home and at school, they take part in work placements and study the Finnish language. They not only read school books but also Finnish women's magazines, novels and free newspapers. Also, one husband reads a book on the sofa. At home, they simply are at home, children play, they sleep. They eat and the son eats treats. They visit the pharmacist. The women enjoy the common saunas in the block of flats. They either have their own scheduled time or join the other women for women's sauna hour. They keep their homes in

order; arrange things and wash clothes. They also go and try new clothes in the clothing shops.

'For me' Exceptions (A2& B1)

During the exceptions (A2&B1) women graduate, move to a new home, go to theatre or take care of personal health. The graduation was a special event. 'It's like all dreams come true', as one of the women put it. Moving to a new flat is 'like turning a new page in life' as a woman says. Exceptions to the daily routine are also visit to a solarium and to a concert. Unfortunately there are days when one is sick.

'For Others' Routine (A1& B2)

Activities done for others are (A1&B2): cleaning, washing, cooking, baking, eating, shopping, caring for children, sewing and caring for pets. When the women care for their children they get them ready for bed, take them to library or children's playground. Grandmother also helps to clean up after children are playing. Food preparation includes shopping in a supermarket, cooking, baking and eating. Food is prepared for the family members at home children, husbands, grandmothers, boyfriends. The home is cleaned; the kitchen is washed and dirty dishes are washed, bed sheets are changed, the sofa is vacuum cleaned, laundry is done in the communal laundry room at the block of flats. The women care for the pets; walk them. A woman sews; now it's time for new tablecloth.

'For Others' Exceptions (A2&B2)

During exceptions (A2&B2) they give feedback about their studies, clean up or organize a party. A pleasant, but also tiring, exception to the routine was to arrange a dinner party for friends to celebrate the graduation. Some women also had possibility of giving feedback about their studies. An unpleasant event took place when a water pipe burst in kitchen and water from the leak had to be cleared up.

'With Others' Routine (A1& B3)

When women do activities together with others (A1&B3) they go to church, visit friends homes, go to a restaurant or coffee shop or socialize at school or relatives' homes or at NGO. If they are at home they play, take care of pets, eat or watch TV. When women visit friends they go for dinner or tea. It gives children an opportunity to play with their friends. They also visit for birthdays and greet a new born baby. At home they get friends visiting them, they play with pets, children play together or they are connected to friends through internet. School according to these narrations looks like a place for socialization; women talk to friends in computer class room, in corridor, in class room in the courtyard outside school and in between classes. From the computer room they get to connect with friends and relatives overseas. At home they eat breakfast, lunch, evening snack together with family members at home like children, husband and boyfriend. In town they sit down for a coffee or visit a restaurant where a friend works. They visit also relatives' homes. At their own homes they spend time watching TV. At church they see and socialize with friends. The pictures are taken on the way to church and during the refreshments. At the NGO they get a chance to dance African dances.

'With Others' Exceptions (A2&B3)

During exceptions (A2&B3) they go to restaurant, visit a teacher, do voluntary work, visit the hospital, go to a birthday party, go to church. In general, continuous events often take place at home and exceptions outside of home. Exceptions to the routine take places when the grandfather is admitted to hospital and when the family visits him. Father's birthday is still celebrated even though grandfather is at the hospital. Women occasionally visit their Finnish language teacher and do voluntary work. Exceptions to the routine are also the visits to a restaurant and to the church when it is time for mother-in-law's Remembrance Day.

6.1.5 Usefulness of matrix analysis

Using the matrix as an analysing instrument was challenging. The practices found in the women's narrations were not always simple to place in the matrix. For example, when some one is doing something for others it will also benefit oneself as well. When the mother cooks for the whole family she will of course eat as well. When the activity was done alone to benefit mostly the one who was doing it, it was classified as doing for one's self. Similarly, it is not always a clear distinction between when things are done for someone or with someone. When the narration revealed that there were other people involved in the activities, or simply that were other people, it was classified as doing with someone. What is routine and what is exception? Exceptions happen without planning. They are events that we might not want to happen at all in life like someone falling sick or been admitted to hospital. Exceptions can also be events that involve careful planning and are highlights like graduation or arranging a party. It was helpful that women's narration were based on both visual stories – photographs – and their verbal stories. It would be even harder to use this matrix if the narrations were based only on verbal stories. Pictures give more information and thus help to classify the activity in the matrix.

How do the nationalities, cultures, countries, languages, the cultural mix, show in the matrix? This is not very visible in the results described. When the analysis is taken this far some of the cultural information is lost. When the activity is coded, for example 'mother reads a newspaper from the internet', the actual meaning of the practice is lost. In fact, what is really happening is that 'Estonian mother who is visiting her daughter's family in Finland is reading an Estonian daily newspaper on the Internet'. Another example is where the coding reads 'Maria goes for a concert'. In fact what happens is that Maria, a Russian woman, goes to a concert in a Finnish city where a trio from her homeland are playing and Maria goes to the concert together with her Russian friend. The importance of the matrix is to reveal the different activity patterns, profiles amongst the women. But at the same time the context of cultural mixture is hidden. In other words, behind the cultural artefacts and mix of cultural practices there are activities that look common. One can ask whether this is a study of immigrants. If so, where are the immigrants? However, while this is a study of immigrants and their cultural characteristics are ever present, this does not feature strongly in this form of analysis.

6.2 Spatial dimension

In this section, the everyday life matrix and its spatial dimension are the focus. First, during the analysis, the locations of different activities were highlighted (used **bold** in the matrices). The numerous activity settings that took place in specific social and modal context formed seven different units of activity settings that are described in detail below. These units of activity settings vary in their social and modal context as well in location. However, in each unit of activity settings, there is the same aim or purpose of activity or motivation, or reason. Some examples of the narrations are below show the importance of location for the activities.

6.2.1 Space to learn

The spaces where learning took place were inside formal school buildings like in the computer classroom, in the school hall, in the classrooms. Learning also took place in the NGO's premises, in libraries, in a work practice place and also in a teacher's home. Homework was done on the computer.



'In this photograph there are some students from my course. Lidia is trying her camere and filling out the feedback form'

Photograph 16 Computer class room (SI 3).

Lidia's picture of her classroom was taken in a learning space. Her education was targeted for immigrant women and she graduated as a nurse together with her classmates. Education, learning the Finnish language and obtaining Finnish professional education were seen as providing a better future in Finland. Education was seen as accommodation tool.

6.2.2 Space for Friendship

Friendships were maintained by visiting homes of some friends. Going to coffees shops, churches, shopping or to a theatre with friends was also important. Parties were organized for friends. Social gatherings were mainly carried out together with friends from the same cultural background or with multicultural set of school or church friends. Or one occasion Finnish friends were invited for a dinner. Walking a dog was also a social event. Friendships were also maintained through Internet calls, e-mails and on-line discussion forums. Relatives who had moved from the home country to Finland were visited often.



'This is also the home of one of our friends, she had cooked good food.'

Photograph 17 Dinner at friend's home (D a28).



'This is the Nigerian girl, two of them, this one is also from Nigeria, and my girl and the rest of them are the members of the church. You can opt to do the coffee, there are so many different things you can support. They have this Sunday school, when they are preaching, there is a room where you can take the children...you can concentrate when they are preaching'

Photograph 18 Coffee after church (B 3A).



*'H: Is everyone dancing?
D: Yes, everyone dances, this is an easier one, everyone can dance it, then when there is a more difficult one some go and sit down, but others will still want to try.'*

Photograph 19 Lidia's friends dancing at the graduation party (D 165).

6.2.3 Space for food

Food is bought from the grocery store, ethnic food shops and deliveries from home countries arrive. Food is cooked in the kitchen and eaten at the dining table. Organizing food has to be done one way or the other. Women's food related photographs are taken in grocery shop and kitchen and the food is eaten at the dining table. Traditions are maintained as ingredients and cooking utensils from country of origin are used.



'This is a heavy pot, it's very good for rice, does not burn, cools down slowly, from Afghanistan, aluminium, very good'.

Photograph 20 Cooking pot from Afghanistan (A 7A).

It seems important to maintaining traditions when it comes to food related practices. Zara prepares Afghan flat bread weekly and the big Afghan pot, which cooks the best rice ever, has travelled a long way before reaching the kitchen in one of the suburbs in Finland. Stina says: 'Tea from Romania; my mother packed it, I brought it last year, if I have a pain, it calms me down, when my throat hurts; it is not just any kind of tea, some tea help in some situations, I still have it.' Stina also has to cook Romanian vegetable soup to calm her stomach down every now and then. Stina organizes her boyfriend to bring some 'proper cough medicine' from Romania to help a little Romanian boy living in Finland to recover from his irritating cough that the Finnish doctors have not taking seriously. Inga describes how they buy Estonian bread in big quantities and freeze it to last longer. Maria and Anja share the same appetite; buckwheat from a Russian shop.

Learning Finnish ways can be seen in the food related practices as well. Zara describes how she makes Finnish bread with bread making machine. She bought the machine from a Finnish wholesale, read the manual and now serves fresh bread every morning. Beene read the recipe for baking bread rolls from a flour bag and manages to bake Finnish 'pulla'. They also learn international food habits in Finland. Maria tells how she attended a Japanese Sushi course that was organized by Martha, the Finnish women's organization.



Photograph 21 Following the flour bag recipe (B 5A).

*B: I'm the one, they cut my head,
oh my god,*

*H: who took the picture? Whom
do we blame?*

*B: [laughter] It is so funny...this
one I was baking...it's just
ordinary bread...I just normally
just follow the recipe on the flour
bag ... milk, yeast, sugar, salt,
water, eggs... just one egg after
mixing you have to...*

H: So you can read Finnish

B: Yeah, now I can manage

H: Do you bake often?

*B: no, once a week, we are just
two, Then I don't buy the bread
any more, I put in freezer and
heat it in Microwave oven*

Tiilikainen (2003) in her study of Somalis in Finland describes their eating patterns as follows. The Somali daily diet has been influenced by the surrounding Finnish culture. Many women have taken part in cookery courses to learn how to prepare Finnish dishes and baby food. Reading the recipes and finding the food items from the grocery shops is difficult and Finnish food preparation was seen as being time consuming. Islam has certain food prohibitions, but because it is difficult to find the ingredients used in ready-made foods, homemade food needs to be prepared. Food is a concrete area where trust and mistrust is expressed. Once, a Somali mother saw her child eating a ham sandwich at the day care centre. The staff had explained to the horrified mother that they had been in a hurry. In the end, the mother had given up her own study place and stayed home with the children, because she could not trust that her children would get appropriate food at the day care centre. In Finland, married Somali women do only a limited amount of physical exercise and after several pregnancies they tend to gain weight. (Tiilikainen, 2003, pp.146–151). Recreating new food related practices is analysed further in section 7.2.

6.2.4 Orderly Space

The kitchen, bedroom and living room are cleaned. Dirty laundry is in a basket and clean ones are drying on the lines or are waiting to be folded into cupboards. Laundry is done in one's own bathroom or in the common laundry room in the block of flats. Clean bedsheets are changed. Women enjoy the sauna. They take care of their belongings and arrange and organize them. The kitchen table is also used for sewing with the sewing machine. Women provide and organize order and cleanliness around them.



C: This is how my wardrobe looks now, Yes, these are books and dictionary, CDs I brought from Romania...like School kind of things, I have kind of bright colours

H: In very good order

C: Yes these are in order, and I try to keep them that way, much nicer when I open, ok what's the weather today, what should I put on, I know it is clean, easier to get dressed, usually I don't think too much what I should wear, how many degrees, where I have to go and what to do, and then I just put on something, easier to choose, than if this is dirty, ah, I like the order, I think this order thing is also because of my profession, you have to really tidy all the time... everything in place... When I go somewhere I just have to make it in order

Photograph 22 Cupboard in order (C 00A).

Stina likes to keep her things in order, she cannot work if her office is not in order. *'I like the order, I think this order thing is also because of my profession, you have to really tidy all the time, everything in place, when I go somewhere I just have put everything in order.'* She also enjoys washing the laundry. Stina describes how she needed to do her laundry by hand. *'I felt like I needed to do something with my hands so I really enjoyed washing. I was listening music, it was really relaxing, Saturday, you know, just washing for an hour, I did it because I was delighted, I wanted to do something else because in the school it's just writing and typing, computer, writing, typing, writing so I needed to do something else.'*

It is important to look good. Beene's hair is always extremely beautifully done. *'I have a friend who, she sells the most of these things. It is like that, you have something to do, you have to be looking good, especially if you have a profession like that (teacher). You have to be*

looking good, you have to take care of your self. It is for my own way, I don't like looking shabby or something.' Lidia pays also lot of attention to how she looks. She has pictures where she has just cut her son's hair and smiling pictures where she is combing nicely her daughter's hair.

Using Finnish cleaning devices like vacuum cleaner and laundry machine change cleaning practices. Stina is delighted to use the laundry machine. It's very easy here, I really enjoy, I just put them in the machine and I can do other things at the same time, I wash a lot of things.

Anja's and Beene's experiences in the sauna portray enjoyment. Beene tells how she and her daughter have learned to like the Sauna in their block of flats (see Photograph 16). Anja also goes to sauna with her adult daughter. *'It was Thursday, my elder daughter called if she could come to sauna with me, and of course she can. I told her to take her sauna stuff along. We had a beer, even I don't like beer, it is good after sauna.'*



'I was preparing to go to the sauna, I often go there on Tuesdays because Tuesdays is always free, and if you have to book you have to pay. I'm serious to learn the Sauna, It is really good, especially when I go there with that girl...She's so happy there, she'll be pouring water on the stones and shouting lets go outside she's so happy...My first time was... There

were other women in there and they pour water. It was very hot. I'm getting used to it...Wau, is it how it works. Ok, let me go outside first and take shower. It is just now I'm getting used to.'

Photograph 23 Beene at sauna (B 24A)



T: There's dog hair...[The] dog is inspecting when I am vacuuming

H: How often do you vacuum?

T: Often... three times a week

H: Is it now after the dog?

T: No, not now, also in summer when the window is open... a lot of dust comes [in].

Photograph 24 Anja vacuum cleaning (TN 17).

6.2.5 Space for Resting

Resting takes place in sofa or on an arm chair in the living room. One reads a book or a magazine or relaxes with the computer or in front of the television.



T: Here my husband is resting on the sofa after work

H: What is he reading?

T: I don't remember... It is... what is it in Finnish?... Pushkin...

Photograph 25 Reading Pushkin after work (TM 22).

Artefacts from the home of origin countries provide comforting resting moments. Large oriental carpets on Zara's living room change the Finnish suburb flat to look like one from the Near East. The head of the house sits comfortably on the floor having a thermos of tea at the reach of an arm. Maria's husband relaxes after work by reading Pushkin's novel in Russian. Resting on the sofa takes him to Pushkin's stories in Russia. Maria and her Russian friend enjoy a Russian concert in a Finnish theatre. Maria reads Finnish well and relaxes by reading woman's magazines.

6.2.6 Space for Childhood

Children have taken or been given their place. At home they are seen on the living room couch or in an armchair, in their own room floor, or in their bed. They play by the fire place or by the computer. They are outside with the dog, or in the playground. They are brushing their teeth or cleaning the kitchen.



*'Two sons ...
brothers
playing
eagerly...
They
changed the
Moomin
figures into
pirates and
the Moomin
boat is now
the pirates'
ship.'*

Photograph 26 Brothers playing with pirates on Moomin boat (SI 34).

6.2.7 Space for Caring

Women care for children, grandparents, husbands, boy friends and pets - and they take care of themselves. Older children care for younger children. The caring takes place at home, in the neighbourhood, at hospital, at the pharmacists. The care work is also done using the computer at home, school or in library.



H: *At the library do you go to Internet?*

B: *Yes, I don't have a computer at home, I go to the Internet... Yeah, that friend ...I'm always in contact with ...we are always writing, that friend...email...There's easy access [in Cameroon].*

Photograph 27 Beene at the library (B 18A).



'This is my daughter after the shower. She will be in May four years and eight months.'

Photograph 28 Blow drying the hair after shower (D a12).



'This is a home picture. My mother is visiting us, and she is washing the apples in the kitchen'

Photograph 29 Grandma washing apples (SI 6).

Transnational care was common to women. Zara was told that her mother-in-law's passport and visa papers were ready but the relatives in Canada were not ready. They claimed they all were busy working and could not take care of grandmother. (Participation observation diary, N 7.11.2005)

6.2.8 What did not happen in the photographs?

As important as it has been to look at what is happening in the women's pictures, it is also important to notice what is either invisible or missing from the photographs. They did not portray everyday lives of conflicting interest, overlapping timetables or any other kind of chaos (see section 9.1 Critique on research method chosen). The photographs do not portay much about leisure activities and some of the rather typical practices for Finnish women are missing. Equally, the hassle of everyday life is not seen in the photographs. If the women talked about holidays they talked about visits to home of origin. They did not mention other trips abroad nor holidays spend somewhere in Finland. Women seemed not to have hobbies. It was only Maria who had some leisure activities; going to concerts, sewing, attending cooking courses. Although because her children had moved away from home it might be that she had more time for such activitie. While the women were eager to go to the sauna, they did not talk about Finnish cottage life and there are very few Finns in the photographs. Where there were, they were mostly staff members, teachers or NGO employees. Women did not have cars nor driver's licences. Sharing the house work was done amongst the family members and also friends helped. Domestic work was not outsourced and women did not buy services such as cleaning.

7 ACCOMMODATIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

This chapter focuses on daily practices from the transitional perspective; how one maintains traditions, how one adapts to the new requirements and how some new practices are reconstructed (see section 4.4.3). This chapter aims to answer the third research question; what kind of accommodative measures do the family use?

Traditions

Maintaining traditions implies a respect for the practices of older generations and active rehearsal to ensure that they do not become a memory distant from current everyday life. Particular manners, certain artefacts and the language were central in maintaining the traditions. For practical reinforcement, grandparents are important. Inga's mother came to help to run the daily life of her daughter's family. She helped with the food, with the cleaning and with children's homework. As Inga puts it, 'there is someone trustworthy at home when the boys come home from school'. Maria went with her sister-in-law to light candles of remembrance for her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law had died in their 'country of origin' but they lit the candles in a Finnish church.

Different cleaning, washing and food related practices maintained traditions. When researcher was surprised by the thoroughness of the weekly cleaning, Zara commented that 'we cook more than Finns, so we need to clean more.' Cleaning and arranging is a way to create home, the belongings are organized in a way that it feels comfortable and home-like. Sometimes, it was comforting to return to the traditional way to performing tasks. For example, doing the laundry by hand, just to get the familiar, relaxed feeling from the past, from the happy childhood that Stina remembered. Traditions were maintained as cooking ingredients from country of origin were obtained, traditional cooking tools used and traditional foods were prepared. Zara's husband sitting on the floor and having a thermos of tea on the side table definitely transfers customs from Kurdish life to that in a Finnish suburb. An Estonian wall-hanging or a Kurdish mat brings a small piece of the past into the present day.

Mother tongues maintain traditions. A book in a native language can provide a relaxing moment. Inga is worried that her children will never learn her mother-tongue 'fully'. The women were happy to find people from the 'old' country or at least people with same language skills in Finland. 'I have found my Hungarian part here', said Stina as she becomes friends with a Hungarian family in Finland and was remembering her childhood with Hungarian grandparents.

Adaptations

The Finnish environment in all its forms - from infrastructure and housing to technological devices, climate and education - in a way forced immigrant women to adapt to 'a Finnish way of life' and change their behaviour patterns. The Finnish society and its structures like day care for children, affected all women's daily practices. Their children's environment was shaped by Finnish surroundings, the playground and its attractions, toys and children's TV programmes. Finnish housing often provided access to sauna, which was happily welcomed by some of the women.

The technical devices changed practices. Cleaning, washing and cooking equipment like vacuum cleaners, laundry machines, bread making machines changed women's daily practices. Information technology also changed the way that friendships were maintained and how children were cared for. Finnish ingredients and cooking equipment along with what women had learned on the courses and their children's experiences of school food changed habits. Technology alongside the home also has an effect. Anja, for example, treats herself to the relaxation of the solarium at the local shopping centre. The Finnish climate requires women to adapt their behaviour. Warm winter clothes are needed for the whole family.

Even though the school education at the research sites seemed to be quite traditional; women were in lecture rooms, did their home work and took part in work practice. Learning was seen as a way to accommodate to Finnish society and the adult education possibilities were used with this in mind. It was both believed and hoped for by the women, the Finnish schools, and the NGOs. Learning was both formal and informal with excursions to pick berries, or to learn dancing, alongside Finnish language classes. Women also followed novel online language courses to improve their language skills.

Recreate

It seemed that socialising, care and friendships were such important activities, that novel activity patterns were developed. Friendships with people from their country of origin are seen important and worth sustaining. Friendships, as an important part of life were recreated and maintained through IT devices so that old friendships were strengthened by new means. Accommodation took place as Finns were gradually seen as friends though this was seldom reported in the women's narrations. Church was an important space for friendship. It provided a way of maintaining traditions but acted as an important forum to adapt to new life because they were able to meet foreign people there and share their experiences.

*Virtual dining table*²³

Information technology has made communication between different geographical locations easy and readily available at affordable cost. The term virtual dining table has been coined to describe how family members living in different countries keep in touch by the use of same table meant for eating, doing homework as well as making calls with communication software on the Internet. The virtual dining table illustrates a form of social interaction that has emerged due to the fact that family members live in different geographical environment, physically apart from one another but are linked together in close contact with the availability of modern communication system and information technology. At the virtual dining table family members around the world share their meals and stories. Dining together – in its all forms – is a scene for human life (Mennell, 1985; Germov & Williams, 1999). One family member described how a traditional food had been cooked and was enjoyed at the time of speaking. Family members shared their meals by asking 'would you like to have some'. This brought about a purposeful sense of togetherness and created a sense of being 'at home'. The joy and happiness that such conversation brings creates the same feeling as being physically close to one another. It is an experience that unites family members and keeps them closer. The virtual dining table is a means for families and friends to maintain the togetherness of

²³ An earlier version of this section was presented at the IFHE Conference 2008 in Luzern, Switzerland (Janhonen-Abuquah, H., Lyon, P. and Palojoiki, P. 2008).

sharing food even though they live apart. They are separated by physical distance but still united. Information technology has changed the social interaction and thus creating a virtual dining table for family members and friends.

The virtual dining table concept captures the very essence of this research. It clearly shows how practices change; how traditions are maintained and at the same time new practices are invented (see section 7.1). The virtual dining concept also illustrates how technical tools change actions.

Comparing virtual dining table and traditional family meals

The virtual dining table (VDT) concept is compared below with traditional family dining (TFD) type of eating practice. Traditional family dining might be something of a myth that is stronger in the memory than in practice but, in it, family members physically gather to share food. It is not part of this research to examine the existences of traditional family dining but the concept serves a comparative function. This is summarised in table 8.

Table 8 Comparison between traditional family dining and virtual dining table.

	TRADITIONAL FAMILY DINING (TFD)	VIRTUAL DINING TABLE (VDT)
Food entering the table	Local ingredients Bought from local shops close by Some grown / produced home	Local ingredients combined with specialties from country of origin
Ingredients		
Purchase / shopping	Grocery stores close by	Grocery stores close by Some ingredients mailed from country of origin Bought from 'ethnic' shops
Meal times	Detailed table manners; what is right/wrong, what is proper/not proper, etiquette	Unconventional
Manners		
Table setting	Formal, follow rules	Informal; computer, phone, head set, microphone, cords
People	Present same time, around a table, face-to-face	Some present face-to-face, some take part virtually
Eating	Done same time	Done same time or different times
Social interaction	Face-to-face	Face-to-face and through Internet phone and modern communication software and devices
Gender roles	Traditional	Flexible, food prepared according to the origin of the food

Women's narrations provide rich data about food and meals. Below are some of the women's stories about both traditional family dining and virtual dining table.

Traditional family dining

Kurdish families' day in a Finnish park, Kurdish mothers / wives and their steaming pots. Where a bus load of Kurds turn the rainy Finnish autumn park into looking like Turkish/Iraqis/Pakistani movie, book, TV-documentary

Beene's table

Two single mothers from Cameroon and their children gathered around a kitchen table in the suburbs of a Finnish city, eating foods bought from the Finnish corner shop (see photograph 4).

Virtual dining table

Lidia's table



Photograph 30 Tea time in front of television (D 51).

Lidia's tea table is set. Lidia often visits her friends but in this occasion the tea is enjoyed in front of television. The programmes through Kurdish satellite channel are about to begin.

Anna's table



Photograph 31 Laptop open (H 20).

Anna is a young Russian woman, married to a Turkish man. They are living with their little baby in an expensive area of a Finnish city. Anna feels a bit lonely. A computer is placed on the dining table and is powered on most of the time, with full access to the Internet. Chat programs like MSN messenger and Internet call software (voip) are in used 'all the time'. Her husband cooks Turkish food whilst Anna cooks Russian food and the baby eats baby food bought from a Finnish super market.

Beene's table

Beene is a Cameroonian mother who is living with her youngest daughter in Finland. Their rooms are quite empty, but the mobile phone is always close by. She also often visits the public library; where her daughter listens to children's music and uses the Internet to share daily experiences and also gather information about what is going on among her family living in another geographical area.

Inga's table



Photograph 32 Grandmother reading Estonian newspaper (SI 35).

An Estonian family – Inga, her husband and three sons - are living in a Finnish city. Inga's mother visits them from Estonia. At dinner, the food mainly comes from a Finnish supermarket but the bread, and some other items, were bought from an Estonian food shop in Finland. At the dining table Inga's mother reads the Internet version of the Daily Estonian newspaper.

Stina's table

Stina, a Romanian girl, is studying in a Finnish city. She meets her Romanian family once a week through Skype phone calls. During such internet calls her mother, brother and some friends gather around the computer in Romania to speak with her. She also exchanges e-mail daily with her friends back home. Mother sending "special tea" from Romania, boyfriend is bringing "proper cough medicine" from Romania.

Food entering the table

Food is placed a virtual and traditional dining tables by different means. A Romanian mother sends her daughter, Stina ‘special mother’s tea’ by post. The tea is particularly useful when she is feeling ill. Her boyfriend, also Romanian, brings her personal deliveries from Romania, including some spices that cannot be found in Finland. An Estonian, Inga, tells how they bring some ingredients to Finland whenever they visit Estonia. Some food stuffs and ingredients like halva, buckwheat and bread could be bought from ethnic shops that are called, in this case, ‘home food shops’. Some Finnish grocery shops also carry a vast variety of food stuffs imported from all over the world.

The immigrant women in this study live in a wealthy Nordic society where food is in abundance. Nutritional problems are not those of general access to food but rather the excess consumption of single sugars and saturated fat. None of the immigrant women talked about growing food, which in many case, are a common practice in many of the emigration countries where the women originated. Their present homes, for obvious reasons, probably do not allow growing food or perhaps there is no economical need for growing one’s own food. The decision to put particular food on the table is rather complex in everyday life.

Researchers (Mennell, 1985; Germov & Williams, 1999) are still baffled about how decisions concerning a day’s main meal are made and have long been the subject of research enquiry. Why do we eat certain foods? What affects the choices we make about what to eat? These questions have interested both researchers and ordinary diners for decades. Lewin (1945) argued that a more relevant question to be asked is how food comes to the dinner table. He claims that once food is on a dinner table it gets eaten. In his psychological ecology approach, he finds it more relevant to study the channels and gatekeepers that control the routes of food and food stuffs. In Lewin’s theory, food channels are mainly through the ‘buying’ and ‘gardening’ channels. The gatekeeper is then the one who controls the flow of food through the channels. Lewin sees two main factors – a cognitive structure, ‘what is food’, and motives; ‘values behind food’ – that influence the gatekeeper’s choices.

The gatekeeper’s choices are derived from the cognitive structure of food definitions and motives in the form of values given to food. The food that is chosen and eaten has a greater significance than its nutritional content. For immigrants, the new food culture may provide a major challenge in terms of what specific food commodities are available for purchase and how they can be cooked. Moreover, the new food culture is symbolic as it is a sign of deeper disconnections in their lives, and the desire to maintain their ‘old’ food culture as much as possible in the host society.

To conclude, I argued that a new form of family meal eating practice has emerged among transnational families with technological resources. The new form of the meal – the virtual dining table - does not necessarily replace traditional family dining but, rather, recreates it in new circumstances. Finally, one should not lose sight of the fact that, the concept of family takes a different approach in this research. Here the concept, transnational family, means a network of relatives and friends living in different geographical environments around the world (see section 2.2).

Table 9 Key concepts in construction of everyday lifeEco-cultural niche.

NO	ECOCULTURAL KEY CONCEPTS	ECO-CULTURAL DEFINITION	HOT AIR BALLOON METAPHOR	CONCEPTS IN PREVIOUS RESEARCH
1	Eco-cultural niche	Place where a family tries to maintain a comfortable and sustainable daily life. Home.	Hot air balloon flight.	Proximal home environment (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 1986) Socio-space (Carrington 2002; Olwig Fog 2003) Home in multicultural research (Huttunen 2002, Tiilikainen 2003) Home in Finnish diasporic context (Honkasalo 2004) (see section 2.3)
2	Niche features	Statistical facts and framework of the family. The time use of a family. Organization of everyday life for example domestic tasks, child care tasks, child play groups, marital role, social support, father's role.	Colourfully striped hot air balloon	Time use studies (Ellegård 1999; Pääkkönen 2005) Domiciling research amongst immigrants (Beiser 1994; Liebkind 1994; Paananen 2005)
3	Family features Family themes Family culture	Family themes are the aims and aspirations of the family. Family culture is formed by the combination of family themes.	Tightly woven basket that keeps the family members together. Pilot and other people sitting in the hot air balloon basket.	Family hood (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002) Immigrants living conditions (Pohjanpää et al. 2002)
4	Family actions	Sustainable routine of daily actions A) social ecological fit B) congruence and balance C) meaningful D) stability and predictability	How the burner is heated regulates the temperature inside the balloon and thus regulates the height of the balloon.	Dynamics of family members' gatherings (Korvela 2003)
5	Accommodation	Adapting, exploiting, counterbalancing and reacting to many competing and/or contradictory forces.	Finding the desired height.	Acculturation model Berry (1992), Cultural citizenship – ethnic assimilation concepts Ong (2003), Xenophobia, Xenophilia, Xenosophia (Lehtonen 2004), Gatekeeping and brokering (Cooper et al. 1998) Cultural intelligence (Earley & Ang 2003), Multiple worlds (Phelan et al. 1993), Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti (2006)
6	Ecological forces	Limiting factors and resources, constraints and opportunities set by society/ environment national and global politics and economy.	Different air streams at different heights that determine the direction and speed of movement. Winds and air streams causing the balloon to drift.	Finnish migration legislation.

8 HOT AIR BALLOON FLIGHT AS A METAPHOR OF TRANSNATIONAL EVERYDAY LIFE

This chapter aims to answer to the overall research question of this study (see section 4.1); how do transnational families construct their everyday life across national borders? It draws together the research findings of this study and discuss them in relation to the literature used in previous chapters. The chapter aims also to elaborate further the key concepts in eco-cultural theory (see section 3.3) based on the research findings in this study. The research plan was drawn in line with eco-cultural theory (Gallimore et al 1989, 1993a, 1993b; Weisner & Gallimore 1994). A four-step data collection strategy had been devised in relation to the characteristics of this research group and a specific data analysis tool was developed. The research findings further illuminate eco-cultural concepts but do not test eco-cultural theory as such.

In this chapter the six concepts (Table 9) are defined as they were seen in this research context. The chapter finishes off with a metaphor presented in Figure 3 that aims to metaphorically present the research findings.

Eco-cultural niche

Families construct their eco-cultural *niches* from the mix of forces and actions. Families are strongly affected by social and economic forces but they still take individual and collective action to modify and counteract their everyday life (Gallimore et al 1989, p. 217–218). Earlier in this research (see end of section 2.3) home was defined as the physical place and surrounding for the transnational families but also as a socio-space where the walls and borders were invisible. Here, home as an eco-cultural niche (Table 9, no 1) is further discussed.

During the discussions with the women in this research some of them defined their homes. Stina said that her home is where her heart is as she was looking forward to her boyfriend coming to Finland. Inga commented that person just gets richer more homes she has and referred to the fact that she has a home in Finland but also her childhood home in Estonia is still important. In this research, the homes are unique, as every home is.

The eco-cultural niche is closely connected with concepts like proximal home environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), socio-space (see section 2.3) and home. Carrington (2002) defined the contemporary family as living in a socio-space characterised by an imagined community, the construction and maintenance of social bonds and support networks. Huttunen (2002) and Tiilikainen (2003) studied multicultural families in the Finnish context. Tiilikainen gives an example of how the sense of belonging and togetherness is built and maintained during Somali wedding preparations in Finland. For the Somali women, wedding preparations were a way to build and strengthen mutual bonds and collaboration. Somali weddings required a week of preparation both locally and transnationally. The days just before a wedding were intensive times of work. The families and friends of bride and groom take part in preparations. While preparing the food together, women talk, joke and reminisce. Working together builds new bonds and assurances between the women. By helping others they make sure they get help if it is needed in the future. Their small suburban kitchens turn out be far too small for all the food preparation and the following morning women are tired. Many complained how difficult wedding arrangements are in Finland. ‘My cousin had her wedding in a fine restaurant in Somalia. There was a buffet. When people see the world and get civilized they will have wedding in restaurant’, a Somali woman commented. (Tiilikainen, 2003, pp. 188–190, pp. 197–198). In diasporas, Somali women create their home by combining several places and locations into a place like home. Daily routines, social memories, extended family, Islam, ritual, language, and collaboration with other women play an important role in building such a home in a new land (Tiilikainen, 2003, p. 282).

Niche features

The niche features (Table 9, no 2) can be described as the statistical facts and framework for the family. They provide the fringe area where the family action can take place. The niche features are interconnected and hierarchical. These features can be either positive resources or negative constraints. A good education and high salary are not necessarily resources, and a low income is not automatically seen as a constraint. The valence of features depends on the meaning a family gives to them (Gallimore et al 1989, p. 222). Niche features set a kind of the borderline within which the families can operate. Most of the niche features were found from the background questionnaire which was summarised in the Table 5 (Facts about

women). Other forms of data were useful in determining niche features. Niche features are of course unique for each family, but the list mentioned below seemed to apply to most of the women in this study.

In this research the niche features are country of origin, language skills, education, profession, age, marital status, number of dependants and the fact that they live in a city, most likely in a block of flats. Niche features are not necessarily constraints or opportunities. It depends how they are used or how it is possible to use them. Like the variety of language skills might look like an opportunity, but it seems it is only the Finnish language that has benefited the women.

Family features

A group of emotionally attached people – a family - is at the centre of the eco-cultural theory (Table 9, no 3). Family features are like goals and future hopes of the family. They are described through the concepts family themes and family culture. Family themes are like aims or aspirations of the family. For example, providing a normal childhood for the children or keeping the family together. Family themes are put into practice through daily family activities. The specific family culture is made out of a combination of family themes. The concept of culture is not seen as national or ethnic culture but as family culture, and it is not a stereotyped view but one that sees the family as unique.

What are the aims and aspirations of these women in the midst of their group of emotionally attached people (see family maps 1-7)? Family features have a future orientation. Stina says she wants to raise her children in Finland and have family members living in Finland. Lidia wants to move together with her husband to Stockholm. They might move further - 'to somewhere warm'. Azra wants to live in a peaceful country, like Finland. Maria's husband likes small villages and is wondering if they should move back to the little village in North Finland. Inga is hoping to contribute to the family income now that she has graduated with a profession. Beene hopes that her daughter from Cameroon can get a permit to come to Finland. Anja hopes the best for her daughters and if things do not go well with daughter's fiancée, she is always welcome back home. Ida is dreaming of a nice husband. Somehow it seems that before these aims come true they require major sacrifices; moving, learning new languages, finding a job.

Family action

Families proactively construct their family ecology and routine. Not only are families shaped by the social world around them, they also help to shape that world. Meaningful and sustainable daily routines have a moral and cultural significance and value for family members. Daily routines (Table 9, no 4) are the contact point between individuals and the surrounding cultural and ecological environment. Sustainable daily routines, according to eco-cultural theory, have some stability and predictability, they are meaningful, there is congruence and balance and the available resources roughly match the activities the family engages in.

In this research, everyday activities were placed on continua which described the mode of activities, social context of activities and their spatial arrangements. Mode of activities described the distinction between routine and exceptional events. The research showed seven different spatial arrangements: place to learn, to have friends, to organize food, to provide order and cleanliness, to rest, allowing space for children and to care. The social dimension

describes activities that are done in order to benefit us, the family, the immediate others. Activities are done either for the one who is doing them, for others or together with others.

Accommodation

Daily activities reveal how the process of accommodation (Table 9, no 5) takes place. Accommodation refers to the proactive, social construction of actions as the family is adapting, exploiting, counterbalancing and reacting to many competing and sometimes contradictory forces like income needs, health, domestic workload and the like. Such accommodation can be unconscious, and the forces that drive families may be only dimly perceived by the parents.

The accommodation process in the eco-cultural model has many similarities with Berry's (1992) acculturation model and Ong's (2003) cultural citizenship – ethnic assimilation concepts (see section 2.4). Ability to cross boundaries, worlds and cultural borders is essential in the accommodation process as Cooper et al. (1998, p. 113) have also noted. For example, the study of one's 'multiple worlds' (Phelan et al. 1993) and the study of cultural intelligence (Earley and Ang, 2003, p. 59) provide additional theoretical tools to understand this process better. Phelan et al. (1993) have described in their studies how students, in particular, move from one social network to another. They use the term 'world' to describe how students navigate across the multiple contexts of their lives. In their model, a lot of attention is paid to the borders between these worlds and how they are crossed. Key resources are people – such as parents who are involved in school or teachers who know parents and friends – who move along the students across these boundaries, or facilitate the border crossings, although many students are left to navigate across their worlds alone. These borders are also further elaborated in a study by Cooper et al. (1998, p. 114–115). They found concepts like 'gate-keeping' and 'brokering' useful in explaining the activities of respondents. As Cooper et al. (1998, p. 115) stated:

'We found that students were challenged to navigate across their multiple worlds and must negotiate with brokers who help them and gatekeepers who create difficulties for them, as well as relying on themselves.'

In addition to navigating across these different worlds, a certain amount of cultural intelligence is also needed. Earley and Ang (2003, p. 16) claimed that the challenge for an international sojourner is that most of the cues and behaviours that are familiar at home may be lacking in the new cultures, so entirely new interpretations and behaviours are required. This ability is cultural intelligence, which is an individual characteristic. Earley and Ang (2003, p. 64–65) see an 'emic construct' when cues have their basis within a given culture and are only fully appreciated and understood within this context. An emic construct gains meaning from its context and, fully absent from its contextual interpretation, cannot be appreciated. For example, witnessing a crowd of noisy people holding long sticks and gathering by the lakeside around a large bonfire at midnight in the middle of summer can have a totally different interpretation if it is not understood as part of a Finnish Midsummer celebration. An 'etic construct', on the other hand, has characteristics that exist across cultures and is universal. For example, all people have certain cognitive functions such as memory and recall, and social institutions like marriage and mourning of a lost loved one. Earley and Ang's emphasis is on etic aspects of intelligence that provides individuals with the capacity to operate across various cultural boundaries (Earley and Ang, 2003, p. 16).

In this study daily activities could be seen on a continuum that at one end maintains traditional practices, at some point adapts to the current situation and in the other end of the continuum new practices were created. This was seen in the units of activity settings and in the transformation that took place (chapter 7). Information technology - and especially of its easy access forms like mobile phone, cheap internet calls, free internet services – has provided a link or bridge between family members living in different countries. Even though IT devices are more easily associated with use by men they still play important part in immigrant women's social lives. They have provided a medium for a new kind of social interaction which resembles traditional family dining in many ways. IT devices were definitely not designed to improve the family dining moments among mass migration settlers in various countries, but this side effect has been a benefit to migrant women. Information technology is the 'mediational mean' in this study. Social interaction has dramatically changed from the times of early settlers in New World. A letter across the Atlantic took months and now the relatives in America are on-line. Such technical development has opened new avenues for building virtual belongingness. Mass migration has changed from the American frontiers to the modern day frontiers because the cultural tools have changed and cultural, historical and institutional settings are different.

In the Tan Dum concert (see section 1.1) modern technology made it possible to join together two different musical and cultural traditions. Two remote corners of world were brought together and formed a new kind of experience. The concept of 'virtual dining' has similar features. Information technology is joining, combining parts of traditional patterns to with something new and novel practices are created.

Accommodation is one of the key concepts in this study. It has a major role in eco-cultural theory. It is central in socio-cultural approach and it important in discussions with immigrants and their domiciling process. Accommodation has also been central to home economics research. Combining the demands of work life and family life, using new domestic appliances or managing with the lack of resources like time and money are key concerns that require adaptation.

Ecological forces

Ecological forces (Table 9, no 6) are the limiting factors and resources, constraints and opportunities set by society, national and global politics and economic factors. These are forces that single individual has little or no power to alter.

In this research there seemed to be mainly three factors; education, refugee background and their men that operated as ecological forces to direct their route to Finland. Some of the women reached Finland with a refugee background and the hope to find peace. The men have not been very visible in this research but some of them have directly or indirectly influenced the women's route to Finland. The education system, at least programmes that were in English, seemed to be attractive. It was hoped that Finnish education would open the door to the Finnish labour market.

Immigrants in the field of education had been the focus of Teräs' (2007), Talib's (1999, 2002) and Expósito and Favela's (2003) studies. Teräs investigated how Finnish teachers in vocational education had experienced the multicultural classroom they suddenly found themselves teaching. Multicultural classes challenged teachers to modify their teaching methods. Immigrant students had a dual engagement with the education system. They undertook professional studies at the same time as they were learning Finnish school culture.

Finnish school life appeared to be very 'paper oriented' to immigrants from less developed countries. Papers were copied, shared, read, lost, forgotten, found, and filed. The mysteries of Finnish daily life needed teachers' special attention (Teräs, 2007). In comprehensive schools, according to Talib's (1999) study, Finnish teachers saw their role in immigrant students' lives as rather insignificant. One young teacher commented, 'I'm almost feeling pessimistic, nothing will be achieved'. There was the danger that such a teacher might demand less and achieve poorer results from immigrant students (Talib, 1999, p. 243). Talib's results contradict Expósito's and Favela's (2003, pp. 73–81) results. According to them, adapting to a new home can be facilitated. They studied immigrants' memoirs and were surprised to find how small, kind gestures of human amiability from the adopted country were considered very important and could be remembered long after. One kind person at the right time could have a long-term effect and help an immigrant through rough times, making them feel more at home in a strange land.

In the following, with the metaphoric help of a hot air balloon flight, eco-cultural concepts (see section 3.3) are further elaborated. The key concepts of eco-cultural theory are shown in Figure 3. The numbering (1 to 6) applies both to the figure 3 and the table 9. The flight of a hot air balloon is used as a metaphor to clarify eco-cultural theory and to show its power in helping to better understand transnational family dynamics. Hot air balloon flight is used as a metaphor to describe the everyday life carried out in a socio-space.

The basic idea behind the hot air balloon flight is the temperature difference between the air inside and outside the balloon. This temperature difference causes the balloon to rise or descend. The speed and direction of flight is determined by the air currents and vary greatly at different heights. Nothing can be done to change them but the pilot can very precisely regulate the height of the balloon's flight and thus steer the balloon.

In the metaphor, the transnational family is placed in a hot air balloon basket. Some of the family members live physically in the same place and are thus metaphorically in the same hot air balloon basket. Other family members, around the world, are kept within the familyhood through various transnational family actions. The entire hot air balloon flight is their home, their eco-cultural niche (1). The hot air balloon flight, metaphorically speaking the home, is affected by several factors such as niche (2) and family features (3), family actions (4), accommodation (5) and ecological forces (6). The colourful balloon represents the niche features (2). The basket resembles family features (3). Family action (4) is done in the same manner as the pilot in the hot air balloon. Through hard work he/she can adjust (5) the height of the balloon and manage to find suitable air stream (6) that will take him/her to the right place.

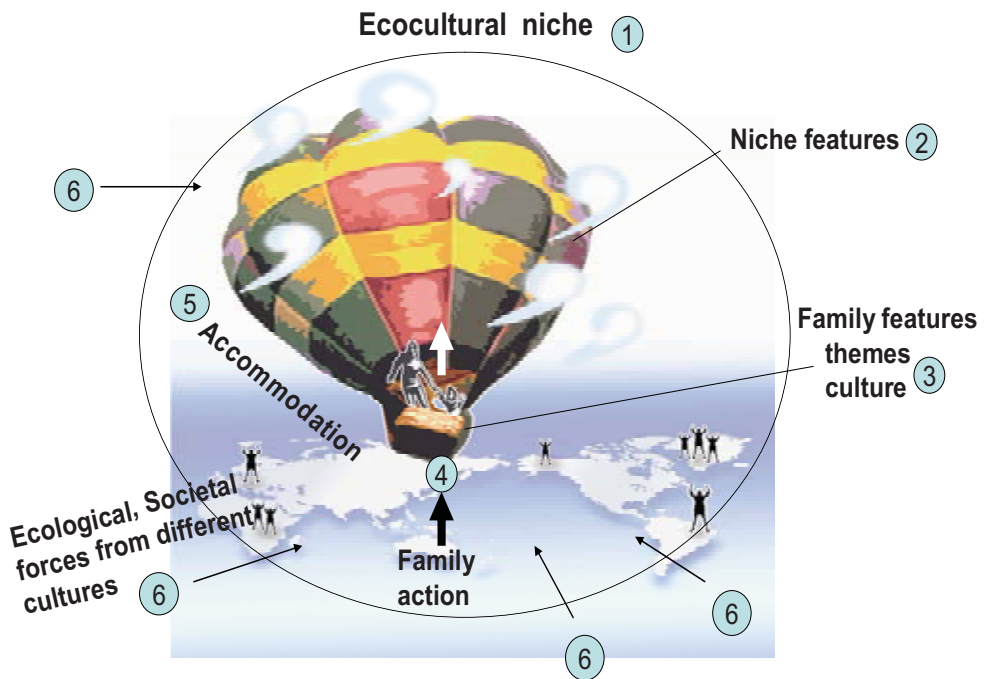


Figure 3 Construction of everyday life.

This section has described transnational everyday life through the lens of eco-cultural theory, using the metaphor of a hot air balloon flight. This has helped to see daily family life from a dynamic point of view. The hot air balloon does not fly haphazardly, nor is it under full control. There is a need to see family members as active agents who are to some extent capable of influencing their own activities. This metaphor also helps to visualize the very essence of transnational families. There are both local and global forces which prevent as well as facilitate daily actions and accommodations.

9 CONCLUSIONS

The choices made during the research process raised questions which will be critically reflected upon here. The research path started with formulation of the research question and the determining of the target group. This process ended when substantive results were achieved. Each step in the research involved choices and decisions crucial to the end result. Every resolution affects the following decisions. This chapter critically reflects on the choices made during the research (section 9.1). Some important themes like everyday life and domiciling are discussed further in the light of the research findings (section 9.2). This research has provided some answers but, as with all research, has opened the door to new questions for this and for other settings (section 9.3).

9.1 Reflection on the method used

Focus of the research

Is the scope of the research too wide to provide a scientific explanation of life in transnational families? The scope of this research covers the daily lives of immigrant women who have followed their relatives to Finland to be a family. Their everyday life was studied by means of photographs they had taken during their normal routines. This revealed a number of questions that required answers. The researcher was overwhelmed by the abundance of themes that women brought out. This is common to all data-driven research. For example, in *A Day in the Life* (2009) the multidisciplinary and multinational research group reported the abundance of the data. Everyday life is rich source of data and the researcher has to choose the focus. Even though, in this research, the approach provided shallow answers to some of the themes, the importance was to find out what was important in the lives of these women. This approach revealed the important routines and activities of women and the means by which they took care of their everyday lives. The data collected through this method provided an enormous amount of data that could have overwhelmed the researcher. However, careful attention was paid to the scope of the research and by focusing the analysis on the data that directly reflected to the research questions.

Choosing the target group

One of the initial tough choices made was the selection of the target group. The choice was between selecting a single group of women from same cultural or ethnic group or immigrant women in general with various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. One ethnic group might have given a deeper understanding of one cultural group and its transnational everyday life but that would have given a correspondingly narrow picture of transnational everyday life. Obviously, that path could have unveiled some specific aspects of life for particular ethnic women but, as a consequence, might have deepened cultural stereotypes that classify ethnic groups unnecessarily. By seeking a diverse ethnic composition for the target group, it become more probable that the issues revealed in the data were general to their status as ‘immigrant’ rather than to their status as a representative of some specific culture. In this way, the diverse composition of the group was strength rather than a weakness. Immigrants are not a homogenous group but rather are made of people coming from all walks of life. Such

diversity makes it rather unacceptable to study as one group. The twenty women in the study had arrived in Finland from fourteen different ‘homes of origins’.

An ethical short coming of this research was that none of the official research documents; the introduction of the research, research agreement (Appendix 3) and the background questionnaire (Appendix 4), were not translated to the women’s mother tongues. It would have been a courtesy to approach women in their native languages: Russian, Estonian, Kurdish, Persia and Arabic. Looking back now, to the beginning of data collection period this should have been done. This would have been important also from the trust building point of view. As it was, all of the information about the research was given in Finnish and English and, at times, a colleague was used to translate and explain about the research. These discussions were carried in Finnish and English.

The title of this research carries the word ‘transnational’ but are these families really transnational families or simply immigrant families? What is the difference anyway? Some might argue that they are primarily foreign people in Finland and it does not really matter what they are called. However, it can equally be argued that this does matter. One is a foreigner when, for whatever reason, one is not in one’s own familiar country. Immigration carries the connotation that, if everything goes well, one settles into a new host society. There may be different types of engagement with this new environment but, in all cases, the process will take a significant period of time and life. The concept transnational (Basch et al., 1994) refers to multiple locations in life; one is, in a way living life in multiple places at the same time. Trans-migrants take actions, make decisions and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states (see section 2.2). However, one can legitimately question if these families in this study are really transnational. Perhaps they have, little by little, lost their connection with, and interest in, their original homeland. Some of the group had been in Finland more than 10 years but among those who had spent only a couple of years in Finland, it was easy to see the two way movement between their home of origin and Finland. However, even Anja, who has lived over ten years in Finland having all her close relatives in Finland, still has a connection with Russia. She takes her Finnish boyfriend for visits there, speaks Russian with her daughters and one daughter is engaged to a Russian boy living in Finland. Maria visits her sister and mother regularly in Russia and enjoys the cultural events there. Stina, Dephany and Lidia are almost in constant on-line contact with their friends and family members in the country of origin. Beene acts as a mother for one child in Finland and another one in Cameroon. It is patterns of this kind that underwrite the transnational nature of the research.

Determining the size of the data set

Are there enough participants in this study? Did they provide sufficient data? Can twenty women photograph their lives in a manner that provides substantial data for scientific research? Obviously, this sample is not large enough to represent immigrant women in Finland as a whole, but it provides adequate data of immigrant women in two major cities in Finland and who participate in NGO domiciling work and the education provided for immigrant women. This study is not about women who have come to Finland to work or to study. They have migrated to Finland to join their family members who had already been living in Finland for one reason or the other. Thus the results cannot necessarily be generalized to include all immigrant women living in Finland. The seven in-depth narrations captured for this research portray commonalities in their everyday lives. On the other hand,

the data revealed variations as the women were at different stages in their lives and had different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. However, they shared similar experiences as they were living in a country very different from their birthplaces and had difficulty entering the Finnish labour market. Equally, they had experienced the stigma of being an immigrant that followed them in their everyday lives. For instance, courses, and the other educational activities they undertook were meant for immigrant women. In a nutshell, the sample of immigrant women selected for the study provided an appropriate setting for the research. The composition of women from various backgrounds provided an overview of how immigrant women manage their everyday lives.

Were there enough photographs? Relatively speaking, the pictures taken were not enough because there were other important moments that were not captured to be included in this research. However, the moments captured for this research provided adequate scenes that tell a lot about daily lives. Some women presented only a few photographs to give a partial overview of their everyday life. However, women portrayed their lives and in this case more pictures could have meant repetition of same events. In all, 459 photographs were taken and submitted for analysis. Of this number, 235 were selected for closer analysis. This number provided abundant data for the research analysis.

Advantages and disadvantages of the chosen research methods

A methodological weakness of the study comes with the fact that it is much like a case study and every woman's narration is unique. As the women photographed their own life they also had the power to show what they wanted. This was naturally an ethical strength, but at the same time one can ask what kind of truth they provide. Even though the pictures looked quite ordinary one might question if they were over-selective and whether they were accurately displaying their everyday lives. Where are the problems, sorrows and conflicts? Is the photographed everyday life falsely beautiful and easy? The strength of this method is that it makes visible important moments of everyday life. Other methods - time use surveys or diaries - claim to show what people are doing, but with no greater certainty. At least the photographs are taken from incidents, events that have some kind of importance for the women. Not everything was photographed, like in video recordings, but women had to make a choice when to take a photograph and when not to.

My own role throughout the research needs critical reflection. I wonder how much my participation, my questions and my own assumptions affected how the women took their photographs and how they discussed them with me. Equally, how did all this affected the way that I analyzed the data and ended up with certain results. This is a weakness of carrying out a research project alone.

The analysis itself has some shortcomings. At the second stages of analysis, where everyday practices were analyzed, the cultural aspects of those practices were totally hidden. Thus the analysis was further developed and, at the third stage, practices were looked at from the point of view how they changed over time; how traditions are maintained; how adaptation took place and how new practices were re-created.

The validation of results has not been carried out the best possible way. It would have been useful to take the results back to the women and ask 'What do you think? Does this look like your life?' This was not done. Firstly, the analyzing process was so slow that contact was lost with some of the women. There were also language barriers. With some women I would have needed a translator to translate my research findings into their native languages, and this

would have been done for seven or eight different languages. This type of validation was not planned nor budgeted in the beginning and not agreed with the women when the research agreements were drawn. Results of the research are my interpretation of the data and analyses.

The excitement of the data driven approach is that in the beginning of the research you can not be quite sure what kind of data you will end up with. At the beginning of this research it was not obvious that themes like information and computer technology, intergenerational chain of daughters, mothers and grandmothers or the discussion about church would become so important.

The research method can be used, when properly applied, as a domiciling tool. The research method opens a new view of, in Murcott's (1982) words, 'the black box'. The method produces daily moments, snapshots, and gives the researcher an opportunity to build a picture of everyday life. If one compares in-depth interviews to photographic elicitation one can understand the value of photographs. Photographs add the visual element to the discussion.

This research method was enthusiastically received by research participants and also the researcher was delighted to get multifaceted, rich data. The strengths of using photography as a data collection method were clear. First, it was able to capture obvious, self-evident moments of daily life. Second, it eased the communication challenges by lowering the language barriers and thus avoiding at least some of the misunderstandings. Photographs generated easy flowing conversations even when the researcher and research participant did not share a long history together. However, clear instructions were needed to specify what kind of pictures the women were supposed to take. Analyzing the pictures brought new challenges to the research. It was challenging to analyze both text and pictures simultaneously. Using photographs raised some new questions. They opened an additional avenue into research participants' lives, but through whose eyes did we see? Did we see what the participants intended or did we see mostly our own interpretations of their daily lives? This study confirms that photographs are more than just a technical method. Photographs evoke information, feelings and memories. They clarify and emphasize the research findings and transfer powerful representations from the past – immediate or distant past - to the present day.

9.2 Reflection on the results obtained

About everyday life

This research has shown important moments and events from these immigrant women's everyday life. Even though these data are constructed amongst immigrant women, similar research findings can be found in everyone's everyday life. Many families live in circumstances that bridge two worlds. Spouses often combine different cultures like academic-non-academic backgrounds, different regional cultures, city or rural backgrounds. In this research where the cultures are more visible as national cultures it is easier to see the invisible moments of daily life.

Even though, throughout the research, I focus on transnational families, I *do not* think that transnational families are somehow extraordinary family type, but I *do* believe that their everyday life will show some invisible features of everyday life. Transnational families' importance in this research is that, through their lives, it was possible to get hold of quickly passing mundane moments. At the same time, the research revealed how everyday life looks, at the grass root level in transnational families. In a way, the foreignness and fact that women were immigrants disappeared in the data.

This research also had a quite contradictory approach by comparison with Finch's (2007) ideas about how families are formed. He claimed that families were built by displaying themselves. Family-hood is constructed through the stories that are told to others. Photographs and souvenirs have important role, acting like props in those stories. This research had a strong emphasis on activities and actions and one assumption was that everyday life was constructed through these actions.

Everyday life is a potential site for innovation. It gives opportunities. Women created new ways to cope with their environment. In this research, at times the activities that might seem quite small were, in fact, quite big. In immigrant women's lives the actions they take are not necessarily the ones Finnish domiciling policy wishes to see. For example, a refugee woman from Iraq learns Finnish language well, graduates as nurse and moves to Sweden.

This research process has also changed or clarified my own personal view of everyday life. I don't agree with those everyday life researchers and philosophers who see everyday life thinking and scientific thinking as contradictory to each others. Nor do I believe that scientific thinking is somehow more valuable than everyday thinking. Everyday life is filled with daily victories, valuable moments, potential, strength, skills and faith that make everyday life worth living but also a rich resource for research. In everyday life I search for my own pace and rhythm. Maybe it is just an illusion that I can organize, or even master the field where I am acting. In fact it is probably more of making changes in the surroundings, adjusting conflicting timetables, aims and aspirations. I do things for myself and for the ones close to me and we do some things together. We do things for us. These adjustments, adaptations and accommodations give me the feeling, or the illusion, that I am able to master my everyday life.

From the data it was impressive to see the women, who Lefebvre (1984) would see representatives and victims of the quotidian actually master their everyday life. The women were resourceful and inventive. For example, Beene's enjoyment of the sauna, Beene's new network of friends, Zara's invention of fresh Finnish bread. Through their everyday life constructions the women manage to create joyful moments for themselves and their immediate others.

As the immigrant women in these research data were showing the important moments of their life, they also showed how they were reconstructing important things in their family life. These reconstructed moments were not so much household tasks nor similar activities but more of the relationships with other family members. In order to be able to maintain transnational family-hood, contemporary information and computer technology was put to use.

Korvela's (2003) concept of producing home springs from the idea that home, and probably also the feeling of being at home, are produced through activities that family members carry out alone and together. In this study, the concept of accommodation becomes crucial. Activities are carried out in a way that best fits that actual situation. So, I would argue, from this study, that home is constructed through accommodating actions to suit each situation in the best possible way.

One can argue that the women's photographs show too harmonious picture of their everyday life. It might be due the research method (as discussed in previous section) or that the women possess xenophobic knowledge. The mixture of cultures exists in their everyday life without causing any further worries or problems. Maybe the problems of immigration become visible when they are viewed from the Finnish point of view.

It is quite striking to see the huge cultural knowledge of different languages, but at the same time these languages are seen almost useless in Finland. If a Finn was knowledgeable in so many languages she/he would most likely be in good, well-paid, employment. Immigrant women seem not to benefit from their cultural skills outside of their private lives.

About domiciling

Women for this study were found from three social and health care sector schools. It seems that social and health care sector has responded to the demand for immigrant education. There are potential job opportunities in the social and health care sector. Cleaning services sector also offer job opportunities for immigrants, but do not routinely offer education as well. Probably it is still though that cleaning jobs do not require any specific education and anyone can do them. The modern facility management field offers job opportunities but they also require knowledge about facility management technology.

At the beginning of the research, I had quite idealistic hopes about my research. I believed that my reach would somehow change and improve the lives of immigrant women. To be honest this did not happen at all. The research method, with all its advantages, was not able to follow the women's lives in a longitudinal manner. It gave a snapshot or cross-section of their everyday life. This was probably the reason why I did not develop a long term relationship with the respondents. On the other hand, I hope that some of the research findings will help in the future domiciling work and therefore help immigrant women generally.

However, the puzzling question is that why we have problems with the immigrant population when there are so numerous projects working in favour of immigrants. Or do we? Are the current measures taken enough to prevent Finnish society drifting into a state of *de facto* segregation? Do teachers cope with the cultural diversity of the classroom? Can the labour market absorb diverse job seekers?

Arguably, Finnish people also need education and training in how to welcome and receive visitors as full members of society. The government has clearly articulated the need to increase the number of foreign workers, but their stay may be short if Finnish society does not

welcome them. Arguably, Finns are gatekeepers in their positive, neutral or negative reactions - in shops, in schools and in the neighbourhood generally.

Immigrants could be good resource for the different churches in Finland. Immigrants as any people need the feeling of belonging. Church has probably the longest tradition of encountering people from different cultures. The history of missionary work reaches back for hundred of years and the church has potential for even more powerful domiciling work. Furthermore, immigrants might enrich Finnish church life.

As the importance of different churches and extensive use of information technology emerged from the data, it might be possible for both to serve as tool for community engagement by providing opportunities for interaction.

About the matrix

The matrix ought to be developed further in order to be used in domiciling work. Photographs together with a background description provide a valuable window to one's life. Photographs together with the analysing instrument are a useful tool for NGO workers. When these in the helping professions see snapshots of clients' everyday life it would probably be easier to see the context in which they operate. Photographs could be developed further to be used in interventions for immigrants. I argue that seeing one's own everyday life in a matrix would help one to see one's life from a new perspective. This is also a central theme in ecocultural theory. One masters one's own everyday life and makes active decisions to change if needed. Finally the government bodies and NGOs working in the field of immigration would benefit greatly from transnational research that uses the eco-cultural approach. Knowledge gained from transnational family studies could be applied in the numerous integration projects. This will result in more emphasis being paid to the unique family and its immediate needs making projects more successful.

About the Home Economics approach

Research choices were made in line with the discipline of home economics science (see section 1.3). As home economics is *an arena for everyday living* the research thus focused on immigrant women acting in their everyday contexts. The strength of home economics is that it often tries to improve everyday life from a practical point of view. Immigrant women with different ethnic backgrounds have their traditional daily practices. As they live in their new home country some of their daily practices change; they adapt and re-create new practices (see chapter7).

As home economics is also a *curriculum area* it has potential for easing the domiciling process of immigrants. Home economics based courses, projects and interventions would help immigrant women adapting to the Finnish socio-cultural environment. Home economics is closely connected to learning and education as it has a straightforward connection to teaching skills needed in everyday life. Home economics is a field of formal study including such topics as consumer education, institutional management, interior design, home furnishing, cleaning, handicrafts, sewing, clothing and textiles, cooking, nutrition, food preservation, hygiene, child development, and family relationships. Combining home economics knowledge with domiciling practices would open new areas for course and intervention planners. As home economics is *a societal arena* the research findings of this research should be implemented. Policy and decision makers would need to take into consideration the research findings whilst planning and implementing new domiciling projects.

Migration studies, and especially transnational theory, gives home economics science as an *academic discipline* more dynamic starting point; the actors, the acting and the context are literally on the move all the time. Home can no longer be viewed as static, permanently fastened to specific physical location. This, of course, brings new challenges to home economics research. As everyday life is mundane and difficult to capture for research purposes, immigrant families open a new context for research. In immigrants' everyday lives a lot of the features are easier to see, even though, actually, they take place in everyone's lives. For home economics research, the method used in this study is worth developing. Home economics research and teaching should be based on research backed knowledge about everyday life. What did this research technique bring to home economics research that is new? It provided an ethical way of entering private family lives in the sense that the researcher sees what the research participants want to show. Creative use of photographs – PhotoVoice and its applications – could open new approaches for various immigrants' domiciling projects, interventions and family support.

Home economics science has been described as an *interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary science* (McGregor, 2007). In home economics science research I am mostly interested in how people (group of actors) carry out their everyday tasks (act) in their real life environment (context). This can, of course, be carried out from different scientific approaches. Multidisciplinary seminars and workshops gave me the opportunity to learn from others but to see my own discipline in new light.

Often during the research process I had to explain the research discipline where my study belongs. What is the research discipline and scientific approach this research belongs? In one seminar sociologists, social psychologists, educationists and family researchers were discussing everyday life. Each of them had a different approach towards it. For me, everyday life is the series of activities that are performed daily. As I explained, from my point of view it is important - for the immigrant domiciling process - to learn how to manage daily activities in the strange new environment. For example, to learn to choose appropriate food stuffs and other daily commodities. The response from other seminar participants was 'well, I did not think of such practical matters.

Academic disciplines are much like nation states with their particular language and behaviour patterns. As the research participants in this research had crossed national borders I often as if I was travelling across academic borders.

9.3 Suggestions for future research

This research hopefully inspires future research. There are several research themes that would be worthwhile topics for future studies. The use of photographs in research and the methodology of visual research methods ought to be further considered. Photographs, as a central component of this research, were enthusiastically received by participants and, the researcher, offer great promise. It would be fascinating to carry out similar research but have participants taking part in the analysis the photographs. They could first provide titles for the photographs and then place them into the everyday life matrix. The examination of everyday life requires the development of relevant research methods and modern technology gives a much wider variety of opportunities to record the passing moments of daily life. Creative ways of constructing the data are required. There is an interest in everyday life also among home economics teachers and teacher trainers. The ‘true picture’ of Finns’ everyday lives is the basis of modern home economics as a school subject. Home economics teaching should meet the needs of present day Finnish families and it should help the Finnish families with their current challenges – as immigrants or as hosts.

For migration research it would be important to further investigate the sense of commonality among the immigrant population. It is important to see further how immigrants build up their sense of communality. In Rogoff’s (2003, p. 6) words: ‘Working together, insiders and outsiders can contribute to a more edifying account than either perspective would allow by itself.’ Collaboration is excellent way of building bridges across cultures. When a joint goal can be found — for example winning in the soccer game (Myren, 2003) or building a theatre production (Hyötynen, 2000) — the importance of cultural differences vanishes.

This research suggests that the innovative use of modern media and religious groups play an important role in building a sense of communality. The various Finnish organizations, associations and other bodies that have managed to engage immigrants with their activities, like religious congregations, deserve to be studied further. In their work, they do something that attracts immigrants. Based on these research data one could say that the different churches have opened their doors to everyone – including immigrant women. Some hobbies might offer opportunities that are open to immigrants as well.

As the versatile use of ICT became so obvious during this study it needs far more research attention in the future. Immigrant women are not the group of women one first thinks of as heavy users of information technology devices. These devices should also be designed to serve the purpose of those who really need them, not that they are only planned to serve the needs of those people who buy the latest and most expensive models.

To finish off these conclusions one could ask whether the participants have ‘Gone with the Wind’ as the research report title suggests. Yes, that is partly true. They have reached Finland by following their spouses or have joined relatives who have already been in Finland. Some of the women with refugee background seemed to end up in Finland almost accidentally. However, they are not only blown by the wind because they actively, like the eco-cultural theory suggests, try to make the best out the current situation. No matter what their initial motives for arrival were, they hope that their improving Finnish language skills and gaining professional qualifications in Finland would help them to establish a new life in the future.

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²⁴ Translations of Finnish and Swedish titles by H. Janhonen-Abruquah

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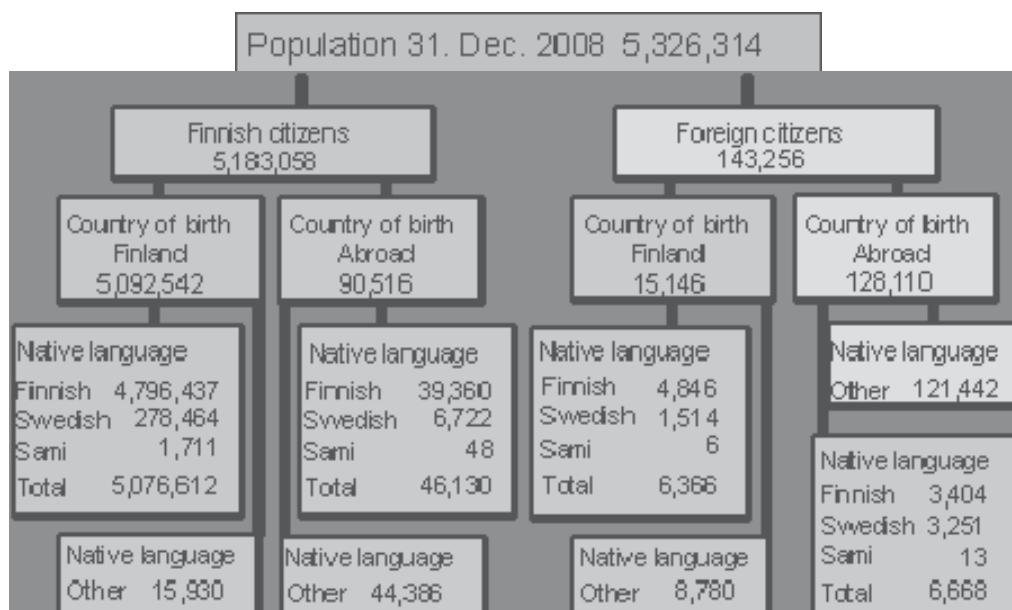
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Finnish population structure.

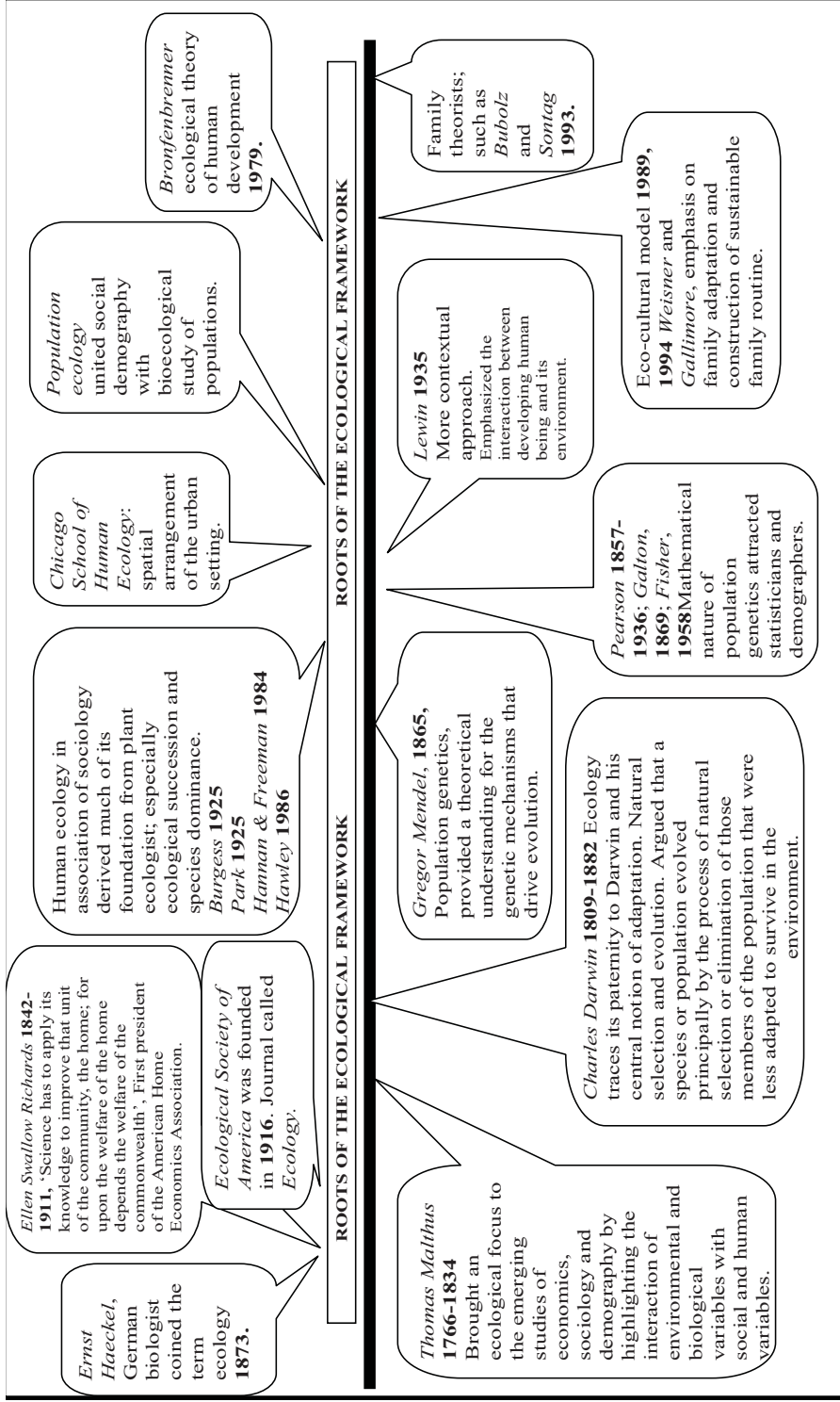


At the end of 2008, the number of Finnish citizens permanently resident in Finland was 5,183,058, of whom 90,516 had been born abroad. Foreign citizens resident in Finland numbered 143,256, or formed 2.7 per cent of the population. The number of foreign citizens grew by 10,548 persons during 2008. The largest groups of foreign citizens were from Russia (26,909 persons), Estonia (22,604 persons), Sweden (8,439 persons) and Somalia (4,919 persons). The number of persons born abroad but resident in Finland was 218,626.

Of the population of Finland 4,844,047 persons (90.9%) spoke Finnish, 289,951 persons (5.4%) Swedish and 1,778 persons (0.03%) Sami as their native language. Persons with a native language other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami numbered 190,538, or formed 3.6 per cent of the population. The largest foreign-language groups spoke Russian (48,740 persons), Estonian (22,357 persons), English (11,344 persons), Somali (10,647 persons) and Arabic (8,806 persons).

SOURCE: Country of birth, citizenship and mother tongue of the population 31.12.2008 (Statistics Finland, 2009)

Appendix 2 Ecological framework.



Appendix 3 Research agreement.

RESEARCH AGREEMENT

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

1. I am voluntarily taking part in a research called 'Transnational daily life'.
2. The photographs that I will take, I give to the researcher but will get a copy (CD) of them for myself.

RESEARCHER

1. Photographs taken during the research are only used for research purposes and they will not be published.
2. The anonymity of research participants will be ensured during the research process.

Two copies of this agreement have been made.

Place

Date

Research participant

Researcher

Contact information
XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information
XXXXXXXXXX

Appendix 4 Background questionnaire.

transnational families [1/10] / introductory interview

A. Background information

1. female male
Sex

2. 0-6 7-12 13-17 18-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70+
age

3. What is your nationality in you passport?

4. In your heart, what is your nationality?

5. Where were you born?

6. Which countries have you lived? For how long?

	0-1 year	2-3 years	4-5 years	5-10 years	over 10 years
country 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
country 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
country 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
country 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
country 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

name countries:

7. Why did you move?

	study	work	family reasons	seek asylum	need a change in life	other
from country 1 to 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 to 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 to 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 to 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. language

8. What is your mother tongue?

9. What other languages do you speak?

Be native speaker, manage daily situations, know words, some sentences

language 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
language 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
language 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
language 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
language 5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
none language			

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

C. profession

10. What is your profession?

11.

How many years have you studied?

less than 6 years 6-9 10-14 15-19 more than 20 years

What have you studied?

Where have you studied?

12.

Has your profession changed when you moved to Finland? yes no

13.

Is your life economically easier in Finland than before moving? yes no

14. Where do you work now?

15. Where would you like to work?

D. family

16. Who belongs to your family?

If other, explain who?

my mother

17. Which family members are living with you in Finland?

my mother

18. Which family members are living somewhere else?

my mother

19.

Would you like to live close to some family members? yes no

Who?

Empty text box for 'Who?' with a scroll bar on the right.

Why?

D. family

20. Who has helped you, within your family, to settle in Finland?

my mother

21. Whom have you, within your family, helped to settle to Finland?

my mother

22. Has some one, within your family, made your settling very difficult, Who?

E. interaction with Finns

23. Whom (Finns) have you met/ talked with (within last week)?

Empty text box for 'Whom (Finns) have you met/ talked with (within last week)?' with a scroll bar on the right.

24.

Have you experience hostility or rejection by the people in Finland? yes no

Give some examples if experienced

F. contact with fellow country men

25.

Do you keep close contact with your fellow country members? yes no

26. With whom?

Empty text box for 'With whom?' with a scroll bar on the right.

27.

How often? several times per day daily weekly monthly 1-3 times per year annually

Empty text box for 'How often?' with a scroll bar on the right.

28. How do you keep in touch?

What, in your opinion, do these contacts give / would give to you

Going long term stress before entering Finland

29.

Did you experience traumatic experiences and long term stress just before moving to Finland? yes no

Explain further

If so, why do you think you had this kind of feelings?

Age & immigration

30.

How old were when you moved to Finland?

<input type="radio"/>	less than 3	<input type="radio"/>	3-6	<input type="radio"/>	7-11	<input type="radio"/>	12-15	<input type="radio"/>	16-19	<input type="radio"/>	20-29	<input type="radio"/>	30 and over
-----------------------	-------------	-----------------------	-----	-----------------------	------	-----------------------	-------	-----------------------	-------	-----------------------	-------	-----------------------	-------------

31.

Do you think it would have been easier if you were younger older

Interaction with Finns

32. Where do you meet Finnish people?

33. List those Finns whom you have talked with within last week

34. Whom do you consider as your friends?

35. What is their nationality?

36. Where do you meet them?

37. What do you share in common with them?

Appendix 5 Description of themes.

Motherhood; daughters, mothers, grandmothers

Frontier daughter
Daddy's girl, father in USA
Finnish mother in Finland but no connection with her
Becoming independent young woman
Catering mother
Caring mother for children, husband, mother-in-law, adult children
As a grandmother in a foreignland
As a single parent in a foreignland
Mothers and daughters in four generation
Motherhood as apart from her daughter
Important grandmother
Grandmothers, mothers, sisters in different countries

About moving

Moving to Finland; alone, with the children, with family
Moving within Finland; from country to city, to different neighbourhood
Relatives moving to Finland
Moving away from Finland

Labour market

Working in Finland, work life,

Social life

Visiting friends
Meeting friends in coffee shop, church, on-line
Socialising at school
Taking care of the pets

Information technology

Social

Reading e-mails
E-mail correspondence to countries home of origin
E-mailing friends in Finland
Using messenger with friends
Keeping in touch with friends no matter the distances
Calling internet phone calls 'around the world'
Using skype-calls amongst friends

Daily news

Reading country of origin newspapers on-line

Entertaining

Playing on-line card games
Solving internet games

Working

searching work related information as no time at work
visits door-to-door sales company homepages to look for new products

Studying

doing home work

Paying bills

uses on-line banking services

Finding information

study English
search information about facts of interest
reads internet

Shopping

Son buying from on-line auction

About religion

Types of church

Catholic Church

Orthodox Church

Pentecostal Church

Evangelic-Lutheran Church

About language and culture Kielestä/kulttuurista

Do not understand much of a Finnish service

Mostly foreigners from different different countries go there only few Finns

Social

Lot of international families go there

Meeting nice people

Coffee after church

Nigerian friend took me there first time

Relation to church/religion

I am not a church going person

I'm going regularly

Family eats together, watches television together and prays together

Religion does not interest at all as they have seen so much bad done because of religion

Members of Evangelic-Lutheran Church

Lights up a remembrance candle for late mother

About cultures and languages, mine and others

Admiring, liking, nostalgic memoirs of a culture

Admires the beauty of a Iraqi girl

Likes the Finnish Kalevala-jewelry

Peace in Finland

Good Finnish porridge

Liking Cameroon music very much and some from Congo

Annoying, difficult incidents where culture comes up

Neighbours shouting rude and racist comments

Children been teased and bullied

Safety guards in supermarkets following

Disagreements in block of flats laundry room

Impossible to get work

Not able to get work without knowledge of Finnish language

Understands, gets along, manages

Changing the language according to situation

Family in four generations speaks three different languages

Harmony of food stuffs from different cultures

Helping relatives to move to Finland

Learning Finnish baking habits

Finnish friend couple helped in settling in

Mentioning other cultures, countries, places

Inga: Russia, Estonia, Irak, California

Maria: Russia, St. Petersburg, Thailand, Japan, Tallin, Turkey

Anja: Russia, Estonia

Lidia: Irak, Iran, Norway, England, Canada, Germany, Sweden

Zara: Afganistan, Pakistan, China

Stina: Uganda, Germany, USA, Romania, Canada, America, Estonian, Korean, Azerbaijan, Norway,

Greece, Ireland, Austria, Spain, Holland

Beene: Kamerun, Congo, Nigeria, Tansania

Comparing cultures and cultural habits

Mothers' work

Child care

Women's hectic everyday life

Food and food habits

City and country life

Cleaning practices

Relation to Finns and Finland

Finns as neighbors, friends
Relation Finns in general
Studying in Finland
Finnish men

About food

Food from the home of origin
Combining home of origin and home of residence food
Practices to purchase / get ingredients
Dining habits

Organizing one's life

Being neat
Cleanliness
Hygiene
Housework
Personal hygiene
Division of labour
Looks, how you look

Taking the pictures for this research

Appendix 6a An everyday life matrix: Zara.

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	NO PHOTOGRAPHS	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Baking pizza at home (a00a, a4a, a11a, a24a,23a, a5a) <i>Daughter</i> cleaning at home (a1a, 2a, a8a,9a) Doing the dishes at home (a22a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Watching TV at home (a13,12a,10a) Eating lunch at home around dining table (a21a, 17,18,19,20a,25a) <i>Boys and father at home in living room</i> (a14,15,16a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS

Zara's pictures have also recorded only continuous events in everyday life. No pictures at all of exceptions. In her pictures, Zara tells what she does for others and together with family members. There are no pictures where she would do something for herself or for her own benefit. What does she do? She bakes, cooks and cleans. Her daughter cleans as well. Together they dine and watch TV. Zara's husband also spends time with the children in the living room. All pictures are taken inside of the home and so all recorded activities take place at home.

Appendix 6b An everyday life matrix: Stina (C).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	Food preparation, ingredients in cupboard at home (c0a) Studying at class room (c25a) Studying at home (c18a) Arranging own room at home (c23a) Arranging clothes to closet at home (c3a, 4a, 00a) Doing the laundry at home (c22a) Eating porridge at home (c21a)	Decorating new home (c20a, 1a)
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	NO PHOTOGRAPHS	Moving from dormitory to rented studio home (c3a)
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Spending time with friends at dormitory common living room (c24a) Talking to friends in between classes at school (c17a) Going to church (c19a) Birthday at friend's home (c7a,8a) Having coffee with friends at town (c6a, 5a) Tea sent by mother in cupboard at home (c0a) Internet calls and e-mails to friends and relatives abroad, computer at school (c16a)	Baking at disabled people's home (c15a, 14a, 13a) Visit to teacher's home (c10a, 9a,11a)

Stina does things for herself and together with others. There are no pictures of regular events where she would do things for others. She studies for her own benefit and takes care for her own food, cleaning, washing and keeps her belongings in order. There are two exceptions in her routine; she has moved from the dormitory to her own apartment and is decorating it. Stina regularly spends time with her friends and talks with her relatives abroad through the Internet. She goes to church, celebrates a birthday at her friend's place and goes for coffee. The two exceptions to this routine are: a visit to Finnish language teacher's home and voluntary work at the home for mentally disabled people. Those things that she does for herself mainly take place at home. Whereas things that she does with others take place outside her home; in the common room at the dormitory, at school, at church, in town, at the teacher's home and in a home for mentally disabled people.

Appendix 6c An everyday life matrix: Dephany (ST).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	NO PHOTOGRAPHS	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	NO PHOTOGRAPHS	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Talking with friends at home through computer (st24) At school talking to friends (st5a,7a) At computer class room talking to friends (st9a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS

Dephany's pictures tell only about regular events done together with others. She talks with her friends either in the school corridor or class room and spends time with her friends living abroad at her home through Internet.

Appendix 6d An everyday life matrix: Ida (L).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	Studying at home (l11a) At work practice (l14a) Studying at computer class room (l15a) Studying at school (l23a, 24a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Cooking at home (l21a, 22a, 12a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	At school in corridor with friends (l17a,7a,16a) At school in courtyard with friends (l18a,19a, 20a)	NO PHOTOGRAPHS

Ida's pictures portray an everyday life where there are no exceptions. She studies at home, at school or at work placement. Ida cooks for her boyfriend and together with her friends she spends time at school.

Appendix 6e An everyday life matrix: Maria (TM).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	<i>Husband</i> reads book at home sofa (TM22) Reading a women's magazine at home (TM5) At home dinner table eating (TM7,8) Buying medicine from pharmacist (TM9,10)	Graduation party at school (TM1,2,3,4) Concert at theatre (TM11,12)
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Cleaning at home kitchen (TM 23) Sewing at home with sewing machine (TM24) Searching information from Internet at home (TM6)	Dinner party at home , friends visiting from a little Finnish town (TM25,26)
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	Visiting husband's sister, dog playing, sister's children also at home, son preparing a salad, daughter holding a dog (TM 13,14,16, 17, 18,20,21)	Lighting candles in church for the remembrance day of her husband's mother (TM 15)

In Maria's narration, when things are done continuously for one's own benefit, she is at home and reads, eats and visits a pharmacist, or her husband reads a book. An exception is when she graduates and goes to a concert. When Maria does things for others she cleans the kitchen, sews a new table cloth or searches information from the Internet. An exception is when Maria prepares a dinner for a couple who are friends. When Maria does things together with others she is with her sister-in-law and their family. Maria visits them, plays with their dog and also visits their children. An exception is when she lights a candle in the remembrance of her mother-in-law.

Appendix 6f An everyday life matrix: Inga (S).

		A MODAL DIMENSION	
		A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS
B SOCIAL DIMENSION	B1 'FOR ME'	<i>Eldest son eats treats at home sofa (S32)</i> With the teachers at school (S39,40) Picture of a school friend at school (S1) (S4) <i>Inga's mother</i> reads home country newspaper from computer, at Inga's home (S35) <i>Youngest son</i> plays at home (S37) (S7)	Graduation party at school (S29,30) (S27,28) Mother congratulates at school (S26) Husband congratulates at school (S25) Family picture at the graduation party at school (S24)
	B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<i>Inga's mother</i> washes apples at home kitchen (S6) Husband eats at home , dinner table (S8) <i>Inga's mother</i> helps grandson with home work, at home (S38) At home children's room , youngest son plays and grandmother cleans up (S36)	At school , filling a questionnaire for the Ministry of Labour (S2) <i>Inga's friends</i> At school , filling a questionnaire for the Ministry of Labour (S3)
	B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	At home, livingroom sofa , three brothers watching TV (S31) Two brothers playing in living room, at home (S34) Grandmother and grandson playing on the sofa at home (S33)	Having coffee at a restaurant (S9) (S10)

In Inga's picture's she has recorded her mother and her two sons and Inga herself going things for their own benefit. Inga is engaged in school activities at school. Her mother reads newspapers from the Internet. The youngest son plays and eldest son eats treats. Inga's mother and her son's pictures are taken at home. The exception to this routine is Inga's graduation party where the family members are congratulating her. Graduation takes place in the school. Things done for others are from home. Inga's mother washes apples, helps her grandson with his homework and cleans up after her youngest grand son when he has finished playing. Inga has cooked for her husband. The exception for this routine is when Inga fills a questionnaire for the Ministry of Labor. She does this at school. The sons are playing and watching TV together at home. Exceptions to this routine are Inga's visits to a restaurant together with her coursemates.

Appendix 7 Summary of matrices, detailed.

B SOCIAL DIMENSION		A MODAL DIMENSION	
	A1 ROUTINE	A2 EXCEPTIONS	
B1 'FOR ME'	<p>(8 women out of 9)**</p> <p>On computer at home and in school (D 8 + TN 2 + S 1 = 11)**</p> <p>Studying at home and in school (L 5 + B 1 + C 2 + S 4 = 12)</p> <p>Reading books & magazines at home, library and in bus (TM 2 + D 1 + B 1 + TN 4 = 8)</p> <p>Eating at home (TM 2 + C 2 + S 1 = 5)</p> <p>Personal hygiene & health in pharmacist's and block of flats sauna (TM 2 + TN 2 = 4)</p> <p>Cleaning, washing at home (C 5)</p> <p>Baking at home (B 1)</p> <p>Playing at home (S 2)</p> <p>Being at home (D 3 + TN 3 = 6)</p> <p>Shopping in town, (D 1)</p> <p>At NGO; dancing course (B 3)</p>	<p>(5 women out of 9)</p> <p>Graduation at school and in a restaurant (S 7 + D 21 + 4 = 32)</p> <p>Decorating, at new home (C 2)</p> <p>Taking care of personal health at home and at solarium (TN 1 + D 1)</p> <p>Going to theatre (TM 2)</p>	
B2 'FOR IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>(7 women out of 9)</p> <p>Cleaning at home (TM 1 + TN 2 + A 5 = 8)</p> <p>Washing at block of flats laundry room (laundry) (TN 1)</p> <p>Cooking at home (S 1 + L 3 = 4)</p> <p>Baking at home (A 6)</p> <p>Eating at home (S 1)</p> <p>Shopping in supermarket (TN 1)</p> <p>Caring for the children at home, library and at play ground (D 9 + B 2 + S 2 = 13)</p> <p>Sewing at home (TM 1)</p> <p>Caring for pets home and surroundings (TN 5)</p> <p>On computer at home (TM 1)</p>	<p>(4 women out of 9)</p> <p>Giving feedback about studies at school (S 2)</p> <p>Cleaning up water after water pipes burst at home (TN 1)</p> <p>Organizing a party for friends at home and at community centre (D plenty pictures & TM 2)</p> <p>Moving to new home (C 1)</p>	
B3 'WITH IMMEDIATE OTHERS'	<p>(9 women out of 9)</p> <p>At Church; on the way & refreshments (B 4 + C 1 = 5)</p> <p>At friends home; visiting, children playing (B 6 + D 26 + C 2 = 34)</p> <p>In town, restaurant / cafe shop (S 1 + D 4 + C 2 = 7)</p> <p>At school, socializing (L 6 + ST 3 + C 2 = 11)</p> <p>At relative's home, visiting (TM 7)</p> <p>At home; playing, with pets, with friends (A 3 + S 2 + TN 3 + ST 1 + C 1 + D 6 = 16)</p> <p>At home, eating (A 6 + TN 3 = 9)</p> <p>At home watching TV (A 3 + S 1 = 4)</p> <p>At NGO; dancing course (B 3)At library (B 3),</p> <p>At Sauna (B 1)</p>	<p>(4 women out of 9)</p> <p>In restaurant (S 2)</p> <p>Visiting Finnish language teacher (C3)</p> <p>Doing voluntary work (C 3)</p> <p>Visiting grandfather at the hospital (TN 10)</p> <p>Father's birthday (TN 5)</p> <p>Visiting church at mother-in-law's remembrance day (TM 1)</p>	

*) (4 women out of 9) means that four women provided information in this category, this part of analyses was done with nine woman's matrices

***) (D 8 + TN 2 + S 1 = 11) indicates that respondents D/Lidia, TN/ Anja and S/Inga provided photographs for this category, numbers 8,2,1 show the amount of photographs

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