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Unlocking Somali Potentials through Education: Bridging Somalis for Sustainable Integration in Finland.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the integration process of Somalis in Finland and the challenges and opportunities that they face in their daily lives. Another objective of this study was to find out about the role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland. The thesis also discusses the theories of migration, integration and social capital in relation with the migration and settlement of Somalis in Finland.

The empirical data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews. The target group was seven educated and integrated Somalis that are living in Helsinki and its surrounding areas. They were asked two main research questions: What are the perceptions of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland? And what could be their role in the integration process? The chosen analysis method was qualitative content analysis.

The research findings revealed that the integration of Somalis in Finland started with hardship and difficulty; and up to this day there have been major obstacles that are preventing the community to integrate. Also the study revealed that there are many issues that might help the community to integrate in Finland, such as Finnish language and educational skills, open debate and reconciliation between the community and native Finns, collective effort from the community for integration and cooperation between Finnish authorities and Somalis in Finland. Furthermore, it was concluded that the role of educated and integrated Somalis is to reform, teach, lead and be role models for their community towards sustainable integration in Finland. Finally, the thesis highlighted the alarming situation of Somali community in Finland and pointed out how the community desperately needs urgent solutions from educated and integrated Somalis and authorities in Finland.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Somali people are traditionally nomadic people with no fixed home and they move according to the seasons from one place to another in search for food, water and grazing land. As a result of this tradition Somalis are constantly on move from one place to another; even those who are in the cities are always planning to move to somewhere. Before and after the independence of 1960 migration in to Arab countries was normal routine in Somalia for both religious and economic reasons. In the middle of 1970s political tension started in Somalia between military rulers and opposition, many politicians, academics and business men fled from the country. In the middle of 1980s civil war broke out in the northern part of Somalia. Many people were then internally displaced, mainly from north to south while others sought refuge in neighbouring countries of Ethiopia and Djibouti. In 1991 the central government of Somalia collapsed as a result of civil war; Somalia became devastated and stateless country. Violence, insecurity, and severe hunger resulting from the civil war caused hundreds of thousands of Somalis to flee from the country (Ismail, 2011, p, 1). Great number of people ended up as far as USA, Canada, Australia, UK, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Finland.

The migration of Somali people into Finland began at the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s where they came as refugees. Somali students from former Soviet Union countries discovered accidently that there is possibility of seeking asylum in Finland; for them Finland was transit route to other European countries (Warsame, 2009, p 4). Also those who were escaping from the civil war of Somalia migrated into Finland and other Nordic countries because they are next to former Soviet Union countries, and former Soviet countries were the only countries issuing visas to Somali passport holders at that time, Russian air float was the last airplane operating in Mogadishu airport in 1991. According to Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004, p13) gradually Somali-speaking population in Finland became the largest ethnic group with refugee background in Finland as well as the largest ethnic group with an African background and the largest Muslim population in Finland. Somalis are a visible minority in Finland and unlike many other minorities they do not share common culture with the host society.

My personal experience motivated me to write about sustainable Somali integration in Finland. I fled from my country when I was eight years old when the civil war broke out in
Somalia in 1991. For the last 22 years I have been an immigrant and I have lived in more than five countries in three different continents. Migration became part of our life and currently my extended family lives in 10 different countries around the world. My new home is Finland and I migrated into Finland three years ago after marrying beautiful Somali-Finnish lady. Moving into Finland was an easy decision to make and I never thought I would have hardship adapting into another country. But Finland proved me wrong. I struggled to find myself and many times I considered moving again into another country. Eventually University of Oulu made me comfortable by giving me admission into international master’s program of education and globalization.

During my short period in Finland I have observed that majority of Somali community in Finland are not integrated well neither socially nor economically into Finnish society and I wanted to understand why. In all the countries I have been Somalis were doing well. I grew up in Nairobi, Kenya where the Somalis created good business opportunities. I studied my bachelor degree in Islamabad Pakistan where Somali students have good reputation in the universities, and some of my extended family are in South Africa and United Arab Emirates where they have businesses. Some other members of my family live in USA, Canada, UK and Germany where finding jobs have not been difficult for them. So I wondered why Somalis in Finland are not integrated well into Finnish society, particularly I wanted to understand why they are not doing well economically. To answer this question is not easy but it’s what I am trying to find out in my research. I will be asking the few educated and integrated Somalis in Finland two main questions: What are the perceptions of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland? And what could be their role in the integration process?

The present research contains theoretical and empirical parts; the theoretical part begins with chapter 2 about migration of Somalis, chapter 3 discusses integration of Somalis in Finland and chapter 4 focuses on the concept of social capital. Chapter 5 will present the research questions and approach. Chapter 6 will focus the methodology. Chapters 7 and 8 will present the results, and Chapters 9 and 10 draws the conclusion and the recommendations.
2. MIGRATION OF SOMALIS

Never before in human history has mobility of people attracted so much scientific discussions as now. Today international migration is one of the major issues discussed around the globe; academics, researchers, journalists and politicians around the globe are trying to understand what are the causes of international migration and how does it affect both sending and receiving societies. In the year 2013 international migrants comprised about 3.2% of the world population and in 2010/11 about 100 million persons aged 15 years old and over were living outside their country of birth in OECD countries (OECD-UNDESA, 2013, p, 1). Only Finland had 244,827 foreign language speakers in 2011; almost 4.53% of their population of 5,430,796 are foreign speakers (Annual report of immigration, 2011 & Statistic of Finland, 2013).

2.1 The Civil War and the Mass Migration of the Somalis

After civil war broke out in Somalia in 1991 migration became the only choice Somali people had. It is estimated that more than one million Somalis live abroad which is almost 14% of Somali population of 9.55 million (Sheikh & Healy, 2009, p, 6). Majority of them are in neighbouring East African countries, Arab countries, and North America and European countries.

Somali people are found today in nearly every corner of the world from small rural towns like Barron, Wisconsin and Lewiston, Maine in the United States, to cities like Cairo, Johannesburg, Sydney, Rome, Minneapolis and Helsinki (Kusow & Bjork, 2007, p 1). The first Somalis that settled in Western countries as refugees were mainly young and male; some of them were already university students in the West.

For them migration was not a matter of choice and because of the civil war they did not have a country to stay or a country to go back. Also those who were escaping from the civil war did not pre-plan a specific country they wanted to go. The situation they faced was just to go and see where you can reach. The money, information and contacts they had determined where they wanted to go and how they would go. The popular destinations were United States, Canada, Australia and Europe; Arab rich countries were next in line. Somalis that came into Western countries in 1990s used all their skills to get out of the war and violence.
Some of them sold their family belongings; others got help from family and friends already in the West. They were active refugees.

When the civil war broke out in Somalia majority of refugees went into neighbouring countries and they were expecting to get asylum from aid agencies to migrate into Western countries. When asylum possibilities did not appear as they expected they had to explore their own ways into Western countries. Kusow argues that Somali refugees were modern refugees and they did not conform with the traditional image of the stationary masses of refugees who wait in camps for international organizations to assist them in moving them to third countries (Kusow, 1998, as cited in Alitolpa-Niitamo 2004, p, 39). Somali refugees of that time are today the citizens of most industrialized Western countries, Gulf Arab rich countries and many Asian and African countries. They are likely to speak Chinese, Afrikaans and Finnish as they speak Somali (Kusow & Bjork, 2007, p, 1).

2.2 Settlements of Somalis into Foreign Countries

In some of the countries into which Somalis migrated as refugees they settled well and they created business opportunities that benefited both themselves and their host societies. Those countries are Kenya, South Africa and United Arab Emirates. There are also countries where they entered labour market smoothly such as United States, Canada and Australia. But in some countries they ended up being social welfare consumers such as European Nordic countries. The integration of Somali refugees depended on how Somali culture and the tradition of receiving societies accepted each other. In the literature of Esping-Andersen (1990) as cited in Forsander (2004) there are three forms of welfare states. The first one is a liberal welfare state, where relatively low levels of universal services and social security characterize the social policy; the classic examples are the US, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The second form is corporatist, which aims to maintain the influence of the state and the family in social politics; countries that belong in to this group are Austria, France, and Germany. The third model is the social democratic form that is found mainly in the Nordic countries. It seems Somalis have integrated well economically in liberal welfare states such as United States, Canada and Australia. In corporatist welfare states such as France and Germany they are doing fairly well, but those who migrated into social democratic states with the strong welfare system (such as European Nordic countries) ended being social welfare consumers. This is because Somali culture is based on more I-ness and
less we-ness way of life; they do understand only direct personal benefit but not indirect social benefit. That is why they are doing well in free market individualistic societies and doing badly in collective welfare societies. According to Carlson the employment among Somalis in USA is about 60 present but less than 30 present in Sweden (Carlson, 2010, p 1). Somalis are more likely to integrate without difficulty in multicultural and free market society like USA but not in single ethnic strong welfare societies like Sweden and Finland.

2.3 Migration of Somalis into Finland

Finland has traditionally been a land of emigration from where people have left to find jobs abroad. Not later than the 1980’s, Finland changed from an emigration country to an immigration one, and for the first time more people immigrated in to Finland than emigrated abroad (Jaakkola, 2005, as cited in Korhonen, 2006, p, 21). At the end of cold war Finland received a number of refugees mainly from Russia, Estonia and Somalia. Currently Somalis are third biggest foreign minority group in Finland after Russians and Estonians. In year 2011 Somalis-speaking population in Finland were 14045 persons, 7372 of them were male and 6673 of them were female (Statistic of Finland, 2011). Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004, p, 43) claims that Somalis in Finland were icebreakers from Equator to Arctic Circle (from Somalia where temperature is plus 30 Celsius into Finland where temperature sometimes reaches minus 30 Celsius). Their journey to Finland has not been an easy journey as they came through former Soviet Union countries to Finland (Warsame, 2009, p, 4). The first wave of Somali refugees that came into Finland came through Russia and they were mainly educated people who were relatively young and male, some of them were already university students in former Soviet Union countries. However, Finland was never the first choice destination for early Somali asylum seekers; but the country was seen as transit route between former Soviet Union countries and other European countries (Warsame, 2009, p, 3).

Since 1990s Somali migration into Finland was increasing through migration and family reunion programs. According to Finnish law anyone who has legal residence permit into Finland has legal right to reunite his or her family (Kusow & Bjork, 2007, p, 120). By referring to this law many Somalis in Finland demanded to be reunited with their families. At the same time new Somali immigrants were continuously coming to Finland because the situation of Somalia was never getting better. Up to this day Somali asylum seekers from Somalia and from other EU countries such as Greece, Malta and Italy have arrived at
Finland. Some of them are accepted as refugees while others are deported back to the other EU countries where they were accepted before.

Alitolppa-Niitamo argues, that what particularly makes Somali refugee migration an unfinished project is their diasporic consciousness (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, p. 43). This is true in the case of Somalis; many families and individuals have chosen to move voluntarily within EU countries for different reasons such as family reunion, work, marriage and better environment for their children. This happens after they receive a passport from one of the EU countries because all EU citizens are free to move within EU countries. Diasporic consciousness may also contribute to Somali migration in to Finland. Besides, like any other immigrant group Somalis in Finland are growing fast in numbers as a result of high fertility rate. All this has made Somalis a permanent minority in Finland and in a couple of years’ time the third generation of Somali children will be going to schools in Finland. Therefore, the situation of Somalis must be dealt with as a group of permanent residents in Finland; not an immigrant group that came to Finland for some time and will be going back in the near future.
3. INTEGRATION OF SOMALIS IN FINLAND

The word integration became a buzzword in Europe particularly in the countries that have some difficulties integrating the immigrants. In Western Europe integration of migrants is one of the major issues discussed, and almost every day no matter which country you are in there are debates going on about it in the televisions, newspapers, online magazines and even in the parliaments. It seems that there is wide range of disagreement in Europe between different classes of societies, political parties and even within the different immigrant groups about integration and usually there is disagreement about how immigrant issues are managed and engaged. In the work of Korhonen, Lie Kind (1994, p, 36-37) and Baubäck (1995, p, 38) argues that the word integration comes from Latin verb *integro*, which means to unite into wholeness, where parts stay unchanged (Pitkänen & Kouki 1999, p, 38-39 as cited in Korhonen, 2006, p, 23). But no matter what the word integration means literally its interpretation can vary a lot. The most popular integration models in Europe are assimilation like in France, multiculturalism like in Britain and segregation like in Germany. In Finland economic integration dominates the whole integration process, and immigrants are seen as integrated only when they are tax payers.

3.1 The Act on Immigrant Integration in Finland

Immigrants in Finland are people with different social, economic and educational status. Officially an immigrant is anyone who moves into Finland for more than one year; also the children of immigrants are known as second generation immigrants even if they are born and bred in Finland. In Finland immigrants are expected to integrate with the help of Finnish authorities. According the act on immigrants (2005, section 2) integration means the personal development of immigrants, aimed at participation in working life and society while preserving immigrants own language and culture. Integration also means the measures taken and resources and services provided by the authorities to promote and support integration, and consideration for the needs of immigrants in planning and providing other public services and measures. By law immigrants are expected to be active and enter the labour market as soon as possible but before that they have to learn the Finnish language and if it is necessary to find profession with the help of authorities. Authorities are expected to provide certain services for the immigrants such as language classes and vocational schools. The act also indicates that immigrants have the right to preserve their own languages and cultures. They are also allowed to form their own community organizations that advocate
and promote their own interests. According to the Act of integration (2007, section 6) the implementation of integration is the duty of Ministry of interior in cooperation with employment and economic development office and local municipalities.

In Finland equality dominates all policies and their interpretation. Integration of immigrants is not an exception in this, surprisingly all immigrants are under one umbrella of integration. For example highly educated voluntary immigrants from Germany and less educated asylum seekers from Somalia are included in the same integration plan, and it is very likely that they will end up in one Finnish language class. When an immigrant receives residence permit from the police, the employment and economic development office makes for him or her three years integration plan. During this period the person and the employment and economic development office agree an integration plan together. The employment and economic development office will provide language classes and vocational schools, and basic unemployment benefit for survival. The immigrant is expected to be active and learn the Finnish language and if possible get a profession within the agreed period.

### 3.2 Migration and Integration Challenges of Somalis in Finland

Finns are a homogenous nation with a small number of national minorities: Swedish, Saami and Roma people. The percentage of foreigners in Finland is 4.54% of the total population of 5,401,267 (Statistics of Finland, 2011). Moreover, Finland had always been a country of emigration. It was not until 1980s that Finland became a country of immigration (Korhonen, 2006, p, 21). Foreigners are new to Finland when compared to other European countries. According to Alitolppa-Niitamo the population of foreigners in Finland in early 1990s was only 1% of the whole population. The number of refugees was 6400 in 1993; half of them were Somalis (Alitolppa-Niitamo1994, p, 24).

The Somalis that arrived in Finland in early 1990s were mainly young, male, urban people. In Virtanen’s (1993) studies, among 146 Somalis 82% were male, 49% unmarried, 23% with secondary diploma and the average age was 27 (Alitolppa-Niitamo1994, p, 24). Urban young people were the first people to escape from the civil war of Somalia because the armed military groups were targeting the young people and it was very likely that men could be killed and women raped. Most of the families were not able to migrate as a family into other countries for economic reasons; many families only sent one or two young people to safe
place particularly those who could be human agent were given priority. According to Alitolppa-Niitamo (1994, p. 24) twenty out of 23 who were asked for their place of origin in Somalia claimed to be from the capital city Mogadishu, six had finished secondary school, two were forced to drop out because of the civil war, one had institute level of education, three had dropped out of their university because of the civil war and three had completed doctor’s degree at the university.

When Somali refugees arrived in Finland they were stationed at reception centres where they stayed before they received residence permits. The waiting period of resident permit was one to two years, in some cases three years. During this period refugees were not allowed to work. The waiting period was a frustrating time for many Somalis at the reception centres. It was the beginning of integration obstacles for Somalis in Finland because Somalis have a culture of not being patient; they have old saying ‘Wax raagaa rag kumasama’ which can be translated “Delayed things are not appropriate for men”. Many young people with full of energy lost their motivation in these camps; Alitolppa-Niitamo (1994, p. 24) indicates that due to the lack of occupation, education or other activities, the everyday life of Somali refugees was filled with waiting: they waited to receive their residence permit, they waited for their family reunification and many of them waited for being able to return to their country if the situation would allow them. But the situation of Somalia never got better; up to this day the civil war has been going on in Somalia. The frustration of the Somali refugees at reception centres developed into psychological problems and confusion, many of them were dreaming of going back home as soon the situation would allow them (Alitolppa-Niitamo1994, p, 34).

3.3 Settlements and Integration of Somalis in Finland

Later in time majority of Somali asylum seekers were granted residence permit based on humanitarian reasons. They left reception centres to live in the cities. Local municipal authorities and state agree how many refugees each city will receive. The municipalities provided asylum seekers with the same services as other local residents receive such as social and health care, leisure and cultural services, comprehensive schooling, supplementary instruction of Finnish language and other necessary services (Alitolppa-Niitamo1994, p, 23). The services Somalis received were very helpful but supporting services were not the only thing they wanted. Most importantly they wanted to be employed because they were
energetic young people and they had families to support back at home or in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Yemen. They were also expecting to continue their education because great numbers of them were students at universities or high schools. There were also some university graduates among them that needed to have higher education. But they did not receive what they were wishing for. In Alitolppa-Niitamo’s dissertation (1994, p 23) a state official describes the situation of Somali refugees at that time.

Many external factors have been out of control of refugees themselves that have affected the living conditions of Somali refugees here. The fact that for the first time so many refugees from one country came almost over one night has had its consequences that are difficult to analyse afterwards. First of all, Finnish media made a big fuss over Somali asylum seekers who came in 1989-1990. Threatening images were painted in minds of Finnish people by mass media “A black threat: Africa is about to overwhelm Finland”; “Hundreds of Somalis come pouring daily into Finland.” This caused a real clash of cultures and open aggressive racism. Somalis thus happened to become the ones to open the doors for latter refugees groups. Racism is something that strongly affects the everyday life of the Somali refugees.

Indeed Somali refugees faced all the external hindrances that the state official expressed. Somalis still remember the racism they faced during their first years in Finland. They often talk about how they were abused, beaten and chased on the streets, some of them narrate horrible stories and they always say Finland is a better place now than compared in 1990s. At that time it was viewed that Somalis were in Finland only to consume social welfare. Korhonen indicates that the dual ranking of the ethnic minorities is real in Finland, the preferred groups are highly educated immigrants, who are recruited to Finland and the unwanted groups are immigrants who lack education and usually have a refugee background (Korhonen, 2006, p 21). This does not mean that all Finns were racist, many Finns openly criticized racism and defended Somalis, but there were also some that saw Somalis as threat to their country. The Finns that prejudiced and abused Somalis were not only ordinary people in the streets; also politicians, media leaders and public officials had openly advocated hate of Somalis. This caused mental diseases for many Somalis, some of them got paranoid and they were even afraid to go outside alone especially at night times. According to Alitolppa-Niitamo (1994, p, 37) mental health was an existing problem among the Somali refugees in 1990s, they were afraid of walking on the street, they were depressed and felt isolated. Alitolppa-Niitamo concludes that it would be strange if they did not have any problems with their mental health in this situation.
Besides racism stereotyping of Somalis was also common at that time. In the early 1990s the economic situation of Finland was bad. Unemployment among the Finns was high (about 22%), and it was almost impossible for new arrivals and refugees to find employment in Finland. Yet Somalis were blamed for not working. Many Finns did not understand how a new comer refugee who has not received a residence permit or who does not know how to speak Finnish language will be able to find employment in Finland. Somalis also received unfair treatment from the media; the media even blamed Somalis that they had caused economic recession because of their massive consumption of our welfare. Up to this day some people in Finland have seen Somalis as parasites that only consume the welfare of this country. Currently, one of the major causes of the unemployment of Somali community in Finland is the bad images the media presented of Somalis in 1990s. There is big misunderstanding between many Finns and Somalis. Both communities stereotype one another, many Somalis assume that majority of Finns are racist and many Finns believe that all Somalis are in Finland only to abuse the social welfare. None of these perceptions are true; all Finns are not racist and all Somalis are not social welfare consumers.

In Finland another wide division between different immigrant groups is made between unemployed and employed immigrants (Korhonen, 2006, p. 21). To be employed is a privilege in Finland and employed immigrants are more respected than unemployed immigrants. But to become employed in Finland is not easy for immigrants and often they have to be in Finland for a long time before they get a job; because Finns are high-tech society, the immigrants must learn first Finnish language and then profession. Low skill jobs are rare in Finland and almost every job needs professional certificate. Most of the professions are studied and worked for in Finnish language which is not easy to learn, and after immigrants learn the language and profession to be employed in is another challenge for them. Many immigrants who are able to speak Finnish language and have profession have been unemployed in Finland for a long time. The economic integration of communities like Somalis often takes three to six years, because first they have to learn the language, then profession and then find a job.

Majority of Somalis were not ready to wait for such a long time to be employed in Finland. They had the perception that they will be going back to Somalia soon but their dream never came true and up till this day there have been civil wars in Somalia. Many people still believe
that sometime in the future they will be going back to Somalia and these kind of beliefs are major obstacles that delay their integration. Some of them are not seriously making long time integration plans for themselves despite of their stay in Finland for many years. They believe Finland will never be home and Finns will never accept them.

In contrast, there were many Somalis that forgot the dream of going back and tried to establish themselves in Finland. But their integration was not an unanimous effort because the community has not organized organizations that would lead and show them the procedures of integration. The integration of the Somali community in Finland has always been an individual effort, some Somali individuals made excellent integration but majority of them did not. In Finland integration starts from education because Finns are high-tech society and only those who equip themselves with good amount of human capital can live decent life in Finland. Majority of Somali community in Finland did not choose the path of education; instead they tried to enter blue colour labour market. After being unemployed in Finland for many years they started working in cleaning jobs, in warehouses, taxi driving, bus driving and restaurants. Somali women also started working in nurseries and elderly care centres. Unfortunately jobs that do not require good level of education are rare in Finland and almost every job requires strong Finnish language skills. According to Forsander hardly any low paying jobs remain for unskilled or semiskilled workers in the industries of Nordic countries because those jobs were either transferred to low-cost countries or have vanished with automation (Forsander, 2004).

Few Somalis did well and they made themselves good professions in IT, engineering, medical, nursing, business and social sciences; but only education does not guarantee employments in Finland. There are well educated Somalis who have been unemployed in Finland for a long time, some of them left the country to seek employment in other countries because to find a job in Finland does not depend only on what you know; it’s also whom you know. In order to be employed in Finland Somalis must come up with one obstacle after another and even after they are employed many Somalis are segregated socially from the host society.
4. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

During the last two decades social capital in various forms and contexts has become one of the central concepts within the social sciences (Korhonen, 2006, p. 26). Social capital addresses the glue that joins together with the society and points out the value of the networks within the families, communities, students, co-workers and friends. Robert Putnam defines Social Capital as features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, p. 167), as cited in Forsander, 2004). According to Putnam the main aspect of social capital is the value of a network, and like any other capital such as human and physical capital social capital has value. Simply social capital emphasised the value of friendship. Suppose you want to meet someone for economic reasons and a friend of a friend can help you because he/she is the friend of the person that you want to meet. According to Putnam the dollar value of our note books exceeds the real dollar in our accounts (Putnam, 2010), which means that our social connections have more value than the real money we have. This indicates that physical and human capital cannot function properly without human interaction and networks.

Literally, the word social denotes resources that inhere in relationships, whereas capital connotes the relationships used for productive purposes (Woolcock, 2003, p 6, as cited in Korhonen, 2006, p 26). The literal definition of social capital indicates the glue that holds together all levels of societies from families, neighbours, communities, co-workers and friends up to regions, countries and global societies that are productive and have a value. Researchers in such fields as education, urban poverty, unemployment, control of crime and drug abuse and even health have discovered that successful outcomes of communities depend on their engagement with the civic activity and trustworthiness between them (Putnam, 1995, p, 1). Social networks have benefits first for those who are in the networks but also for bystanders. For example immigrants are more likely to integrate easily in societies that do value external social networks than closed societies.

4.1 Social Capital and Immigrants in General

One of the most important challenges facing modern societies, and at the same time one of our most significant opportunities, is the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity in virtually all advanced countries (Putnam, 2007, p 137). Diversity is equally a challenge and an opportunity, and the dissimilarity between different societies is more likely to contribute
to gain than to loss. In the twenty first century diversity is not only inevitable but also desirable, and ethnic diversity will increase substantially in virtually all modern societies over the next several decades (Putnam, 2007, p, 138). Every one of us agrees that diversity will increase through migration in all advanced countries but we disagree about the benefits of our diversity and some of us get scared of the changes that it comes with. Putnam argues that in the short to medium run immigration and ethnic diversity challenges social solidarity and inhibits social capital but in the medium to long run, on the other hand, successful immigrant societies create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities (Putnam, 2007, p, 138).

Successful integration only happens when the host societies and immigrant groups have inter-ethnic social relations. The immigrant groups that do succeed to create a good relationship with their host society have less integration problems than those who do not. Researchers indicate that the new immigrants do enjoy less social capital than those who came before them; also different parts of immigrant communities do have different level of social networks within them and with the host societies. It seems that voluntary immigrants do enjoy greater amount of social capital than refugees and asylum seekers. Moreover, second generation immigrants often have better relationship with the host societies than their parents. To create social networks between host societies and immigrants needs equal effort and willingness from both groups.

4.2 Social Capital in Finland

Social capital within societies in Finland is high as the applications of the theory demonstrate. Many scholars argue that the pillars of social capital are social organizations, trust, norms and networks and efficiency within the communities. According to Rothstein and Stolle (2003, p, 1 as cited in Forsander, 2004, p, 209), it is common knowledge that Scandinavia performs well with regard to many aspects of social capital, such as level of trust and the density of membership in voluntary associations. In Finland trust and cooperation between neighbours, communities, city authorities, residences and federal government and citizens is high. Moreover, doing voluntary work is common among the Finns and it is not surprising to see in Finland the whole community cleaning the neighbourhood or doing common activities together.
Korhonen argues that in the past Finns together have built the welfare society after the Second World War and Finno-Russo War, which has laid a culturally cohesive foundation for Finnish social capital (Korhonen, 2006, p 30). Because of the welfare system Finns are blessed with good norms of trust among them and they do value equality and quality way of life for both people and the environment. Finns see themselves as equal people and every one of them understands his or her role towards the common good. In Finland the people live “we-ness” way of life and every working person pays high tax to the state in return to the best possible service from the state not only for him or herself but also for the have nots, the poor, the elderly, the disable and unemployed people. Tight social networks make societies transparent and their citizens controllable, liable, and productive (Forsander 2004, p 209). As a result of strong welfare system, economic equality and tight social network, Finland is one of the richest countries around the world. This is not unique only in Finland; other Nordic countries also have similar social economic systems. Forsander argues that the strength of social capital has laid the foundations for increasing human and economic capital and this in turn has enabled these small national economies to be among the richest, while maintaining an equal division of income and eliminating extreme forms of poverty (Forsander, 2004).

But these prosperities are not for everyone, the closeness and cooperation among the Finns made them less acceptable towards foreigners in Finland. Finns are a strongly bonded society with close social networks and the norms of trust; the trust among them excludes all others. It can be argued that inclusive bonding is the most typical type of social capital in Finnish communities (Korhonen, 2006, p 49). Bridging social capital is essential for inter-ethnic relationships and cooperation between immigrants and their host societies. All Finns are not less acceptable towards foreigners and many of them are open towards other cultures yet very few of them have personal relationships with others (Korhonen 2006, p, 49). Bridging social capital is what is missing between Finns and immigrants. Many people in Finland with foreign background are isolated both socially and economically from the mainstream society, particularly those who are culturally different from the Finns. Immigrants are having difficulty in creating meaningful social networks in Finland. Forsander argues that many aspects of strong social capital hinder immigrant integration into the labour market and therefore into society in general (Forsander, 2004, p, 210).
4.3 Bridging and Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital is the social network within one particular group while bridging social capital means the social networks between different groups (Lancee, 2008, p. 1). Bonding social capital is typical for homogenous people with the same culture and the same world view while bridging social capital is common among a people with different world views (Lancee, 2008, p. 1). Bonded societies often see other cultures and people as a threat to their culture and values but people with bridging social networks are often open to different world views and cultures. Somalis have been in Finland more than twenty years yet majority of them live in their own social bubble because both Finns and Somalis are traditionally bonded societies. Mostly Finns are a homogenous and bonded society with the cultural closeness and silence and they are less open towards foreigners particularly those who are culturally different from them.

On the other hand, Somalis are culturally close people and this is because of their homeland’s geographical location and their ethnic homogeneity; Somalis do consider themselves different people from all others. They are located in the north eastern corner or horn of Africa from Awash valley of Ethiopian high land, along Gulf Aden coast and Indian Ocean down to Tana River of Kenya. A land area of almost 400,000 square miles is considered Somali territory, and they are one of the largest single ethnic nations in Africa (Warsame, 2009, p. 6). Somalis also have their own unique language and culture.

4.3.1 Snowball within Snowball

As a result of unwelcoming character, shyness and closeness of many Finns together with the homogeneity and the cultural characteristics of Somalis have made Somali people in Finland bonded community within another bonded society. Bonding social capital refers to the links between like-minded people or the reinforcement of homogeneity; it builds strong ties within the group and excludes those who do not qualify (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000, p. 6). Bonding social capital is the typical type of social capital that Somali community in Finland has. Majority of them are segregated socially from their host society, they have created their own social networks where they share information, discuss day by day incidents and socialize with each other. They believe that majority of the Finns are racist and they have kept their contact with them as minimum.
Social psychologists and sociologists have taught us that people find it easier to trust one another and cooperate when the social distance between them is less; when social distance is small, there is a feeling of common identity, closeness, and shared experiences, but when social distance is great people perceive and treat the other as belonging to a different category (Alba & Nee 2003, 32, as cited in Putnam, 2007, p 23). The segregation of Somali people in Finland started long time ago and there are two reasons for that. First, Finns are very silent people naturally and they are less open towards foreigners especially non-white European foreigners and often they see people with other colour and culture as strangers. In addition, when Somalis came into Finland as refugees in 1990s they received bad reception from the public such as racism, hate speeches and stereotyping. Secondly, the cultural uniqueness of the Somalis also segregated them. Because Somali culture is based on more “I-ness” and less “we-ness” way of life, Somalis do understand only direct personal benefits but not indirect social benefit (see in 2.2.)

Furthermore, Somalis believe that social connections and friendships in Finland do not contribute to direct personal benefit as it does in many other countries, although it does contribute to indirect social benefit which Somalis have hardly any interest of. In Finland friendships are developed in the neighbourhood activities, sports club, voluntary works and activities that Somalis consider less important. All this puts Somali people in Finland inside snowball within a snowball and anyone among them that wants to integrate socially in Finland must come first out of one snowball and enter another one.

4.3.2 The Importance of Bridging between Somalis and Finns

Bridging social capital means the ties between the people who are unlike each other in some important way (Putnam, 2007, p 143). Bridging social capital is the main type of social capital that facilitates the integration of immigrants. One can argue that without bridging social capital sustainable immigrant integration will be difficult in any society. In order to achieve real integration there must be social connection between immigrants and host societies. Bridging social capital implies that if the people are equipped with diversity social networks they will be able to achieve their goals easily. What delays the integration of immigrants in Finland is the fact that the bridging social capital between the host society and foreign minorities is very low; in case of Somalis it is the worst. Somalis in Finland live in their own social bubble (see in 4.3.) Fernandeze-Kelly argues that immigrants are repeatedly
characterized as a group with a tight social network (Fernandez-Kelly, 1995, as cited in Lancee, 2008, p. 2), immigrants are also characterized as being closed and isolated (Portes, 1998, as cited in Lancee 2008, p 2). The isolation of immigrants will never decrease without bridging social capital, and bridging social capital is the main thing that is missing between Somalis and Finns. Unfortunately there is a big misunderstanding between both communities; they stereotype one another: Somalis believe that majority of Finns are racist and Finns believe that Somalis are here only to abuse their welfare system (see in 3.3). This issue must be addressed properly and there must be joint effort from both Finnish and Somali communities. The educated and integrated Somalis have potential to bridge both communities if this is managed well, because they are the ones who have faced and defeated the challenges of integration in Finland.

4.3.3 The Importance of Bridging within Somalis

Bridging within Somalis is equally important as bridging between Finns and Somalis. Somalis in Finland may look like strongly bonded community in the eyes of outsiders but they are also divided into different tribes and sub tribes. Tribalism is the main social capital Somalis have wherever they are. As Bjork argues, once a Somali person legitimizes her or his clan through telling and is successful in having fellow clan members to recognize it he is in the position to build clan-based social capital (Kusow & Bjork, 2007, p. 136). Somalis may socialize with each other but majority of them have trust and cooperation only with the members of their tribe. There is no trust and mutual cooperation between Somalis as community but between Somali tribes and sub tribes. According to Putnam, although networks can powerfully affect our ability to get things done, nothing guarantees that what gets done through networks will be socially beneficial (Putnam, 2007, p. 138).

Somali tribal social networks have had negative impact on their integration in Finland and what makes their tribal social network less productive is their focus on homeland. As a result of long lasting civil war Somali tribes are acting wherever they are taking part in the developments of their regions of Somalia through financial and human capital support. Their contributions towards homeland are not always positive and sometimes they unfortunately support tribal and regional wars in Somalia. Because of this they have created in Finland many community organizations that advocate for the interest of the tribes and regions; one can argue that all major tribes have their own community organizations if not several. Surprisingly these community organizations claim that they do represent all Somali people
but in reality majority of them are privately owned businesses run by a few people who act in the name of the tribe. Majority of Somalis blame clannism to be the cause of the war and the continued civil unrest in Somalia, moreover, clans seem antiquated in the lives of diasporic Somalis abroad (Kusow & Bjork, 2007, p, 136). Somalis where ever they are blame clannism as the cause of their problem in homeland and a yet abroad they are still loyal to their tribes. Surprisingly each tribe claims that they act morally and blame the others.

On the contrary, there are Somalis that do believe that tribalism is a barbaric act and it cannot be maintained with modernity, but they are minority. Majority of them are the educated ones and they do not care much about tribalism and they try to avoid affiliating clan based social networks. These people are the hope and they would be the ones that could bridge between different Somali tribes in Finland and everywhere because generally they have good reputation in the communities and they are considered as good people regardless of their tribe. These people have the ability to create a cohesive social network within Somalis and also with the Finns.
5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND APPROACH

In this research I have earlier described the migration of Somalis, the integration of Somalis in Finland and the concept of social capital. From this on I will focus on the empirical part of my research. This chapter will introduce the research questions and approach.

In this research my aim is to find out what are the perceptions of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland? And what could the possible role of educated and integrated Somalis be in the integration process? When answering this question I am also discussing social capital.

With my research I will add new dimension into the research about Somali community in Finland. Some of the previous researches have focused on Somali women in Finland (e.g. Tiilikainen, 1999; 2003; 2005; Degni, 2004; Hassinen-Ali-Azzani, 2002). Some have researched on Somali girls (e.g. Hautaniemi, 2001; 2004) others Somali boys (e.g. Visäpää, 1997). Some researchers have studied Somali children’s upbringing (e.g. Degni & Pöntinen & Mölösa, 2006). Warsame has analysed Somali parents views (Warsame, 2009). Alitolppa-Niitamo (1994 and 2004) has studied Somali refugees in general and youth in particular. However, the perceptions and the role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland have not been studied yet. That is why I decided to do my research on this particular aspect.

5.1 Research Questions

The research questions of the present research are:

- What are the perceptions of educated and integrated Somalis towards sustainable integration in Finland?
- What are the major issues that are preventing Somalis to integrate in Finland?
- What is the role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration?
- What kind of contribution can educated and integrated Somalis put into the process of integration?

The chosen informants of this research were educated and integrated Somalis and the method used to gather the data was an interview.
5.2 Research Approach

The most challenging aspect of this research was to narrow down my interest and come up with a research topic about Somalis in Finland. Through the discussions with my supervisor and having studied previous researches, I decided to write about sustainable Somali integration in Finland. Then I started to study intensively the background of the topic and the theoretical frame in order to understand the concepts and theories concerning the topic. The knowledge gained from theoretical background was used to guide the planning and conducting the interviews. In order to structure the interviews the interview questions were divided into categories. Also interview guide was developed to make sure all the research areas were covered. After interview was conducted the analysis could begin.

The requirements for informants was that they are educated and integrated Somalis that live and work currently in Finland. One additional requirement was that they are active members of the community or they are engaging in some kind of community activities. I also wanted to interview both male and female members of the community with different age and social economic backgrounds. Most of the people I chose to interview I contacted personally except two of them that I contacted with the help of a friend. The chosen informants were very cooperative and they welcomed my research idea as an important topic and volunteered to participate. But they were also busy people; most of them delayed several times the interview appointments.

Thinking of the position of the researcher, it was great advantage sharing common language and culture with my informants. This helped building connections and convincing them easily to contribute to my research. It also gave them confidence and they were very comfortable during the interviews. Moreover, I was able to understand not only what they were talking about but also why they were talking about it because I am myself member of the Somali community and I am still in the process of integration into Finnish society.
6. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will explain the choice of the methodology, how the data was gathered and how it was analysed.

6.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Quantitative research method investigates a problem that is based on testing a theory with the measure of numbers and statistical analysis. The method is more applicable in natural science researches such as biology, chemistry and physics; things that could be measured in numbers and in some way can be re-measured by others. The aim of the method is to nail down whether generalization of a particular theory is something that can be done or not. Quantitative research method is an independent research approach and researchers in quantitative studies take distance from their subject of study. The personal values of the researchers cannot be part of quantitative research and mostly the subject of study in this method is something that can be studied objectively. Quantitative research often applies deductive method from an existing knowledge through developing or hypothesizing a relationship that proposes outcomes from a particular study. The goal of quantitative study is to develop generalization of an existing theory. The statistical sampling of quantitative research method relies on study of samples in order to develop general laws which can be generalized to the larger population.

Critics of quantitative research methods argue that the method is applicable to large standardized samples that are based on random selections (Silverman, 2006, in Kloss, 2010, p, 24). They also say the method is time consuming and it has little or no contact with the people on the ground. Moreover, the method is trying to measure everything in numbers without acknowledging that some phenomena or social processes are simply not measurable by numbers, through statistics or with random samples (Kloss 2010, p 24). In such cases using quantitative method might rather limit the chances of discovering certain aspects of these phenomena in human behaviour and social sciences (Silverman 2006, in Kloss 2010, p 24).

By contrast, a study based upon a qualitative research makes possible to understand social or human behaviour from different angles. Qualitative research methods are applicable to human behaviour studies such as social sciences, psychology and history; things that cannot
be studied only through numbers and statistical measures. Qualitative research can explore a new knowledge that numbers and statistical measures cannot explore. Researchers who attempt to increase our understanding of why things are the way they are in our social world and why people act the way they act are more likely to use qualitative research methods (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). Qualitative researchers have interest in studying human behaviour and social world inhabited by human beings (Morgan, 1983). Qualitative research is any kind of research that produces findings that are not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Strauss and Corbin 1990, in Kloss, 2010, p 24).

The critics of qualitative research method approach it from the angle of validity and reliability. They say that achieving absolute reliability is a hard thing to accomplish in qualitative research. Some scholars such as Taylor and Bogdan went further and state that it is impossible to achieve absolute reliability in qualitative studies either (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p, 9, in Kloss, 2010, p, 25). The issue of validity is of course relevant also in qualitative studies and whether qualitative study measured what it was supposed to measure is worth questioning. Still the subjectivity of qualitative studies is more often discussed because it accepts participants’ own ideas, values and views. That is why objectivity is not such an important issue in qualitative research.

But this does not mean that qualitative researchers ignore totally the issue of reliability and validity. It is the duty of qualitative researchers to plan clear research process, their choice of theory and the steps they make so that it can be followed, understood and reproduced my others (Silverman, 2006, in Kloss, 2010, p 26). This research uses clearly qualitative study and it is intended to find out the views of particular group among the Somali community in Finland. It is not intended for generalization or objective truth but getting reliable data from the perception of concern informants.

6.2 Gathering Data

In qualitative research data can be gathered by various forms such as interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic studies. In the present research interviews are chosen to be the method for data collection. Interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p 469). An interview is attractive in qualitative studies because it is a flexible method and it is not too structured as the methods that are associated with quantitative research (Bryman, 2012, p 469). In quantitative research the interviews are
more restricted as the aim is to achieve high reliability and validity. Qualitative research gives more space and voice to the data and participants themselves. I was considering two types of interviews in qualitative research; unstructured interview and a semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews seemed to be a suitable method for data collection of this research because I wanted to make sure that the same key questions were asked from everybody and at the same time there would be a room for individual emphases, special points and clarifying questions.

6.2.1 Interviews as the Method of Data Collection

Interview was the only possible method that I could use in order to collect the data to answer my research questions. If I had used some other methods such as sending questionnaires it would have been difficult to get detailed information from my informants. Arranging focus group discussion was not an option for me because it would have been difficult to get my informants into one place. Moreover, as a Somali I knew that the best way to get detailed information from my informants is to engage them personally. Although the people I interviewed were all professional people with good educational levels still there was a danger of losing some important information if they were not engaged personally.

Before interviews were conducted the theoretical framework and the background of the research topic was studied intensively. The knowledge gained from theoretical background of the subject was used to guide the planning and conducting the interviews. In order to prepare the interviews the interview questions were divided into categories. Also interview guide was developed to make sure all the research areas were covered. Before the interview pre-test interviews were conducted. After pre-test interviews some changes were made and some questions were improved (see the appendix one for the themes in the interview).

During the interview semi-structural interview principles were followed. They allowed me to ask my informants open questions and the informants to ask me to clarify the questions if needed. The discussion was kept as open as possible and informants were free to discuss whatever they wanted as long as they were talking about the integration process of Somali community in Finland.
A total of seven educated and integrated Somalis were interviewed out of which three females and four males. Two of them were local elected municipal politicians, two were community activists, two were researchers and one was a youth activist. All of them were university graduates; among them there were two PhD holders, one master degree holder, one was master degree student and the rest have bachelor degrees. All of them had permanent jobs in Finland, except for one. One politician was working in Nordea Bank; the other one was senior nurse and she was working in several hospitals. Two were researchers at Helsinki University. One community activist was working in a human right organization. Another one was unemployed at that time but he had 10 years’ experience in his field. The youth activist was working in a construction firm. All except one of them were married and only one of the married ones did not have children. All of them were living and working in greater Helsinki area. Three of them were interviewed in Masjids, one was interviewed in the work place and the rest were interviewed in public cafeterias. The interviews lasted approximately one hour and they were recorded. The interviews were transcribed in Somali language then translated into English. The informants have been coded as politician 1, politician 2, community activist 1, community activist 2, researcher 1, researcher 2 and youth activist.

6.3 Qualitative Content Analysis

After conducting the interviews and transcribing the data qualitative content analysis seemed convenient method for the analysis. Qualitative content analysis is a method for describing the meaning of qualitative materials in systematic way (Schreier, 2012, p, 1). By using it I will be able to describe certain areas of my material that I chose from my data but not every aspect of it. This is what makes qualitative content analysis different from many other qualitative methods. Other qualitative methods take you into long spiral path by considering more aspect as to be taken into account (Schreier, 2012, p, 3). In qualitative content analysis my research questions will determine the angle into my material that I will analyse. In qualitative studies often researchers collect great amount of data and it is very likely to get lost within the data especially when you are dealing with a lot of pages of interview transcripts (Schreier, 2012, p, 3). In these cases it will be very helpful that I should consider some aspects of my data so that I will be able to answer my research questions.
6.3.1 The Characteristics of Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is systematic method and it examines all your material by deciding where each part of your material fits in your coding frame. Regardless of your material and your research questions qualitative content analysis involves the same sequence of steps (Schreier, 2012, p 5). In qualitative studies it is common for researchers to impose their own understanding in their studies but qualitative content analysis goes beyond by checking if the understanding of the researcher stands with the consistency (Schreier, 2012, p 5). Qualitative content analysis also respects the reliability of the research by checking the consistency between different coding frames. In qualitative content analysis individual understanding is not worthless and it plays an important role especially when building the coding frame but the goal of qualitative content analysis is to go beyond individual understanding and interpretations by classifying the material according to coding frame (Schreier, 2012, p 6).

Furthermore qualitative content analysis is a flexible method. It is flexible because you always have the chance to adjust your coding frame when it fits in your material. This makes your coding frame not only reliable but also valid. A research is considered to be reliable when the analysis captures what is supposed to be captured. In qualitative content analysis you are always concerned with describing the specifics of your material and to do that your coding frame has to match your material (Schreier, 2012, p, 7). Qualitative content analysis like many other qualitative methods combines both linear and cyclic elements (Schreier, 2012, p, 32). It is linear in that there is clear sequence of steps to the method, at the same time it is cyclic to the extent that you will find yourself going through some stages of the process more than once (Schreier, 2012, p, 32). The linear and cyclic elements of qualitative content analysis will give you chance to adjust your coding frame to fit your material and your research questions.

Qualitative content analysis is not only flexible but it also reduces your data unlike any other qualitative method. It reduces your data in two ways. First you do not consider all the information in your material that is important but only what is related to your research question or questions. Second, in order to classify your material into two; what is important and what is not important you have to throw out some of your information but by time you
are reducing your information, at the same time you are producing new information (Fruh, 1992, in Schreier, 2012, p. 8).

6.3.2 The Coding Frame

Qualitative content analysis allows you to develop systematic description of your material by assigning segments of the material to the categories of your coding frame (Schreier, 2012, p. 58). Qualitative researches are rich in data and mostly when you start to analyse your data you will be overwhelmed by your data. Qualitative content analysis will help you to arrange your data systematically by selecting only key aspects of your material that are related to your research question or questions and you will only focus on those aspects that you chose to analyse. In order to focus on those aspects you will need to create a coding frame and coding frame is the heart of qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012, p. 58).

The coding frame contains the main categories and subcategories of the analysis. The main categories are also called ‘dimensions’ and they are the main aspect of the analysis (Schreier, 2012, p. 59). The main categories are the main focus of your material and subcategories are what are said about your main categories. In order to develop the main categories and subcategories from your material you have to make a choice. The choice is how you will structure the main categories and subcategories as well as what you will include in these categories and how many main categories and subcategories you will need to develop. All this depends on what the researcher considers is important and is related to the research question or questions. There is no one right way to structure these categories in qualitative content analysis.

Before I made any analyses I divided the data into different topics that are related to different aspects of my research questions. Then I analysed the first one of the topics that was addressing one aspect of my research questions. When I had decided where to start and what to analyse then I made a choice to distinguish the relevant material and irrelevant material of my data. Only the materials that were related to my research questions were considered relevant. Also I developed one open coding category in order to avoid the loss of an important material. Most of my coding frame categories followed data driven strategy but I also applied concept driven strategy. In qualitative content analysis it is rare to create a coding frame that is purely concept driven or purely data driven; in most of the cases both
strategies are mixed (Schreier, 2012, p. 89). When I had decided what kind of coding frames to develop, the next task was to define and explain the categories and provide examples in order to illustrate what the categories stand for. Finally I reversed my coding frames and categories and expanded them some of them.

6.4 Validity and Reliability

The aim of this research was to investigate the perceptions and the role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland. However, as researcher and member of the community I must be aware of my limitation and I must take seriously the issue of reliability and the validity in order to avoid unnecessary generalizations and my own bias. Validity refers to whether you are observing, identifying or measuring what you have meant to research (Mason 1996 in Bryman, 2012, p 390). There are two types of validity; internal validity and external validity. Internal validity refers to whether there is good match between your research observations and the theoretical ideas you are developing (Bryman, 2012, p 390), and external validity refers to the degree to which your findings can be generalized across social settings (Bryman, 2012, p 390).

To reach perfect external and internal validity in qualitative study is always a difficult task but I will try my best and I believe there is good match between my research observation and the theoretical ideas of the topic I am developing. In qualitative content analysis a research is considered to be valid to the extent that it captures what it is supposed to capture (Schreier, 2012, p 175). Here the most important aspect is whether my coding frame is valid and the coding frame is valid to the extent that the categories adequately represent the concept under study (Schreier, 2012, p 175). After all, I have done my best to capture and to describe the readers as genuinely as possible what my informants have said.

Reliability is the constancy of a research and research is considered to be reliable when the same result is produced repeatedly. There are two types of reliability; external reliability and internal reliability (Bryman, 2012, p 390). External reliability refers to the degree to which study can be replicated (Bryman, 2012, p 390) and internal reliability refers to whether more than one observer, member of the research team agree about what they see and hear (Bryman, 2012, p 390). In qualitative content analysis the internal reliability is considered to be important and your coding frame is reliable as long as it is consistent. Here consistency means that two or more people when comparing coding frame in different time period agreed
to some degree. In qualitative content analysis the question is not whether your coding frame is reliable or not but to what extent it is reliable because reliability is always a matter of degree (Schreier, 2012, p 167). To achieve perfect reliability is a challenging task and I am not sure the same result would be produced or another researcher would agree with me if my research process were repeated again. However I have tried my best to make sure the consistency of my coding frames, I have coded my data in two different time of period and compared in order to check the consistency of my coding frames. In assessing the reliability of your coding frame, you can do it by comparing across person or across points in time (Schreier, 2012, p 167). For the reliability or the trustworthiness of qualitative research it was very important for me to be as transparent as possible about the research process. It is also important for me to try to capture the meanings of the research phenomenon that my informants gave to me and to convey them to the readers as faithfully as possible.
7. THE PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATED AND INTEGRATED SOMALIS

In the next two chapters the results from the conducted interviews will be presented, the results will be divided into two main groups that are answering the aim of the thesis and research questions; (1) what are the perceptions of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable integration in Finland and (2) what could be their role in the process of integration? These main results of course will be divided into sections according to categories that emerged from the data through analysis. The end of each section discusses the results in relation with academic literature and the theoretical frame presented in the thesis.

This chapter will contain six main sections: (1) The concept of integration (2) Personal integration process (3) Finnish conception of integration (4) The integration of Somalis in Finland (5) The rule of law and Somalis in Finland (6) Integration policies and Somalis in Finland.

7.1 The Terms of Integration

In this section I am discussing how informants define integration and their understanding about integration. To some extent they defined integration differently but majority of them also have the same understanding about integration.

7.1.1 Conception of Integration

To gain the informants’ understanding about integration they were asked to give their own definition about integration. The meanings can divided into four categories: feeling comfortable in country, accepting each other on equal terms, equal rights and responsibilities and two way process of integration.

7.1.1.1 Feeling Comfortable in the Country

According to the following politician integration is about feeling comfortable in every aspect of life and being able to live permanently in a place.

I understand integration, when the person can live and work in Finland permanently, at the same time he or she feels comfortable in every aspect of life.
7.1.1.2 Accepting Each Other on Equal Terms

According to the following researcher integration means that two people are accepting each other in equal basis. Integration also means respecting the rule of law and knowing your rights and responsibilities.

To summarize integration as concept means two parts or more mixing with each other in equal basses. These two parties have to be ready to accept each other, example migrated people and hosting society have to accept each other equally so that they can live together and have equal opportunities, rights and responsibilities.

7.1.1.3 Equal Rights and Responsibilities

For the others integration means having equal rights and responsibilities with the people of host society.

As researcher and somebody who grew up into foreign countries I understand integration that you have the same rights that you have chance to learn and work at the same time you have responsibility that makes you feel that you are one of the people that you live with.

Integration is not something agreeable and people understand integration in different ways, for me integration means to try to be part of the society and the people that you live with and share with them the common responsibilities and also know what you have right. If the person knows his or her rights and responsibility I think he or she is integrated.

I understand integration when someone fulfils his or her duty such as working and paying tax at same time preserves his or her own culture.
7.1.1.4 Two Way Process of Integration

According to this community activist integration is not only one way process but requires two way process, immigrants must try hard to integrate also the host society must equally accept them.

I think people see integration differently, I see the person is integrated when he or she learned the language and tried be part of the society. The person also must respect the rules and regulations of that country. Also the host society must accept immigrants; because integration is not only one way integration it should be two ways. I am saying immigrants must try hard to be part of the society also host society must accept and welcome them.

[Community Activist, 2]

7.1.2 Dimensions of Integration

After they defined integration informants were also asked to give more information about integration and what is part of integration and what is not.

One researcher explains integration and he divided it into two parts economic integration and social integration. According to him integration is mostly measured from economic aspect but social aspect is important as well and it includes identity, belonging and feeling home into hosting country.

Integration has two aspect social and economic aspect, the social aspect is dominated by culture but economic aspect is dominated by job opportunities. So the culture aspect of integration can happen when the two cultures the immigrant culture and host society culture accept each other, the economic aspect of integration can happen through jobs for immigrants, so immigrants are either social welfare builder when they are working and paying tax or social welfare consumer when the they are client of social welfare. Mostly integration is measured from economic aspect, but for social aspect it is identity, belonging and feeling home into hosting country.

[Researcher, 1]

According to the following community activist to be integrated one has to be able to live, study and work in a country but also respect the rule of law and be part of the development of that country.

If I tell you in detail the person must follow rule of law of the country, must be able to learn and work, at the same time he or she must share and respect the duties and
responsibilities of the host society like paying the tax and be part of the development. If the person does all these I think that person is integrated.

[Community Activist, 1]

The following politician clearly indicates that she doesn’t have to integrate into everything but only to things that suit her.

I don’t have to integrate to everything, there are things that suit me that I want to integrate. There are things that do not suit me that I don’t want to integrate. You are integrated when you feel you can live and work in Finland and you are able to understand Finnish people like how they think, behave and act, then I think you will be able to live in Finland.

[Politician, 2]

7.1.3 Discussion – The Term of Integration

The understandings of informants about integration are not different from general understanding of integration. According to them the components of integration are learning the language, having a job and educational opportunities, equal rights and responsibilities with the host society, feeling comfortable, adapting the place and getting acceptance from the host society while preserving one’s own culture and language. Their understanding of integration matches many ideas of academic literature. As Valtonen puts, integration is understood as the situation in which settling persons can participate fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of a society. While also been able to retain their own identity (Valtonen, 2008, p 62).

Both the literature and informants’ conceptions indicate that the central idea of integration is participating actively in all aspects of life while immigrants preserve their own culture. But integration is not only one way process integration should be a two way phenomenon, the host society must also give effort to welcoming and accepting new comers. This is also how The Finnish Act on Immigrants (2005, section 2) indicates. According to the act, integration means the personal development of immigrants, aiming at participation in working life and society while preserving their own language and culture. Integration also means the measures taken and resources and services provided by the authorities to promote and support integration, and consideration for the needs of immigrants in planning and providing other public services and measures (see also point 3.1). The act clearly shows that it is the responsibility of the immigrant to pay effort and integrate into hosting society; also
hosting authorities must provide help and facilitate immigrant integration into mainstream society.

7.2 Personal Integration Process

In this point informants are sharing their personal integration experiences as well as the challenges and opportunities they faced while they were integrating into Finnish society.

7.2.1 Positive Aspects of Integration

All informants in a way agreed that they would be integrated into Finnish society as long they lived, studied and worked in Finland. Only one of them mentioned that she is integrated socially and has Finnish friends.

The following community activist argued that he is properly integrated as long he studied and worked in Finland and whatever was harmful for Finland was also harmful to him.

I think I am integrated, as far I studied, worked and lived in Finland, and whatever is harming Finland and Finns is harming me because I live among them. I think I have done the right integration.

[Community Activist, 1]

Also the following community activist believes that Finland is her second home and she made proper integration. According to her integration is not to assimilate and leave your culture or identity and take a new one. She also mentioned that she is integrated socially and has Finnish friends.

Finland is my second home and I think I have made enough integration. I don’t think integration is assimilation, in order to integrate I don’t have to leave my culture or identity and take a new one. I made right integration I studied and worked here. I also have Finnish friends.

[Community Activist, 2]

The following two informants clearly indicated that they are integrated economically into Finnish society but not socially.
In economic aspects I think I am integrated here in Finland but for social aspect as I said it is identity and belonging. I think I am not yet fully integrated, but when it comes to Somalis I am one of the best do understand the system of this country.

[Researcher, 1]

I think I can say I don’t have problems to live in Finland. I do understand rules and regulations of this country; also I do understand the language. Although my contact with the Finns is not something that touches my personal life I still think I am integrated.

[Youth Activist]

7.2.2 Personal Integration Challenges

Majority of the informants admitted that they faced difficulty during their first years in Finland and many of them considered leaving this country for other countries or re-migrating to Somalia. Some of them left and came back after many years away from Finland.

In 1997 I wanted to go back to Somalia because of the hardship and lack of integration in Finland. We Somalis faced a lot of racism in this country; there was no respect for us in schools. Then I felt this place is not the place I want to live in the rest of my life and I said enough is enough I am going back to my country. But after the year 2000 things changed and I felt I can integrate.

[Politician, 1]

I think it was most recently when I felt I can integrate, because as I said economic aspect of integration is the most important thing. When I came to Finland I tried to get education and it was difficult at that time to get admission but after some time I got it. Then when I finished my master degree I faced another challenge because it was difficult to get job in Finland at that time, so I had to go. I went to United Arab Emirates. I think I was out from this country more than 10 years before I came back to do my PhD so before even I finished my PhD I started contributing to the society as researcher. That is when I can say I started integrating economically.

[Researcher, 1]

As a student when I was studying I thought I will not be able to get decent job with my education in Finland because I believed there is some kind of discrimination here in Finland. But I got a job because I didn’t give up and I tried my best to get a job here in Finland. It
only took me three month after my graduation to get a job because I called more than 50 companies and at that time there was economic recession in Finland.

[Youth Activist]

The following community activist argued that she tried to integrate when she realized that she is not going back home and Finland is her new home. She painted out the role of patience because to be integrated in Finland takes time.

To be integrated in Finland will take time; I don’t think one can say I integrated within one year. For me I felt that I can integrate after five years being in Finland. After five years is when I understood many things about this country. But the first three or four years we believed that we will go back home. But after being here five years is when I realized that I am not going back home and this new home.

[Community Activist, 2]

The following politician felt she can integrate after she joined politics and was elected a member of Helsinki city council.

Every day we have new challenges. At first we were worrying how to get residence permit. When I was waiting the residence permit I never thought I would settle here and when I was student I thought when I finish my education I will immigrate into other countries like UK or Germany because I thought to get a job with my degree in Finland will be difficult. Later I joined politics and I was student when I joined politics, I had been in Finland only five years when I got elected a member of Helsinki city council. It was October 1996 and after 16 years I am still here.

[Politician, 2]

7.2.3 Major Things that Contributed to the Integration in Finland

The major things that contributed to informants’ integration into Finnish society are Finnish language, education, personal confidence and ambition. Particularly they emphasised the importance of Finnish language and education.

I think the most important thing that supported me to integrate is the language, I got chance to learn Finnish language in a short period of time. I also studied here primary school which helped me to learn the language.

[Community Activist, 2]
I think education; education will open many doors. Also Finnish language helped me because in Finnish culture language is the only thing that can contribute, if the person doesn’t know the language it will be hard for Finns to welcome that person or give a job, and the Finns think that person cannot contribute anything if he or she doesn’t know the language.

English can support you in a few places in Finland, it is not like USA and UK there is always labour work that only requires physical fitness not necessarily language, but here if you want to work you must speak Finnish, and that is what makes Somalis not integrated economically.

[Politician, 1]

Finnish language is the major thing that helped me to integrate but also my individual background. When the person has some kind of educational background and awareness that person has better chance to integrate than a person without education. I was final year university student back in Somalia and I knew other foreign languages that made me easy to understand outside world, also as university student you understand different cultures.

[Community Activist, 1]

Two informants argued that their ambition and confidence were the major things that contributed to their integration into Finnish society. One of them believed also bicultural identity and understanding both Finnish and Somali culture is important factor, she loves Somali culture and at the same time she respects Finnish culture.

I think from the beginning I had ambition and that ambition was the reason I came here to achieve. My ambition was to study and have better future. I always had trust on Allah and I always reminded myself the reason why I am here is to have better future. I think that ambition is the major thing that helped me to integrate in Finland.

[Youth Activist]

Only Allah helped me, this country has a lot of hardship. I think the major thing that gave me support to integrate was my ambition and confidence. I was young and I believed I could touch the sky if I want. Also I understood both Somali and Finnish culture, one thing Finnish people knew me at that time and up to now is I love my culture and religion at the same time I respect their culture and their religion.

[Politician, 2]
One politician argued that knowing what you are supposed to get from native Finns will also help you to integrate.

The major thing that contributed to my integration is being with the Somalis and get what I only need from native people like things that can support me such as job or education. But if you think to assimilate and do whatever native Finns do you will be lost from being Somali and you will not be a Finn.

[Politician, 1]

7.2.4 Discussion – Personal Integration Process

There is no clear measure to decide if someone is integrated fully or not but there are aspects from where immigrant integration can be evaluated. These aspects can be educational integration, economic integration and social integration. The informants of the present research argued that they are integrated into Finnish society as long as they studied, worked and lived in Finland; but only one of them mentioned that she is integrated socially and she has Finnish friends. So it becomes clear that the informant’s integration is mostly limited to education and economic. In point (4.2) I discussed that foreigners in Finland have little contact with their host society and that the reason was Finnish attitude towards foreigners especially those who are culturally different from them. Also the cultural uniqueness of Somalis and their lack of willingness to engage with others contributed to their social segregation in Finland. Moreover, informants admitted that they faced challenges and hardship during their first years in Finland.

It is not unique facing challenge and hardship in the first years of integration; it is common phenomena for many immigrants around the world. Settlement transition of immigrants and refugees is a process of becoming re-established in new social environment. In addition, crossing between cultures and socio-geographical locations, entails venturing into a whole new field of action (Valtonen, 2008, p, 15). Furthermore, when informants were asked about the major things that contributed to their integration into Finland they mentioned Finnish language, education, personal confidence and ambition.

According to research on Somalis in Helsinki made by Open society Foundation; the role of education is vital in the integration process and beneficial to healthy economic development and a precondition for sustainable stability and social cohesion (Open Society Foundations,
2013, p 48). In Finland integration starts from education because Finns are high-tech society and only those who equip themselves with good amount of human capital can live decent life in Finland (see section 3.3). On the contrary, the educational level of Somalis in Finland is very low. Of all the 15- to 64-year-old Somalis, 89 percent (4,597) have completed only the intermediate school education or the level of education is unknown. Less than 10 percent have completed secondary education and only 1.5 percent have completed college/university education (Harinen, Haverinen, Kananen & Ronkainen, 2014, p, 90) In addition, informants also mentioned that personal ambition and confidence were the engines that drove them to seek better life in Finland. They argued that they were self-determined young people that had ambition to look for better life in Finland.

7.3 Finnish People’s Conceptions of Integration

In this point the informants were asked to give their opinion about Finnish conceptions of integration and how Finns in their view understand integration.

7.3.1 Integration as Assimilation

According to informants many Finns do understand integration as assimilation and in the eyes of many Finns only those who dress, eat and act like Finns are integrated.

The following politician believes that Finnish understanding of integration is totally different from how Somalis understand integration. Sometimes the cultural difference of Finnish and Somalis causes their misunderstanding.

Finns think the person is integrated when he or she is assimilated and do whatever they do. For example when you are in the bar, sauna or drinking wine you are integrated in the eyes of Finns. If the person is working and paying tax but he or she socializes with fellow Somalis Finns think that person does not want to integrate. This issue needs discussion between Finns and Somalis at least they have to be told our way of life. For example when we finish our jobs we came together to socialize, but Finns when they finish their jobs they go home they are not socially active people but we Somalis we sit and socialize in Somali cafeterias after work. When Finns see 10 or 5 Somalis socializing they think they are unemployed people, so the culture is different.

[Politician, 1]
A researcher argues that even the literal meaning of the word integration in Finnish language is close to assimilation.

In Finnish language the word integration almost means assimilation, therefore I can say Finns do understand integration to be same as assimilation. Integration happens when both immigrants and host society share responsibility to integrate each other and accept each other, but assimilation is different: in assimilation only one part pays the effort (immigrants). Assimilation is how Finns understand integration generally but there are exceptions, there are people who do understand integration as integration, at the same time there are people who believe if you came our country you have to live the way we live. There is no other option.

[Researcher, 1]

The following community activist believes that what Finns demand from the immigrants is nothing less than absolute assimilation

Finns do understand integration the same as assimilation. Some will say you must look like me, be like me and eat like me.

[Community Activist, 1]

According to the youth activist in the eyes of Finns only those who act like Westerners are integrated.

I think Finns understand integration differently than how we understand integration. Finns think the person is integrated when that person takes Western life style, have many Finnish friends and like Western person. But we think we are integrated when we are active and contributing to the society such as paying tax at the same time we have our own culture.

[Youth Activist]

The following politician argues that some Finns will even say that immigrants either assimilate or leave our country.

Finnish don’t have the same understanding about integration but nowadays those who are saying eat the way we eat and dress the way we dress are majority, Finns might even say to immigrants to leave your culture and assimilate otherwise they should leave our country.

[Politician, 2]
The following community activist argued that Finns only speak about the difference between them and immigrants and not what they have in common. There is little understanding of Finns looking also different and having different culture and religion. Also the conception of being a Finn needs expansion.

When people speak about integration they always speak about their differences. Example I am from Africa I will always be different from the white Finns, so to be integrated is not to be white Finn or to have same religion with them. That is not integration it’s changing your identity. I can be Finnish citizen at same time black and Muslim. Integration is not be like me, wear what I wear or eat what I eat. Even Finns are not the same they don’t eat the same, they don’t like same things and they don’t believe same things. But in public debates some people may say immigrants are different from us how I am different from you we graduated from same schools, we work same places we live in same area and we have same rights.

[Community Activist, 1]

7.3.2 Integration as Segregation

The discourse on segregation between Finns and foreigners is real in Finland and some Finns would like to see partition between Finns and immigrants.

Finns don’t have one opinion about integration; there are small numbers of people who do understand integration as segregation. Like Finns are first class citizens and all foreign people are second class citizens as long they are in Finland, when a Finn shows up foreigners must clear the way and you cannot be on the same level with us (Finns) in every aspect of life.

[Community Activist, 1]

The reality is that there is racism in Finland and the people are categorized according to their colour. Personally the most important thing that I wanted when I came into Finland was to adapt in to the school and I adapted it easily but socially we were segregated and still in Finland there is some kind of segregation caused by our differences.

[Youth Activist]

7.3.3 Integration as Integration

There are exceptions about Finnish conceptions of integration as assimilations or segregations; there are Finns, especially among the educated and those who somehow have
been in contact with foreigners or lived in other countries, who do understand integration as integration.

I think the Finns are different groups. Those who are educated or somehow have contact with foreigners or have lived in other countries do understand integration as integration. But the rest do understand integration as assimilation.

[Community Activist, 2]

There are Finns that do understand integration as integration and they do not consider peoples colour, religion and culture, they consider individual quality and how this person is contributing to the society but they are minority.

[Community Activist, 1]

I think Finns do understand integration economically and linguistically. The person is integrated if he or she speaks Finnish language at same time he or she is working. So they don’t feel you are integrated when they see you cannot speak the language like me when my co-workers saw me I cannot speak the language they get surprised and say you are here three years almost and you don’t know the language.

[Researcher, 2]

7.3.4 Discussion – Finnish Conception of Integration

There is no clear line that separates between integration and assimilation of immigrants, for sure the integration for some is assimilation for others the concept is wider. Integration is understood as the situation in which the settling person can participate fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of a society while also being able to retain own identity (Valtonen, 2008, p 62). Assimilation is the process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups can acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups (Valtonen, 2008, p 65).

Majority of informants argued that Finnish conception of integration is the same as assimilation and what Finns are demanding from the immigrants is not less than assimilation. However, integration policies in Finland clearly demand from the immigrant not more than integration. It may be that the implementations are different from the policies or the policies had not been executed as they are planned to be executed. In addition, there is always different understandings between immigrants and authorities on how these policies should
be implemented; in many cases individual interpretation is strong and influential in Finland. For example in an interview made by YLE in May 2014 Interior Minister Päivi Räsänen singled out Vietnamese immigrants as an example of a group of immigrants who have adapted successfully in Finland. She argued that future Finnish quota refugees should be devoted to Christians because they can integrate better like Vietnamese did.

According to open society foundation research on Somalis in Helsinki; the identity and belonging of Finnish Somalis is strongly affected by the negative attitudes of Finnish society towards them. Even though these attitudes have shifted towards more positive, of all immigrant groups the attitudes towards Somalis are the worst, even worse than those towards Roma (Open Society Foundation, 2013, p 33). I discussed in section (3.3) the root causes of the hate against Somalis among many Finns and the reasons why Somalis are seen as outsiders and a people that are not willing to integrate into the main stream society. Actually Finnish conception of assimilation is what is holding back many Somalis to integrate because they don’t want to give up their identity and embrace a new one. Instead they have chosen to be segregated from hosting society. In the eyes of many Somalis Finns are not ready to tolerate their religion and culture and that is why many of them are always dreaming to go back home or move into other countries if the satiation allows them. On the other hand, informants stated that small number of Finns particularly the educated ones or those who have lived in foreign countries do understand integration as integration. This shows that the mind-set of Finns towards immigrants can be changed through education and awareness as can be reasoned by those Finns who have received more education or somehow have engaged foreigners into foreign land.

7.4 The Integration of Somalis in Finland

In this point the informants summarized the integration process of Somalis in Finland and the challenges and opportunities that they are facing every day.

The following politician believes that only a few Somalis have made proper integration in Finland particularly those who have settled and believed that Finland is their new home.

I think only small percentage of Somalis are integrated in Finland I mean few made real integration and those are the ones that do believe that they are not leaving from this country,
so I think they realized that they have to make for themselves career or business in this country. The rest are those who are circling around Europe looking better life.

[Politician, 1]

According to the following researcher the integration of Somalis in Finland had always been an individual effort and there are people who are doing well individually.

I don’t think Somalis are integrated as community, individually it may be that there are some who are doing well but as a community I don’t think they are.

[Researcher, 1]

The following community activist argued that Somalis that came before to Finland managed somehow their integration into Finnish society, particularly the young people.

I think Somalis in Finland are not one particular group. There are those who came to Finland early 1990s up to 2000. I think those groups somehow integrated particularly the educational integration especially among young people is good. But I don’t know why this integration is not seen, we are third biggest foreign minority in Finland; also I don’t think integration is seen only as economic integration. There are people who do not work but they can manage their daily life in Finland.

[Community Activist, 1]

7.4 Obstacles of Integration

Major integration obstacles that Somalis in Finland are facing are less welcoming character of many Finns, lack of Finnish language and educational skills and the dream of going back home.

7.4.1 Unwelcoming Character of Many Finns

Many Finns have unwelcoming attitudes towards foreigners in Finland particularly those who are different from them culturally.

According to the following researcher Finnish rejection against immigrants’ starts in the early age, even school children get socially separated in some cases.

One strong factor is how host society is rejecting Somalis, recently I interviewed a teenage boy and he said we Somalis and Finns were the same at young age and we used to play
together and have fun, but when we finished the ninth grade that is when the problem started and we separated from each other.

[Researcher, 1]

According to the flowing community activist many Finns may publicly pronounce immigrants welcome yet they don’t allow them to integrate smoothly in Finland.

There are many factors that is obstacle to the integration of Somalis in Finland and these factors do not only concern Somalis, for example if this door is closed I cannot enter even if I want to enter it badly. There are many people in Finland that do want to work, but the system of this country does not give them a chance, so lack of economic integration is not only the problem of Somalis. I can say all immigrants have the same problem. Immigrants do not have choice; they can only take what is available for them. It is like saying come and enter a closed door, at the same time blaming guest for not entering that door.

[Community Activist, 1]

7.4.1.2 Finnish Language and Educational Skills

Lack of Finnish language and educational skills are some of the major issues that are preventing Somalis to integrate in Finland.

The major thing that is preventing Somalis to integrate is lack of Finnish language skills because if the person does not speak Finnish language he or she will not get a job. Many people became idle because of the language. Job is big thing in human life, I mean when the person goes out early in the morning and then comes back in the evening the person feels good. We know Somalis are working people even we use to travel Arab countries for work back in the days but Europe is different there are a lot of requirements.

[Politician, 1]

According to the following community activist if there is a will there is way; if immigrants are willing to integrate they should know the integration starts from the language.

I think if the person does not want to integrate there is no system that can force him or her to integrate. The willingness must come from the person. Integration begins from the language the person must learn first the language so that he or she will be able to understand the system of this country. If the person does not learn the language he or she will not be able to be part of the society, in fact that person will be segregated from main stream society.

[Community Activist, 2]
According to the youth activist those who came as adult into Finland are mostly the ones who are less integrated into Finnish society because it is difficult for them to learn the language and catch up the education system of this country.

> Majority of those who are not integrated are adult people and it is hard for them to learn the language and to understand the culture and the system of this country. The main factors that are preventing them to integrate are the language and education.

[Youth Activist]

### 7.4.1.3 The Dream of Going Back Home

Many Somalis are dreaming to go back home or move into another country if the situation allows them; some of them left long time ago and then came back to Finland after being away many years. Surely, this kind of dreams or actions slow down the integration process of Somalis in Finland.

The following politician argued that Finland has many hardships that make the people to think to leave this country permanently but the people don’t have choice because their home country is not politically stable yet.

> The problem is many of us are not settled here in Finland for good; in many cases our body is here but our mind is somewhere else because we are all dreaming to go back home including me. The reason is this country has a lot of hardships and these hardships will make you think to leave permanently. But we don’t have where to go, our country is not stable so we go around Europe and at the end we come back to Finland. Recently I have seen in Helsinki a person that left this country long time ago.

[Politician, 2]

According to the flowing politician even those who are integrated well into Finnish society don’t want to live the rest of their life in Finland. However, the country they consider home has also changed and sometimes in Somalia they are not respected as Somali anymore.

> Personally I want to leave from this country because I don’t want to live here the rest of life but I don’t have choice because I am not a member of my home country. The country has changed and the people have changed. I went to Mogadishu last year and saw how people think has even changed; when I arrived Mogadishu Airport we had argument with immigration officer because nobody respects me as Somali anymore. They are judging me as a foreigner because of my Finnish passport. Moreover, people have changed they think I
am very rich and they all want to get money from me and I am simple employee that receives salary so I realized I will face hard life back in Somalia. And here I don’t want to be the rest of life because there are many things that are not good for old people here. So I don’t know where I will end up I just trust Allah for my Future.

[Politician, 2]

7.4.2 Issues that May Help Somalis to Integrate

The major issues that will help Somalis to integrate in Finland are Finnish language, educational skills and open debate and reconciliations between Finns and Somalis.

7.4.2.1 Finnish language and educational skills.

The informants emphasised the importance of Finnish language and educational skills for the integration of Somalis in Finland. According to the following researcher Finnish language would solve major integration problems and if Somalis learn it they will be able to integrate.

I think the language is very important and profession is also important, Finnish language can solve major integration obstacles for Somalis.

[Researcher, 1]

First they have to learn the language then get education. Surely these two can help them to integrate.

[Politician, 1]

The following researcher argued that Somalis must enter to universities and seek higher education for their integration in Finland.

The biggest thing that can support Somalis is education and I mean education has no limits. I would like to see more Somalis in the universities because now I hardly see Somalis in this university. They are very few.

[Researcher, 2]

According to the youth activist activeness and positive attitude is the most important thing that can help Somalis to seek education in Finland.
I think activeness and positive attitude is the most important thing. Also they must have aim and ambition, and they must benefit themselves and have to learn to take part in education.

[Youth Activist]

7.4.2.2 Open Debate and Reconciliation

There is need of open debate and reconciliation between native Finns and Somalis in Finland. Some informants argued that there is big misunderstanding between Somali community in Finland and native Finns. They also think that there is pressure on Somalis that the other immigrant groups do not have and it needs to be addressed.

The following researcher believes Somalis in Finland and Finns do need reconciliation like the one that takes place between opposite groups in Africa.

Sometimes I think Somalis and Finns needs reconciliation, when conflict happens in Africa don’t we say that people need reconciliation. I think Somalis and Finns need the same kind reconciliation. Because there is big misunderstanding between them; Somalis think that they are trying their best to integrate and Finns believe that Somalis are not willing to integrate.

[Researcher, 2]

According to this community activist there is pressure on Somalis that there is not on any other immigrant groups in Finland because they are the largest ethnic group with refugee background in Finland as well as the largest ethnic group with an African background and the largest Muslim population in Finland.

I believe there is pressure on Somalis that there is not on other immigrants, Somalis are the only ethnic group who are African and Muslim and by the time they came into Finland early 1990s there was economic recession in Finland and because of that they are labelled with bad image. Politicians, media and everyone else was labelling Somalis that they are not working people but a people that only want to consume social welfare. The bad image that had been created at that time is very strong today. When a well-educated and well experienced Somali goes and looks for a job he or she will not get that job because simply this person is Somali. Finns stereotype Somalis a lot; they look first if you are Somali before they look your job experience and educational background. Still there is wide belief that Somalis are not working people, they live with social welfare benefits and they cannot be trusted because they are criminals.

[Community Activist]
According to this researcher both groups, the Finns and Somalis, must be ready to a wider and open debate that tells the truth because it is questionable if both groups are ready to accept each other.

One thing is important; Finns must be ready to a wide and open debate that tells the truth. To what extend white Finns are ready to be part of that debate and accept different kind of Finns that have different life style, different colour and different religion? Because the integration is not only one way integration, it should be two ways. Also those who are migrated into Finland (Somalis) do they really want to integrate? Many people have this kind of perception that I am here only few years and after some time I will go back so they are not building their roots here that is also an obstacle.

[Researcher, 2]

According to the following researcher the future debate between Finns and Somalis should on different levels include actions that are promoting the integration of the both communities.

I think debates are not only a particular debate but there should be different kinds of debates from school level to policy level and there should also be cultural debate. We need to see Finnish movies where actors are both black and white and advertisement boards in the cities with the picture of Somali lady with Hijab standing with a Finnish lady. When this becomes normal routine then people will believe that all of these people are Finnish. At that stage we can say that Finnish people have accepted immigrants as part of their society. But I think we have a long way to go there.

[Researcher, 2]

7.4.3 Comparing the Integration of Somalis into Other Western Countries with the Integration in Finland.

Why Somalis are integrated into some other Western countries and not in Finland. Majority of informants blamed the Finnish welfare system, the strict integration policies in Finland and the homogeneity of the Finns.

According to the following researcher Finnish welfare system does not encourage people to earn their living, also the strict Finnish business policies and fewer customers for Somali
businesses are the challenges against creating and sustaining business among Somalis in Finland.

I think it’s very clear; number one is the welfare system of this country because it does not encourage people to earn their living. Also in other countries Somalis are in good number and there are opportunities that they can create for their own business opportunities. If Somalis are doing business in South Africa, UK or USA the majority of their customers are other Somalis. In Finland many shops are opened and then closed because they cannot find enough customers. In addition when someone wants to open a business in Finland the process is long and very demanding, but in USA it is different the rules are very relaxed. So as economist I can say that the incentive is different, Somalis by nature are working people but the means have to be created first then they will work.

[Researcher, 1]

The youth activist argued that the Somalis can integrate easily if they felt they are welcomed. They can integrate smoothly in the countries that have good experience about immigrants.

I think those who are in Europe are almost the same, because the European environment is an environment that is not helpful for the immigrants, in other continents the native people and immigrants may have something in common. To integrate depends on how the host societies accept the immigrants. If Somalis feel they are welcomed they will integrate easily but if they feel they are discriminated their integration will not be easy. For example, in countries like USA and UK immigrants have been there for ages, so the integration of new immigrants will be easier but this is not the case in the countries like Finland that people are almost 100% homogenous.

[Youth Activist]

According to the following community activist Finland is a different context and one cannot compare the integration of Somalis in Finland and those who are in other Western countries because unlike many other Western countries, Finland is a relatively small country that has limited experience about immigrants. On the other hand, there are plenty of things in which Finland is better than other Western counties such as free health care and education, also the welfare of the families and safety of the children.

I think we cannot compare the integration of Somalis in Finland and the integration of Somalis in UK or USA. For example the population of Finland is only five million even smaller than one state of USA. Also Finns don't have good experience about foreigners. The history of foreigners in this country is recent. Even Sweden has better experience than
Finland. I have been in USA; the system is more open and relaxed than in Finland. Also in terms of work USA is better because people can work even three jobs at the same time. USA is free market system, if the person works hard he or she can be successful. On the other hand, there are things where Finland is better than USA. In this country the person can have free education, also safety for family and children so we cannot compare.

[Community Activist, 2]

The following researcher argued that people in Europe are more secular than people in America and because of this integration will not be easy for an immigrant group like Somalis who have very visible way of life based on religion.

I think every country has own context, but I think in general Europe has deferent integration problems than USA. Finland for instance is homogenous society. One thing I realized in Europe is that they have very strong tradition of secularism although many of us think America is a very secular country but America is not. More people go to church in America. In Europe people and the church are separated so when we immigared to Europe with very visible way of life based on religion our integration became difficult.

[Researcher, 2]

7.4.4 Discussion – The Integration of Somalis in Finland

Economic integration is the gateway of all branches of integration and no group of immigrants will be able to settle in place permanently without economic integration. Employment is recognized as a crucial area of settlement; indeed immigrant’s social inclusion in the new home society is often linked first of all to their integration in the labour market (Valtonen, 2008, p, 89). Economic integration not only gives immigrants a means to help themselves but also self-dignity and respect within the communities that they live with. Somalis in Finland is one of the least integrated communities among Somali expatriates around the world. Also in Finland they are one of the least employed communities. According to statistic Finland, by the end of the year 2011 there were 14045 Somalis in Finland and only 3495 of them were part of the work force, of which only 1690 were employed (Statistic Finland, 2011). In Finland the economic integration of immigrants often takes a long time and if the immigrant group are less educated like Somalis, it will be more difficult for them to integrate economically. Less educated immigrant groups first have to learn Finnish language, which is not easy and it often takes two to three years to learn it.
After that they have to learn vocational education. The economic integration of immigrant groups like Somalis often takes three to six years approximately (see also section 3.3). This means three to six years they have to survive with the help of social welfare; it also means three to six years of social segregation and low self-esteem. Besides, nothing will guarantee for them that they will be employed in Finland even if they spend all these years improving their human capital. In fact, there are well educated Somalis who have been unemployed for a long time in Finland. Moreover, there are many Somalis in Finland that give up the hope to be integrated economically and adapted to living with the social welfare benefits.

On the other hand, there are positive stories within Somali community in Finland and there are individuals who are integrated well into Finnish society. Mostly these individuals are those who migrated with higher level of education with them or they are youngsters that established themselves into Finnish education system. In addition, majority of Somalis in Finland are partially integrated; for example one is able to speak Finnish language but does not have vocational education that enables him or her to enter Finnish labour market, while others are able to speak Finnish language and have enough skills to work but still they cannot find job with their qualifications. There are also others who have chosen to be out of labour market because they are overqualified for the jobs that are available for them but they do understand the system of this country and able to speak Finnish language fluently. The Somalis that are economically integrated in Finland are small in number and majority of them work in places that average Finns have no interest to work in such as low level service jobs. According to Helsingin Sanomat it has been estimated that up to half of the cleaners in the capital region come from abroad because cleaning work has a somewhat bad reputation in Finland and native Finns are not willing to accept it (Helsingin Sanomat, 2014). Somalis also do work in other services such as bus driving, taxi driving and elderly care centres. There are few Somalis that do work with their qualifications but in sectors that have shortage of labour like medical sector.

Informants argued the integration obstacles of Somalis in Finland are caused by the unwelcoming attitude of many Finns against immigrants, the lack of Finnish language and educational skills among many Somalis and the strong perception within the community that they believe that they will move to Somalia or into other countries as soon the situation allows them. It is true that many Finns have unwelcoming attitude against immigrants especially if they are culturally different from them. A survey made by EU MIDIS in 2009 confirms that almost half of Somali population in Finland (47%) experience discrimination
in their daily life’s (EU-MIDIS, 2009, p 37). This is because Finns are homogenous society with small percentage of traditional minorities and their experience about people with other colour, culture or religion is very limited. Finns are also strongly socially bonded society with exclusive social networks.

All these factors cause the Finns to reject or at least not associate with immigrants in Finland, particularly those who are different from them. For instance there are Finns that openly abuse or discriminate foreigners in Finland particularly the people with African or Muslim identity. According to a survey made by Finnish broadcasting company YLE in March 2014 many Finns admitted that they witnessed many times racial discrimination in public places. Majority of them did not like it but they admitted that they didn’t intervene and stop it. Somalis in Finland also complain of selective work recruitment policies in Finland so that work positions are first available for Finns and then for others. Somalis in Finland believe there are few specific jobs that are available for them. A research made by European Commission against Racism and Intolerance show that the job seekers with a Russian name had to send twice as many applications as those with a Finnish name before being invited to a job interview (ECRI, 2013, p, 24). If this is the case of white European Russians I think the Somalis must send four times more job applications than native Finns.

In addition, the lack of Finnish language and educational skills has also slowed the integration of many Somalis in Finland. There are several reasons why many Somalis in Finland had given up the hope to learn Finnish language fluently. Firstly, Finish language is one of the most difficult languages to learn. According to US State Department of Foreign Service, Finnish language is one of the most difficult languages for English speakers to learn and it requires at least 88 weeks and almost two years for active English speaker to learn it in order to achieve a level of written and oral skill that is high enough to work (YLE, 2013). Secondly, there is wide belief among Somali community that if they pay the effort and learn Finnish language fluently their chances of employment will not improve and regardless of their Finnish language skills and the jobs that are available for them will be the same. Besides, many Somalis in Finland belief that they are here temporarily and sometime soon they will move to Somalia or into other countries. Therefore there is no need to invest their time to learn Finnish language. Majority of Somalis in Finland only learn the basics of Finnish language so that they are able to survive in Finland in short period of time. Moreover, there is little interest among many Somalis in Finland to seek vocational or higher education as a result of the same reasons that they are not willing to learn Finnish language.
The informants argued that the issues that may help Somalis in Finland to integrate are learning Finnish language, educational skills and open debate and reconciliation between native Finns and Somalis. Finnish language and educational skills is an important asset for sustainable integration in Finland because Finnish society is high-tech society and no group of immigrants can live decent life in Finland without equipping themselves with good amount of human capital (see also section 3.3). Unfortunately many Somalis in Finland are not willing to benefit from the free education system of this country because there is no incentive that drives them to seek higher education as long as they believe that their chances of getting professional jobs in Finland is very limited. In addition, informants argued that open debate and reconciliation between native Finns and Somalis in Finland can facilitate the integration of the community because both communities Finns and Somalis stereotype one another. Many Finns believe that Somalis are not ready to integrate and many Somalis believe all Finns are racist and they will never accept them. These issues need to be discussed between Somali immigrants and Finns; there should be an honest debate between native Finns and Somalis in Finland to discuss why Somalis are discriminated, stereotyped and harassed in Finland. Moreover, there should be discussion within the Somali community in Finland that explores what they want to achieve as a community in Finland and why they are not paying enough effort to integrate in Finland.

In addition, the informants argued that the reason why Somalis are integrated well into other Western countries and not Finland is the Finnish welfare system, the strict integration policies in Finland and the homogeneity of the Finns. First, the Finnish welfare system does not encourage people to earn their living because authorities in Finland grantee basic survival for everyone who is unemployed and has residence permit. The long integration period does not either encourage immigrants in Finland to earn their leaving and many people lose their willingness to work in the long process of integration. But that is not the case in many other Western countries where Somalis are doing well especially in free market countries like United States of America. One of the reasons why they are doing well in those countries might be that there is not enough financial help provided for them. Secondly, Finns have strict integration policies and there are many requirements towards immigrants before they enter Finnish labour market; immigrants must first learn Finnish language and then receive vocational education which is not the case in many other Western countries because there are work positions that only require physical fitness. Besides, in some other countries many Somalis are self-employed and they do employ other Somalis in their businesses but in
Finland to start a business one has to meet a lot of requirements. In addition, unlike many other countries where the prime customers of Somali businesses are other Somalis, there are not enough Somali customers in Finland because they are in small number in this country.

7.5 The Rule of Law and Somalis in Finland

How far Somalis understand the rule of law and the system of this country? Majority of informants argued that Somalis understand very little about how this country operates.

7.5.1 How far Somalis have knowledge about the system of this country.

Somalis have only basic knowledge about the rule of law and the system of this country; they only know what concerns them like how to manage their daily life.

According to the following informants the system and the rule of this country are taught in schools for children, but those who came as adults have to make their own research in order to understand it. Unfortunately many Somalis are not even trying it and there are no associations that do teach them or encourage them to learn.

One can say Somalis don’t know the system and rule of law of this country. The system and rule of law of this country is learned from the schools, and also adult people can learn if they go libraries and read the books. But unfortunately majority of our people do not even try it, and there are no unions that do teach them.

[Politician, 1]

I think majority of Somalis do not have good knowledge about the system of this country. I think if the person does not learn social education in school or they did not make research it would be difficult for them to understand how this country operates

[Youth Activist]

According to the following politician Somalis sometimes do commit crime or make mistake that they do not intend to do and many times they do not share their problem with the authorities because they don’t understand how this country operates.

Most likely our people do mistakes or commit crimes that they did not intend to because they don’t know the system and rule of law of this country. Actually not having enough knowledge about the system of this country is big problem for Somalis. Sometimes they don’t even get their missing rights, the best of them is the one that goes to the lawyer and
tells he or she has such and such problem, most of us even we don’t share our problem with concerned authorities because in Finland court decisions take a long time and we need quick results.

[Politician, 1]

The following researcher argues that Somalis in Finland might think that they are adapted to the place but if they are not working it is big problem. This shows that may be they do not yet fully understood the rule of law and system of this country.

When you see Somalis they seem like they have adapted to the place, they know the language and they don’t need guidance, they can go where ever they want. But if they are not working it is big problem that means they don’t know the system and rule of law of this country or there are other obstacles we don’t know or may be both.

[Researcher, 2]

There was also discussion about the differences among Somalis as to how well they have integrated. According to the following community activist Somalis in Finland can be divided into different categories among them. There are people that do understand well the system of this country while others do understand very little. The average Somalis understand only what concerns them.

Somalis there are among them some people that do understand the system of this country completely, but also among them there are some that have zero knowledge about the system of this country. Average Somalis only know what concerns them. Only few don’t know what concerns them.

[Community Activist, 1]

According to the following informants, Somalis can be divided into two groups; the young people and the old people. The young people do understand well the rule of law and the system of this country but old people understand only little.

Somalis are two groups the young people and the old people, the old people do not have good understanding about the system of this country and it’s hard for them to understand completely but the young people they do understand well the system of this country.

[Politician, 2]

The challenges that our people face are that they came to Finland as adults. After that they had children here, so the problem is the parent and the children understand the system of this
country in two different ways. For the children this is home and they are full members of the society. The parents only know how to manage their daily life like going to work or shopping. They don’t understand how this country operates they even don’t know the system of schools that their children go and for example the responsibility of the parents.

[Community Activist, 2]

7.5.2 How Would the Search of Knowledge about This Country Benefit Somalis

If Somalis seek knowledge about the rule of law and the system of this country they will be able to integrate because knowledge about this will give them a tool to evaluate what they can gain from this country and what they cannot. This is confirmed by the following politician who stated that if Somalis seek knowledge about the rule of law and the system of this country they will be able to decide whether to reside for good in Finland or leave into other countries.

Yes it will definitely help Somalis to integrate if they know the system and rule of law of this country, for example they may decide to leave this country or reside here for good, but now they are confused. They don’t know what to expect and what not from this country.

[Politician, 1]

Definitely it will help them to integrate if they understand better the system of this country.

[Researcher, 1]

Another researcher points out that it is not enough that Somalis seek general knowledge about the system of this country but they have to know and seek specific knowledge about what they want to achieve and how they will achieve it.

Absolutely, if they know the system of this country it will help, but that is not enough, for example if I speak in terms of education the student that wants to go to university must know and understand certain skills about that exam. Everything in life is like that; you have to understand what you want to have.

[Researcher, 2]

The following community activist highlighted the fairness of Finnish rule of law and points out how Somalis would be able to avoid many mistakes that they commit blindly now if they sought knowledge about the rule of law and the systems of this country.
Of course it will help. If you don’t know the system of this country you may commit mistakes while you were trying your best, if you understand the system you will ask yourself before you act or do anything; do you have the right to do this? The system does not discriminate Somalis or other immigrants; you will never see anywhere written immigrants cannot do this or that.

[Community Activist, 1]

The youth activist believes Somalis must understand the rule of law and the system of this country because without it they will not be able to fulfil their responsibilities and get their rights.

Yes it really helps them to integrate and if they don’t understand the system of this country they will not be able to fulfil their duties and responsibilities. Also they will not be able to get their rights. I think it is very important for immigrants to understand the system of this country.

[Youth Activist]

7.5.3 Whose Responsibility is it to Teach Somalis the System of This Country

The informants may agree on the importance of Somalis to seek knowledge about the rule of law and the system of this country but they may not agree on whose responsibility it is to teach them.

The following researcher argues that if Somalis see that there are employment chances in Finland they will learn the rule of law and the system of this country by themselves but what is missing in Finland is an incentive, therefore incentives and opportunities must be created first and only government can create them.

I think you want me to say they have to be trained by other Somalis in order to teach Somalis the system of this country but that can be good or it can be bad. I believe that when people see opportunities, that there is chance in this country, they will learn the system. So I think the solution is incentive and opportunities and only the government can create the incentives and opportunities. The community has role to work with the government, but the responsibility is naturally on government.

[Researcher, 1]
The following youth activist argues that Somali community has to teach each other the rule of law and the system of the country. But also the government and educators have to help Somalis to learn the rule of law and the system of this country.

I think one particular group cannot teach the rule of law and the system of this country. Somalis as community has role, the governments and educators have role too.

[Youth Activist]

The community activist emphasized that there are organizations that can teach Somalis the rule of law and the system of the country but these organizations need partners. They need active Somali community organizations that help them to do their job.

There are organizations that can teach Somalis the rule of law and the system of this country. For every policy that is made there are organizations that do implement it. So there is lack of relation between these organizations and Somalis. Maybe these organizations want to teach Somalis the rule of law and the system of this country or help Somalis, but if Somalis don’t have a community that can be contacted so it will be difficult for these organizations to do their jobs. I think the concerned organizations that work for implementation of the system should teach Somalis the system of this country but they alone cannot do it. If they can they should be done by now. They need partners that do bridge between them and Somalis. There is need for cooperation between strong Somali organizations and Finnish organizations.

[Community Activist, 1]

According to the youth activist Somalis must be active and try to learn the rule of law and the system of this country but authorities in general must help Somalis or facilitate ways they can learn it. Most importantly the Somalis must understand what they are missing and they have to go after whatever they are missing.

I think everybody must be active and try to learn the system by him or herself. Also there should be organizations that teaches or facilitates the people to learn the system of this country. For example, this concerns Ministries and Immigrant Authorities, which must help the people to learn the system of this country. And most importantly, the community must know what they are missing and then they have to go after whatever they are missing. Because in Western countries the demand comes from the people and then the concerned authorities in question respond to what the people want. There is nothing given in the West, you have to go after whatever you want.

[Youth Activist]
The politician furthermore points out that Somali community organizations must organize gatherings to teach their people the rule of law and the system of this country.

I think if adults did not get chance to go to school and learn the system and rule of law of this country civic organizations like NGOs must teach them particularly Somali organization must organize gatherings and teach their people the system of this country.

[Politician, 1]

It was also argued that it is the responsibility of Finnish government to teach Somalis rule of law and the system of this country.

It is responsibility of the government to teach Somalis the system and rule of law of this country; it is not the responsibility of an individual or particular group.

[Community Activist, 2]

Also mutual relations and teachings were emphasised. According to the following politician Somalis must help and teach each other, but Somalis have problem of not listening to each other; therefore Finns must teach them.

I think we have to teach each other at first but unfortunately we don’t listen to each other that is our problem, so the Finns I think should teach us, because Somalis don’t listen to each other and their connections are based on clan and clan based connections cannot teach the system of this country to anyone.

[Politician, 2]

7.5.4 Discussion – The Rule of Law and Somalis in Finland

It became clear from the data that many Somalis in Finland understand little the rule of law and system of this country. Informants argued this is because majority of Somalis in Finland came as adults to this country and the rule of law and system of this country are taught in Finnish primary schools. Also many Somalis don’t have enough Finnish language skills that enable them to do self-research in order to understand these aspects. In addition, there is little that is encouraging Somalis to seek about the law and systems and, as one researcher puts it there is lack of encouragement and opportunity in Finland to push Somalis to learn the rule of law and system of this country. If Somalis see an opportunity and if they know that it pays the effort to study they would try to study them, but unfortunately that incentive
is missing. According to Finnish integration act, each immigrant is given essential information, advice and guidance upon registration, and after an initial assessment, an individual integration plan consisting of an agreement on integration training is drawn up, for example including language courses, job trainings or other activities that encourage their integration (Opens Society Foundation, 2013, p 30). But many times the policies and implementations are different. When the first act of integration of immigrants and receptions of asylum seekers was introduced in Finland in 1999 good number of Somalis were already in the country. The economic integration is driving all other branches of integration and if Somalis in Finland are not hopeful about their future economic integration they will not try harder to learn and understand the rule of law and the system of this country.

Informants agreed that it is the interest of Somalis to learn the rule of law and system of this country because learning them does not only help them integrate but also to fulfil their daily responsibilities and also get their rights. One politician argued that if Somalis learnt better the rule of law and the system of this country they could better decide if to reside in this country for good or leave for some other countries. Now they are confused and they don’t know what to expect from this country. Moreover, many Somalis in Finland commit mistakes or crimes that they did not intend to and the reason being that they don’t understand well the legal system and the regulations.

On the other hand, the informants agreed that there is need among Somalis to get knowledge about the rule of law and system of this country but they did not agree on how they will seek it and who will teach them. Some of them stated that it is purely the responsibility of Finnish government to encourage Somalis and teach the basic knowledge about this country or at least to create an environment where they can learn it, while others argued it is the responsibility of Somali community workers and educated ones to encourage the community and teach how this country operates. To teach Somalis and encourage them to learn how things operate in Finland needs collective effort from the community, Finnish government and educators. But the community must take the lead and ask for these services because in Finland first the demand comes from the people and then authorities respond.
7.6 Integration Policies and Somalis in Finland

The informants also discussed a lot Finnish integration policies and how these policies are implemented specially when there are many policies that are directly affecting the daily lives of Somalis in Finland.

7.6.1 The Generalization of Integration Policies

Some informants argued that the integration policies have been generalized too much while others stated that this is how it should be because it is not possible to make different acts for different people in Finland. Also the following researcher argued that it is not good choice to make specific integration policy for each community in Finland because it would harm the commonality and the unity of the country.

I am not sure if it would be better to make integration policy for each community; because if we do that we will lose what the society has in common. For example if Somali community is given housing in one particular area where they have their own schools, Masjids and community centres that they can help each other. This may be a positive thing for Somalis but there are also major problems about it, for example the city can be ethnically divided people cannot understand each other. People lose the things they have in common; a class of division between the societies will emerge. Everything that is seems positive can have major negative consequences.

[Researcher, 1]

According to the following community activist immigrant authorities generalize integration policies and as result of limited Finnish experiences about immigrants there are mistakes.

It’s possible the people that do manage immigrant issues don’t have deep experience about immigrant issues. For example the agent of immigrant issues (Maahanmuuttovirasto), many of their workers don’t have experience about immigrants’ costumes and cultures and the reason is that the experience of Finland towards immigrants is limited when it’s compared other European countries. For example Sweden and United Kingdom have big immigration agencies. So I do think they generalize integration policies and there are mistakes (in Finland)

[Community Activist, 1]
However, some of the respondents like the following researcher argued that Finns are getting better day by day and they are getting experience about immigrants. There are examples that show that they are trying their best but still there is need of improvement and more cultural training for immigrant authorities in Finland is needed.

I think now Finns got experience about immigrants and they are considering a lot of issues, but before I don’t know if they were considering. For example now my department is preparing Islamic studies curriculum for the children because the Muslim children need it when they are having religious studies. So this is an effort and they invited Muslim scholars to discuss although the curriculum they made in Helsinki and Turku still needs improvement but it shows they are really trying. I think immigrant authorities need cultural training but also some immigrants must be included in the work of integration. For example if you are a Finn and a foreign person comes to you do you have the training to handle that person’s matters by considering what you can do and what you cannot do culturally? I don’t think this is a small problem it is a problem for all over Europe.

[Researcher, 2]

Also the question of for whom these policies are made was raised. The youth activist argued that integration policies are not made for immigrants in the first place. They are borrowed from native Finnish policies. So if immigrants want policies that suit them, they have to ask and go after them.

Policies are made first for Finnish people then transferred to immigrants; I believe immigrant policies are not for immigrants in the first place. So if we want policies that suit us we have to ask and go after it, nothing comes as given in this country.

[Youth Activist]

Some respondents like the following politician emphasized very strongly that all immigrants cannot go under one big umbrella because immigrants have different culture and needs. Therefore it would be better if policies that concern Somalis could be based on Somali culture and needs.

I think they generalized integration policies. Of course we are all immigrants but that does not mean we are same and we have same needs; no we don’t we are different and we have different needs, therefore our integration plans must be different. I believe all immigrants cannot go under one big umbrella, it would be better if policies that concern us are based on our culture and our needs.

[Politician, 2]
On the other hand this was also contested. The following community activist argued that it is not possible to make different acts for different people in Finland because in Finland equality is the guiding principle and all people are under one umbrella.

In Finland there is equality, all people are under one umbrella I think it is not possible to make different acts for different people.

[Community Activist, 2]

There was also discussion about discrepancy between policies and their implementations. It was also pointed out that policies may be good but their implementations very weak. According to following researcher sometimes the policies and implementations differ and one good example is the three years integration plan made by employment and economic development office for new immigrants.

Sometimes policies are made and then not implemented as a result of many reasons, for example they might not have funding to implement it. It’s more likely policies and implementations to be different. During my research on Somalis I found that Somalis are complaining the three years integration plan made by the office of employment and economic development. The process contains the immigrants to learn the language, understand the system of this country then learn a profession so the person will be able work in Finland, it is a whole package. Somalis said we don’t benefit at all, for example they complain a lot about the language courses. They said when we came here they give us three months language course then we wait another course. After one year may be they gave us another three months course; sometimes the three years can be over without even learning the Finnish language, so there is inefficiency in the three years integration program. Here the policy is good the way it’s implemented is different. I don’t think they planned that lets give new comers three month course each year in his or her integration plan but the implementation is like that.

[Researcher, 1]

7.6.2 Somali Culture and Integration Policies in Finland

In the interview participants raised a very interesting question of whether immigrant authorities should consider the different immigrant cultures, particularly the culture of Somalis and other less integrated ethnicities before any integration policies are made for them.
According to the following politician it would be helpful if immigrant authorities consider Somali culture.

I think it will help if they consider Somali culture before they make integration policies, particularly the issues that concern Somalis.

[Politician, 2]

Some of the interviewees pointed out the importance of activism among immigrant groups themselves. The following community activist argued that no one asked Somalis what to do and what not to do about the issues that concerns them because they don’t have organized organizations that do present or advocate them.

For Somalis case, no one asks them what to do and what not to do about the issues that concerns them and the reason is there are no Somali people that are standing for this. Also there are no Somali organizations that advocate this kind of issues.

[Community Activist, 1]

The following youth activist goes on by pointing out the need of observing cultural differences when making policies. He argues that the lack of integration among many Somalis is not only Somalis problem but it is also the problem of the host society. Instead of borrowing their policies into immigrant policies it will be better if immigrant authorities consider the culture of each community.

Instead of copying their own policies into immigrant policies it will be better to consider the culture of each community because the lack of integration is not only Somalis problem, it is also Finns problem.

[Youth Activist]

Some of the respondents are very much against individualisation in policy making pointing out the problems and where it might lead. According to the following community activist it is not important to consider Somali culture because there is equality in Finland and all immigrants should be treated in the same way.

I don’t think it’s important to consider Somali culture because as I told you before there is equality in this country, but everyone can also have his or her own culture. I think only those who work in medical services or social services need to know somehow what Somali culture is so that they can offer better services for Somalis.

[Community Activist, 2]
7.6.3 Inviting Integrated Immigrants into Process of Policy Making

There was a lot of discussion whether it would be wise to invite integrated immigrants into process of making integration policies. Some of the informants argued that it is better to be invited while others were saying it is not necessary. According to the following researcher it would not help if integrated Somalis were invited into the process because the community is not united and they don’t have a common goal.

I am not sure it will help, because if the community are not united and do not have common goal. If members of them are invited into the process of making integration policies it does not help. For example some time ago in Helsinki a team called Somali affairs expert was made, the members were both Somalis and Finns. At that time I was not researching on Somalis in Finland but later I came to know that their effort did not become productive because the place became a place where Somalis argue and disagree with each other.

[Researcher, 1]

According to another researcher it will definitely help if integrated immigrants are invited into the process of making integration policies.

Absolutely it will help if they invite integrated immigrants into the process of making integration policies; integrated immigrants will contribute with their experiences of integration into the process of making these policies.

[Researcher, 2]

It is also a question of who to invite among the Somali community. According to the following community activist authorities in Finland might consult with wrong people when it comes to Somali issue, therefore they should look for the right people when and if they want to solve the integration problems of Somalis in Finland.

I think it will help, I believe there are many decisions that government officials made but the data and the resource they made with that decisions do not represent the reality on the ground. For example authorities might consult a person that does not have good experience about Somali issue or that person is just Somali but does not have enough knowledge about the community or his or her aim is not to solve the problem and contribute. I believe many Somalis that do contribute to the issue of Somalis in Finland are aiming to get only small project or money. I believe they should invite the right people and those who do have the right data when and if they want to solve Somali problems in Finland.

[Community Activist, 1]
The following politician argued that nowadays immigrant authorities do ask them about their opinion about Somalis in Finland but it is often too late. They should have asked them long time ago and many times just asked but not really listened to. In the end the Finns who are working with immigrant issues have the final word.

I think nowadays they ask our opinions, but it’s too late. They should have asked long time ago, nowadays when they are making new policies they ask our opinion but I suspect our opinions are not taken into account. I think the opinions of the Finns that are working on immigrant issues are stronger than our opinions. So I think our opinions are just listened. I believe they have not reached yet the level of considering the opinions of others.

[Politician, 2]

7.6.4 Should Integration Policies be Changed or Improved

One of the topics that have been discussed in the interviews was about how integration policies should be changed, particularly if there were issues that concern Somalis in Finland that need to be improved. According to the following politician Finland always changes the integration policies and they always follow the good example of other Nordic countries. Changing policies also depends on the political parties that are ruling the country.

I think Finland always changes the integration policies and they always follow other Nordic countries that have long immigrants history and experience. For example Sweden now started to scan the education and work experiences of Somalis before they even came to Sweden, so that they can employ them easily or send them to schools in Sweden when they arrive. Finland always looks for good examples of other Nordic countries about immigrant issues; I think immigrants policies will always change as time continues. It also depends on the political party who is ruling the country. Now the Ministry of Interim is under Christian party and they advocate not bringing in more Muslim people to Finland.

[Politician, 1]

The following politician highlighted the importance of government encouraging immigrants to get education. He also emphasised that government should create a link between schools and public and privately owned companies so that they would employ immigrants.

I would say it should be invested on those who want to study and make for them easy to get education. Also a link should be created between schools and public and privately owned companies so that it will be easy for immigrants to be employed after school. This is the job of Ministry of interior and Ministry of education. For example Finns before they graduate
always they go for job training to the companies that they are interested to work so it’s more likely for a person to be employed in the same company that he or she went as a trainee. The perception of Somalis that they are not working people can be changed if there is more chance of work training for Somalis. The government also must give some kind of help for those companies that do employ Somali people in order to motivate them to employ immigrants.

[Politician, 1]

According to the following researcher the three years integration plan made by employment and economic development office for newcomers needs improvement.

I think the three years integration plan that employment and economic development office makes for newcomers should be improved because people complained a lot about the inefficiency of this program.

[Researcher, 1]

Another researcher argues that it is clear that Finnish economic integration policies are not working the way they should and they definitely need a reform.

I think in terms of work there are big problems and that is question mark particularly in Somalis case. Why they are not working. It means that the policies of economic integration are not working, so they definitely need reform.

[Researcher, 2]

There was also discussion on different branches of policies. What can and should be influenced and what not. Also the conditions for successful influencing were deliberated. According to the following community activist, policies can be divided into different categories. There are policies that immigrants can influence and there are policies that they cannot influence. So if immigrants want to make some changes they have to make difference between the two but also define who they are and what the policies that they can influence are.

The integration policies are a huge example the policies of Ministry of Interior about immigrants. I think the policies are in two categories; there are state policies that concern immigrants and policies of what the government of Finland wants as nation. This kind of policy is a national issue and it can only be decided by the politicians; there are also policies that concern how to manage immigrants such as integration, education, multiculturalism, conflict resolution and ways of life. These kinds of policies are not fixed. They change with
the circumstances of the time and immigrants can influence this kind of policies. They can say we are this and that and this and that works for us. I mean immigrants must define themselves fully, then it will be easy for authorities to understand and make right integration policies. So from the two policies the first one is not necessary for immigrants to influence and I think they cannot but the second one is the one that is often built on unrealistic information and data that needs to be influenced.

[Community Activist, 1]

The following youth activist pointed out that the integrated immigrants are not being consulted enough when integration policies are made and he emphasised that if authorities want to solve some integration problems they have to consult enough immigrants who are already integrated. Also integration policies must address grass root problems such as children and family needs.

I think we cannot just say simply this is what is needed to add or to improve, first we need to study the policies then we can comment. But I have the feeling that there is no particular policy that guides immigrant issues. If there are some, I don’t think by the time these policies are made immigrants are consulted enough. I think it will be good to consult the immigrants that are already integrated into Finnish society. Also policies must be developed from grass root. Our society needs many things specially the families and school children. If I give you an example; the mother and father that came in this country as adults don’t speak Finnish language and do not have good education background. They cannot be role models for their children and they cannot teach their children how to succeed in Finland. Therefore, future immigrant policies must address all these needs.

[Youth Activist]

Many problems in the integration policies were singled out as well as solutions were suggested. The following politician emphasised the importance of educating Somali women as well as the young. Also she pointed out that the educated immigrants that are leaving from this country as a result of lack of economic integration.

Current integration policy is general, but nowadays after we spoke many years they are saying let’s focus educating women and it is too late. They should also be concerned about the young and educated people that are leaving this country because if they don’t get decent job here in Finland they will move into other countries that they can practice what they studied. And the worst is that no one is talking about them. If they want they can do something about it but they don’t see it as a problem. They told us 50 graduate people with
immigrant background left this country within a short time period. They only talk about the new immigrants, what about those who were here before and those who are leaving?

[Politician, 2]

7.6.5 Discussion – Integration Policies and Somalis in Finland

Generally, Finnish Ministries of Interior, Education and Employment and the Economy are responsible for immigrant integration policies and their implementations. Ministry of Education is responsible for educating immigrants, Ministry of Employment and the Economy is responsible for the employment of immigrants and Ministry of Interior is responsible for the legislation of immigrants and the act of citizenship. Also there are 230 municipalities in Finland and majority of them have own administration, some of them have specific governmental bodies dealing with immigrant issues e.g. (Helsinki Advisory Board of Immigration and Integration). Moreover, there is national policy that guides the integration of immigrants in Finland. The first Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum seekers was introduced in 1999 superseded by the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration in 2010 (Open Society Foundation, 2013, p, 30). The purpose of the Act is to support and promote integration and make it easier for immigrants to play an active role in Finnish society. It is also planned to promote gender equality and non-discrimination and positive interaction between different population groups (Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration, 2010, p 1).

The Act outlines almost everything that concerns immigrants and refugees in Finland. But some of the informants raised the issue of generalization in these policies and acts. They argued that immigrants in Finland are not the same in culture, economic and education; therefore they cannot be under one Act of integration. According to them Somalis have different integration problems than many other immigrant groups in Finland and the Acts of economic integration, education and social cohesion are not working the way they should for many Somalis. Therefore, Somali culture and needs should also be considered and the educated and integrated Somalis must be invited to the process of making integration policies and acts. Most importantly the right people that can represent Somali families, youth, women and elderly must be consulted enough.

Those who argued that integration policies and acts are not working the way they should for many Somalis suggested the following. The economic integration policy needs a reform
because it is not working; also the efficiency of the three years’ integration programme made by office of employment and economic development should be looked again, because many Somalis are complaining about it. Moreover, family integration policies need improvement, particularly the education opportunities of Somali women should be increased. The school drop out of Somali children also should be considered, and finally the young Somali graduates that are leaving the country as a result of the lack of economic integration should be addressed. On the other hand, there are some informants that argued that there is no way that integration policy and Acts can represent the need of specific immigrant communities because in Finland equality is very important and under Finnish rule of law people are equal. It was also very strongly pointed out that if Somalis want to achieve something they should organize themselves and go after what they want as one community.
8. THE ROLE OF EDUCATED AND INTEGRATED SOMALIS

My initial interest in my research was to find out about the perceptions of integrated and educated Somalis on integration, as well as their role in the integration process of Somalis in Finland. In this chapter the role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning sustainable Somali integration in Finland will be discussed. The chapter contains three sections: at first the leadership of Somali community in Finland will be discussed, followed by the unity of Somali community in Finland and finally the future and worries of second generation Somalis will be analysed.

8.1 Leadership

Many times the informants highlighted the missing role of educated and integrated Somalis concerning the sustainable integration of their community. Some of them argued that it is the time of educated and integrated Somalis should do something about the deteriorating situation of Somali community in Finland. They argued that the educated and integrated Somalis can lead and be the role models for the community. They also pointed out that they can teach the community how to integrate in Finland through their integration experiences.

8.1.1 Be Role Models

One of the responsibilities of educated and integrated Somalis is to be role models for the community especially for youngsters and the new comers. According to the interviewees they have to lead, arrange and reform the community and teach others with help of their integration experiences.

According to the following researcher Somali community in Finland would love to see their educated and integrated ones to lead and represent the community.

First they are the role models of the community, second they have to work for the community and lead the community. When I was researching on Somalis many Somalis were some way or another saying that they would love to see the educated ones to lead the community, they have to be the voice of the community. They said the major reason that we cannot be a good community is that there are no good organizations that do represent our interest and they think the educated ones can do this.

[Researcher, 1]
The following politician believes that at least what educated and integrated Somalis can do is to be role models for young people so that the youngsters believe that they as well can have good education and career in Finland.

First of all they have to be good example for the community. At least they can be role models for the youngsters so that youngsters can also believe they too can have good education and career in Finland when they see other Somalis have it.

[Politician, 2]

The other politician pointed that if educated and integrated Somalis want to help their people, they have to do it together because individually they can only achieve limited goals.

They have very important role, first of all in this country no one can do something without organization or union, only one individual cannot do anything. So it’s very important educated and integrated Somalis to come together; they have to make new organizations or empower the existing organizations and they have to create policy and plans, for example how to teach people Finnish language, how to teach the system and rule of law. I think they can play a very important role.

[Politician, 1]

The following researcher believes that it is the responsibility of educated and integrated Somalis to guide and show the people what they have been through. Also they should form organizations that advocate for the community and bridge between Finnish policy makers and Somalis. Most importantly they should start a conversation within the community that addresses what is good for the community and what they want to achieve.

They should guide and show the people what they have been through. Also they should help the new comers. They should tell what to do and what not to do in Finland, in terms of education they should tell what will lead people into good universities and good career. But most importantly they should be mediator and bridge between the policy makers and new Somali immigrants, they also have the role to make community organizations that campaign for the community, they also have to start conversation among the community what is good for us and what do we want to achieve as a community.

[Researcher, 2]

According to the following informants the role of educated and integrated Somalis is big, they can be a bridge between Somalis and authorities in Finland, and they can study the integration problems of the community and inform the concerned authorities. They can also
educate the community by informing them of what authorities want from them as well as of their rights and responsibilities in this country.

Their role is big, they can be bridge of integration, they can study the fundamental problems of Somalis and bring them on the table with the authorities, also after negotiating with the authorities they can bring back what the government wants from Somalis. But the people who are doing this job must be educated and integrated ones. Also they must have the trust of the community.

[Community Activist, 1]

First they have to know and fulfill their responsibilities, they have to organize, inform and arrange their people. Also the educated ones must have cooperation among them. They must communicate with immigrant authorities and inform them what their society needs.

[Youth Activist]

If they want to help their people they can inform them what Somalis need to know about this country, also they can suggest their ideas about Somalis to concerned authorities.

[Community Activist, 2]

8.1.2 Teach the Somali Community through Their Experiences

The informants considered it is very important that educated and integrated Somalis teach the Somali community through their integration experiences and help the community towards sustainable integration in Finland. The following politician also pointed out that the educated and integrated Somalis must teach with the help of their integration experience those who are not integrated well. She also emphasised that before they do that, they have to solve some existing technical problems about how to bring the people together. Moreover, she doubted whether there is motivation to help others.

Yes it’s very important the integrated ones teach their experiences of integration to those who are not integrated, but there are always some technical problem. First a system must be created that can bring together the educated ones, otherwise people don’t have time for this because everyone has a day job, and there is no motivation of helping others.

[Politician, 2]
The following researcher argued that if the person is educated that person is already a role model for the community. It is his or her duty to address the community about issues of how they can integrate and be successful in Finland.

Yes they should teach about their integration experience. If the person have studied and got a job in Finland with his or her profession. People may call him Doctor or Engineer. With that title he or she has responsibility to make orientation for the community. For example people always ask us about the process of education in this country, the job opportunities, and they do listen to us. So this is what I mean by orientation, when people see such and such person have a good job or have a good education people will try to be like him or her.

[Researcher, 1]

The following researcher agrees with others that the educated and integrated Somalis should teach their integration experiences to those who are not integrated well. But before they do that, they have to agree on what to teach and how to teach.

Yes they should teach but people have different ideas, people don’t understand integration in the same way. So they must have conversation between them about what they want to achieve before they provide any help.

[Researcher, 2]

According to the following community activist educated and integrated Somalis should teach their integration experiences. However it is not something that can be done individually but needs resources and institution. He pointed out that there should be a system of all Somali people to reach everyone, human resource and financial resources.

Yes they should teach but how? Like me I understand the process of integration of this country, but I don’t have access to reach 15000 Somalis. Also who assigned me to teach my experience of integration to Somalis? I can only reach very few people like the people I know or my friends. I can only reach limited number of people. If Somalis are teaching each other the integration process of this country, it should be a big project and it needs resources. Otherwise I have personal task and I can only teach those who come and ask my experience. It is not something that can be done individually, it needs budget and institution.

[Community Activist, 1]

The following youth activist argued that it is difficult for Somalis that came at the same time to this country to teach each other how to integrate. He also pointed out that it is questionable if the community is ready to learn what educated and integrated Somalis will teach.
I think it will be difficult for the people that came at the same time to this country to teach each other how to integrate but we can inform general knowledge about this country to those who came recently. Also we cannot inform everyone else but those who engage with us. The question is are people ready to accept what we will offer to them and are they interested to learn about our experiences?

[Youth Activist]

Informants also pointed out that some educated and integrated Somalis already teach other Somalis about their integration experience. They do it through the arrangement of immigrant authorities.

I think we do, for myself there is no region in Finland that I do not travel in order to help Somalis and many other Somalis do also. Immigrant authorities organize seminars and they invite us to inform Somalis about our integration experiences.

[Community Activist, 2]

8.1.3 Discussion – Leadership

The major integration obstacles that Somali community in Finland are facing are lack of good leadership and lack of effective community organizations. Somalis in Finland may look like strongly bonded community in the eyes of outsiders but they are divided into different tribes and sub tribes. There is little trust and mutual cooperation between Somalis as community but between Somali tribes and sub tribes. Somali tribal social networks have had negative impact on their integration in Finland and what makes their tribal social network less productive is their focus on homeland. Somalis in Finland created many community organizations that advocate for the interest of the tribes and regions of Somalia; one can argue that all major tribes have their own community organizations if not several. Surprisingly these community organizations claim that they do represent all Somali people but in reality majority of them are privately owned businesses run by a few people who act in the name of the tribe (see in 4.3.3). This resulted many of educated and integrated Somalis to avoid associating with Somali community organizations in Finland, because in the eyes of many Somalis whoever associates with these community organizations joined their corrupt and dirty competition.

According to the informants it is the responsibility of educated and integrated Somalis to lead community towards sustainable integration in Finland because they are the only ones
that should be expected to ease the deteriorating situation of the community. After many years of setbacks and lack of common integration plan Somali community in Finland have understood the role of community leadership and they cannot integrate in Finland individually. There is a common feeling nowadays within the community that if they came together as a community their situation will be much better. It is true that immigrants’ linkages with civil society make their participation possible as change agents in bringing about the very conditions that are critical for the integration process (Valtonen, 2008, p, 53).

It is not right some educated and integrated Somalis to sit back and think that the integration problem of Somali community in Finland is not their problem as long they themselves are integrated well into Finnish society; the truth is that they share everything with their community and eventually everything that is affecting the community will also affect them. Unfortunately there is a sense of hopelessness among many educated and integrated Somalis. They believe that they cannot ease the current situation of the community because the community is still divided into tribes and sub tribes, and the Somali civil war experience is still visible within the community. There are small numbers of educated and integrated Somalis that are trying to do what they can but their effort is not effective because it is not collective and systematically organized.

Informants also argued that the reason for many Somali children not doing well in schools or life after school is because they don’t have a good role models to look up to. The truth is that the less educated Somali parents cannot be role model for their children and they cannot teach how to succeed in Finland. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the community to be role models for these children. In addition, the informants stressed the importance of educated and integrated Somalis teaching about their integration experiences to less integrated adults especially to the new comers. Finally, the informants acknowledged that doing all this will be a challenging task for educated and integrated Somalis but they also argued that it is part of the responsibility to overcome the challenges.
8.2 The Unity of Somalis in Finland

Many times the informants argued that the integration problems of Somali community in Finland cannot be solved individually. It needs collective actions, resources and institutions. They also discussed the obstacles that are preventing the community to be united.

8.2.1 Is it Difficult for Somalis in Finland to Be United

It is very difficult for educated and integrated Somalis to unite the people because Somalis wherever they are they have problem of doing collective work together. This is because Somali people have not had any central authority for the last 23 years and the division between them is deep. According to the following politician it is very difficult for Somali people to unite because there is no Somali central government and Somali embassy in Finland would help the people to unite and work for the common good of the community. The need for united body is highly recognised.

It’s very difficult for Somalis to unite, as far as there is no Somali central government and no Somali embassy in Finland. We are not like other African countries that do have central governments and their embassies always help them. But no matter how bad our people are divided still there should be a people who stands for the sake of Somalis and creates the presumption of unity. The only way Somalis can be united is to get a few people that are standing for them; they can be 10 or 5 people no matter.

[Politician, 1]

Somali civil war was recognized as very painful and destructive experience that has deeply divided the people. There are also plenty of examples that have been tried to unite Somalis in so many places that have failed.

I think it’s important to unite if they want to achieve touchable things they have to unite. But I think we have problem doing something collectively and the reason is the civil war of Somalia. It was very painful experience and destructive. I have seen some of the challenges of community work in Egypt and elsewhere and I heard the same has happened here in Finland because we bring the problem of Somalia here. But nowadays the situation is getting better. The other problem of Somali organizations is sustainability, many people came together but after three meetings they give up. Especially when the work of the community is voluntary, we don’t have sustainability and that is the problem for Somali communities wherever they are.

[Researcher, 2]
According to the following community activist Somali culture itself is against the unity. It encourages individualism and discourages commonality.

There is nothing preventing Somalis to unite. But this goes back to Somali culture, majority of Somalis in Europe are not against unity even those who are not educated, but our culture is not community and unity culture. Our culture encourages individualism that everyone does his or her own affairs individually. Even more, our culture is against the unity, for example all Somalis can agree to destroy unity but they cannot agree to build unity. This is because they are not trained to work towards commonality. You can understand this if you look at the problem of our country, all Somalis agreed to overthrow Somali government but when it comes to building it again we cannot agree. Up to this day we have not been able to agree one simple thing about unity. This doesn’t mean we don’t have thousands of good people that can run an organization or government but coming together and working for the common interest is something we are missing.

[Community Activist, 1]

It was also pointed out that it is not only a question of not been able to agree on common goals also about having skills to work together. The following youth activist argued that Somalis have difficulties in working together even if they want the same thing.

I think it is very difficult for educated and integrated Somalis to be united for the sake of their people. Because for us Somalis it is very difficult to get common idea, sometimes we want the same thing but still we cannot agree how we can get what we want.

[Youth Activist]

The following politician pointed out that it is important Somalis would be united. But it seems that this is not going to be easy. However, she emphasised good leadership is vitally important, because otherwise bad leaders will take the lead.

It would be good if they are united, but do you see people that are uniting. What I see are divided people. If they want to be united first they have to talk to each other, they have to respect each other’s opinion. Unfortunately all these do not happen because we don’t have common aim that is the problem and as you see if good people failed to be united, the bad people will lead the community in wrong directions.

[Politician, 2]
The following youth activist argued that the widespread corruption among Somali community in Finland and Somali civil war experience are the two major issues that are preventing the community to be united.

There is mistrust within the community; example if group of people tries to do something for the community the community will see this people as self-cantered people who are just looking money for themselves. Also there is strong connection what is happening in Somalia and what is happening in Finland and that is why our society is divided.

[Youth Activist]

8.2.2 Whose Responsibility is it to Unite Somalis

The interviewed agree at it is the responsibility of every Somali individual to unite the community and especially it is the responsibility of educated and integrated ones.

According to the following politician to unite Somali community in Finland is not the responsibility of Finnish government; it is the responsibility of Somalis, especially the educated ones because the less educated ones don’t even know where to start and what to do.

First of all, if you don’t do something for yourself nobody will do it for you. The government of Finland already tried to unite Somalis under one network to bring them together because everyone made his or her own organization, some of the organizations contains only one family the father the mother and the kids. Most of those organizations work only for individual interest, and they don’t do anything for the community, at same time they claim they work for the community. So to unite Somalis is first of all the responsibility of every Somali adult person. Second it’s the responsibility of educated ones because uneducated ones and less integrated ones don’t know where to start and what to do. We have to restore the name and the respect of Somali community in Finland; we have to feel ashamed that there is not even one effective Somali community organization in Finland. I think the government of Finland will always support if Somalis want to do something for themselves, so our problem is the lack of commitment and mismanagement.

[Politician, 1]

The following researcher argued that in the same line but specified that uniting Somali community in Finland is firstly the responsibility of Somalis, and secondly it is the responsibility of Finnish government.
Somalis have to benefit the opportunities of this country and work effectively for their people. Also the government when it claims it has democratic values and respects for human rights. The government must make sure minorities have equal access to opportunities of the country if they don’t they have to facilitate it.

[Researcher, 2]

In the same way the following community activist outlines that Somalis must arrange first themselves, and then government of Finland will help them.

It’s the responsibility of intellectual Somalis whether they are educated or not educated and those who like the goodness of the Somali people. It is not the responsibility of government, when the Somali people arrange themselves, government can support them.

[Community Activist, 1]

According to youth activist if the need comes from the community itself, they can be united even without the help of educated integrated Somalis and the government of Finland.

The need of unity must come first from the community then it can come from the educated and integrated ones and then government of Finland. It must be from to bottom up not top down. If the Somali community in Finland needs good leadership they can make it without the help of the educated ones and government of Finland.

[Youth Activist]

Some pointed that situation is not hopeless thinking the will and the awareness for change. Several respondents argued that Somalis already felt the importance of unity but no one has time for it everyone is busy with his or her own personal interest. The need for organization and structuring the community effort were again emphasised.

I think Somalis have to arrange themselves first and if we don’t want to be united no one can unite us; first we have to arrange ourselves that is our responsibility. But most of us don’t have time we are chasing our personal interests and I think if we arrange ourselves government can help us. But one thing I know educated and integrated Somalis are good people that like the goodness of our community but they don’t have time for public service their private life made them busy. I think the people already realized the importance of unity but nothing had succeeded yet, the effort of unity should among collective educated ones, the newcomers and youth must be part of it.

[Politician, 2]
No one is saying it is impossible for Somalis to unite but it needs people who are ready to sacrifice for this, you can understand how hard it is to unite 15000 Somalis and how much effort and resource it needs. What we are missing are a people that do sacrifices for the sake of unity.

[Community Activist, 1]

8.2.3 The Need for Structure and Organizations

It was pointed out in the interviews that there is need to change the current Somali community organizations and build new ones that really present the community.

According to the following politician majority of current Somali community organizations failed the community because many of them are not founded in the first place to represent the whole community but few individuals.

Yes they need organized organizations but now everyone has his or her own organization. I think if we get one good organized organizations that are accepted by all of us it will be good. The problem is in Finland the law accepts every three people can have organization, so every three of us made one and this made us so divided. The solution is if everyone asks him or herself what I benefited from this organization that I run alone. I think if this question is not been asked there will be no solution. I think it will be good if few people start this first because current organizations don’t have strategic plan, you only see people running around bags and papers and that will not produce any result at all.

[Politician, 1]

The following researcher argues that Somalis in Finland need an organization that helps them to integrate economically but also an organization that promotes cultural exchange between Finns and Somalis.

I think that most important thing is economic integration. Organizations must help people to be employed. If the people are not working that is a big obstacle for the integration. We also need an organization that works for the culture. When I say culture I don’t mean an organization that protects Somali culture. That is important but what we need is an organization that creates activities between Finnish and Somalis in order to create understanding between them, a kind of cultural exchange. For example they can to make together films and documentaries.

[Researcher, 2]
The following youth activist agrees with others and he argues that Somalis need better organizations the then current ones; but before the people must be mobilized, so that they understand each other and learn to agree on things.

I think before they are united and have organizations they must agree and understand each other, and in order to achieve that the perception of the people must be changed through awareness.

[Youth Activist]

Somalis need an organization or organizations that can unite the people and help the needy people. Also organizations that can bridge between Somalis and Finns are urgently needed.

I think Somalis need effective organizations not like the ones who failed us before that cannot unite us. We need organizations that can unite all Somalis those who came before and those who came recently that can help old and needy people, also can talk to Finns and inform them about our way of life, an organization that is open to all of us.

[Politician, 2]

The importance of community and organization has also been discussed in relation with Somali identity and defending one’s own rights. The community activist argued that the identity of Somalis in Finland is unprotected because there are a lot of stereotypes against the community; and it is difficult to defend oneself from baseless accusations particularly if there is no united community.

The only way Somalis can help themselves is unity. Somalis are not organized as a community. One racist can accuse Somalis in the media yet they are almost 15000 people and they cannot defend themselves and most accusations are baseless. They can go to court yet they can win most of the cases. The identity of Somalis is an identity that does not belong to anyone.

[Community Activist, 1]

The same community activist pointed out that Finland is a land of organizations and almost everyone is a member of organizations that defend and seek for his or her rights. Unfortunately Somalis in Finland don’t understand this, and that is why sometime they don’t even get their basic rights.

In Finland people have equal rights, but that does not mean rights will come to you but you have to look for your rights. The problem of Somalis is that they are not going after their rights and they don’t understand that if their rights are refused there is system they can defend
themselves. Finns don’t seek their rights individually, they are members of organizations and those organizations seek for them. For example they have labour unions and student unions. Unfortunately we Somalis don’t understand it and we don’t have this kind of organizations.

[Community Activist, 1]

He also mentioned that a relationship between Somali Masjids and government institutions should be created because the Majids are the only places that can gather thousands of Somalis.

Now the only institutions that good number of Somalis fallows is Masjids. There is no other institutions that can gather thousands of people other than Masjids. I think the best way is to create good relationship between the Masjids and government institutions and I am sure it will boost the confidence between Somalis and government institutions because Somalis do trust Masjids.

[Community Activist, 1]

8.2.4 The Benefits of Being United

If Somalis are united, specially the educated and integrated ones they can contribute many things to the community such as informing the community that Finland is our new home and no one is moving back. They can also help the community to integrate economically and educationally but most importantly they can bridge between Finns and Somalis.

According to the following politician united educated Somalis can change the mind-set of the community about where home at the moment is. Also they can give people awareness about the education system of this country and how they will benefit out of it.

I think they can change many things. They can inform Somalis to forget about moving back home because no one is moving home for good, so they have to solve their integration problems. When they solve their integration problems that is when they can help their home land. This country has the best education system in the world and Somalis are not benefiting from it. If the educated and integrated Somalis are united they can show ways that they can benefit from it. Now people are sitting in Somali cafeterias and chatting only. Also if they are united they can help the people to understand and learn the system and rule of law of this country and then find employment.

[Politician, 1]
Several interviewees argued that if educated and integrated Somalis are united they can persuade young Somalis go to universities and seek for higher education; also they can find ways to solve the problem of unemployment among many Somalis. They also deliberated about the importance of being a role model and teaching good values to new generation. Moreover they can start beneficial cultural cooperation with Finns, which does not mean giving up one’s own culture but learning with each other. As there is no immediate possibility of going back to Somalia it is important to build good prospect of life for the children in Finland.

Three things I personally think they can contribute is more people to come to universities because the more educated we are the more we can help our community towards integration. So we need to find ways when the children finish schools so that they will get higher education. About employment I heard many people don’t work. Many people told me they are discriminated when they try to find a job, as far they go is interview; so we need to get some kind of solutions for that. Third we need to have cultural cooperation with Finns, and I don’t, mean that we have to leave our culture and take Finnish culture but we have to make our way of life as part of Finnish life.

[Researcher, 2]

The most important thing they can contribute is to make Somalis to integrate, they can facilitate Somalis to get education, those who are not studying to find a job and make Somalis economically better. If this happens it is good for both Somalis and Finns.

[Community Activist, 2]

I think if they are united they will be able to help our people so our people can be respected people that live decent live in Finland.

[Youth Activist]

The following politician argues that the major things that educated and integrated Somalis can contribute, if they are united, are to help Somali children and teach good value to them. They can also be role model for them and teach them that we are not going back home but Finland is our home.

The major things we can contribute is the goodness of our children teaching them our culture and good values, to make them a person who knows what is good what is bad and also be role model for them. Because we don’t have a country that I think we will go back so we have to make sure the future of our children is built in Finland.
8.2.5 What Should Be Avoided When/If Helping

The interviewees also discussed what educated and integrated Somalis should do or should avoid when and if they are helping their community. They recommended that those who are helping the people should be humble and more helpful to the people; they should be role models of the community. They warned about the danger of tribalism and being part of the division of the community; they also warned against being judgemental about the people. They should inform the community that all Somali people are on one boat meaning that whatever is harming one group of Somalis is also harming to others.

What they should do, they have to be role models and teach others about their experience of integration, the challenges and the opportunities they faced. Also they have to show the society that we Somalis are in the same boat. What they should avoid, they have to be careful about bring here the same problem that destroyed our country (tribalism). In Finland you will never see in a school, office or work place that people have been discussed politics. I think Finns have good experience that politics is not for everywhere; there are places where politics can be discussed. There are political offices owned by political parties can discuss politics. So I would say those who want to help and unite Somalis have to separate politics and community services.

The following researcher argued that if educated and integrated Somalis are really educated they will be able to understand the negative and positive aspects of what they should do.

If they are educated and integrated I think they know what could be done about the issue of Somalis. What I mean here is if they are real educated they will be able to know what is good for the community not what the community wants. Sometime the community wants something but the educated must be able to understand the negative and positive aspects. They also must be careful dividing the community. The people must accept each other and live together, also intellectuals have to start first with good actions. For example if the people see the educated ones are working, people will also work.

According to the following researcher Somalis are not good listeners. So if educated ones want to help their people they should listen each other and others. Also she pointed out that
in order to succeed people must be patient when helping their community, because things do not immediately change.

I think what they need to do is first to listen to each other, we are not good listening we must listen and respect each other. Secondly we need to continue efforts if we want to help Somalis, they can refuse us but our effort must not be one effort. Also we must not interfere peoples life and not being very judgmental because I know we have bad habit, and sometimes instead of helping the people to integrate we tell them how to live and that is not helping, sometimes we do misunderstand our religion in the Quran many time is repeated the word merciful so instead of us being merciful to others we are became judgmental. I mean we don’t need to tell the people this is how you should live.

[Researcher, 2]

According to following community activist those who are helping the people must that understand helping the community is common interest and not individual interest. They must also be representatives of the community and have the trust of the community.

The most important thing is they should understand that helping the community is common interest, it is not individual interest. At the same time they have to convince the community their leadership and tell the community let’s decide together. The people and the leaders must decide together and the leaders must be reliable people who community can trust.

[Community Activist, 1]

The following youth activist is also reminding that those assisting must be patient and must not impose to the community something that they have borrowed from other cultures.

I think they should give more time helping their people and they must be patient because they will face many challenges. They have to avoid imposing the people something that they borrowed from other cultures. Somalis will not accept something that is not driven by their own values.

[Youth Activist]

According to the following politician those who are helping their people must be proud to be Somali and they must respect Somali culture. However, they must work across groups and avoid tribalism as well as all forms of corruption. They must patiently spent time those who need help.

First and foremost they must be Somali I mean they have to be proud to be Somali and they have to avoid tribalism. The person can be a member of his or her clan in his or her own
times but when you are working for the community you must be Somali. Giving preference to the people according to their clans is a big mistake among the Somalis. We have to accept the people according to their talent not their clans. Those who are helping must be proud to Somalis culture and if the person is not respecting the norms and the values of the Somali community he or she cannot help the community because the community will see that person as loser. The person must be happy, humble and helpful to his people. Also educated people must avoid corruption in this country if you corrupt even one euro eventually you will be caught. I think you have seen in the news a minister who was about to resign as a result of 20 euros. If they want to help their people they have to sit with them specially those who are really in need to understand their concerns because they are the ones that need real help.

[Politician, 2]

8.2.6 Discussion – The Unity of Somalis in Finland

Finland is a country of associations, and almost everyone is a member of an organization that defends and seeks for his or her rights. People join organizations for different reasons, and almost every group has its own association that protects and advocates their interests. For example employers are member of labour unions that represents and defends them. It is very hard in Finland a month to pass so that there is no news in the media about a rift or agreement between labour unions and business firms. There are also professional unions’ in Finland, for example the employers of education, health and construction each have their own labour union. Moreover, people are members of cultural, sports, and environmental associations also there are student unions and political parties. All these make Finland a country of associations and it is almost impossible for a group of people to achieve their common goals without showing unity and forming associations.

Unfortunately Somali community in Finland does not understand this. Majority of them exercised wrongly their rights of forming associations, because there are more than 100 registered Somali associations in Finland, out of which about 40-50 are functional; most of these associations have less than 100 members (Pirkkalainen, 2013, p 58). Some of the informants argued that it is very difficult for educated and integrated Somalis to unite the people because Somalis wherever they are they have problems of doing collective work together. Others went further and argued that Somali culture itself is against the unity. This is because Somali people have been without any central authority for the last 23 years and
the division between them is deep. Traditionally Somali people are nomadic people with no fixed home. They moved according to the seasons from one place to another in search for food, water and grazing land. This tradition gave them unlimited freedom because they have inhabited a land area of almost 400,000 square miles; they were able to move and do whatever they wanted and whenever they wanted. Majority of them didn’t’ have to obey any rulers except their tribal elders. The only time they needed to come together was in time of trouble or happiness, like when there is a war or there is life threatening situation and when there is ceremony like wedding or funeral. And only members of tribes were expected to come together even at that time; that is why up to this day when Somalis want to do something collective together the first thing that comes to their mind is their tribes’ men.

The informants argued that if Somalis remain in this situation of lack of unity they will not be able to solve their integration problems because in order to integrate in Finland you need collective effort. They indicated that it is the responsibility of educated and integrated Somalis to unite the community but if they fail it becomes the responsibility of Finnish government, because when the government claims to be democratic and to respect human rights it has to make sure minorities have equal access to opportunities of the country and they have to facilitate it. Moreover, there is a need for new Somali organizations that are different from the existing ones, because the existing ones failed to organise the community. Especially the community needs organizations that can help them to integrate economically and minimize the school drop outs of Somali children. Also community organizations that can bridge between Somalis and Finns that can promote cultural exchange between the two communities. If educated and integrated Somalis are united the major things that they should contribute to are to help the Somali community to integrate economically and get good education. They should also convince the community that Finland is home and they have to try hard to integrate. Finally informants warned those who are helping the community about the danger of tribalism and being part of the division of the community. They also warned not to be judgemental to the people. They recommended that they should be humble and more helpful to the people; most importantly they should be good role models for the community.
8.3 The Future and the Second Generation

In this chapter the informants are discussing the future of Somali community in general and the future of second generation Somalis in particular. Many of them argued that the future of Somali community in Finland depends on the followings: the economy situation of this country, the continuity of Somali immigrants in Finland and the political situation of Somalia. Some of them argued that the future of the second generation Somalis does not seem good, because there is crisis of identity among many of them, if they don’t get the help that they deserve from their community and host society they will be lost generation.

The following researcher discusses particularly the two aspects influencing the future of Somalis in Finland: the continuity of influx Somali refugees into Finland and the economic situation of this country.

The future depends on two things, the situation of our country Somalia and the economic situation of Finland. For example the Somalis that came to Finland early 1990s they don’t have major integration problems, even the mothers who were raising children are now working because from the year 2000 till the year 2007 there were not many Somali refugees that were coming to Finland and the reason was somehow there was some kind of peace in Somalia. But after the year 2007-8 major wars started in Somalia so as the influx of refugees into Finland. The refugees that came recently are the ones that are facing major integration challenges and sometimes if you hear a Somali person did some mistake in work place most probably he came recently. So if the refugees stop coming into Finland I think the integration problems of Somalis will diminish. On the other hand, if there is economic crisis in Finland the immigrants will face economic challenges because of the job scarcity. But if the economy of this country is good the integration will be positive.

[Researcher, 1]

There is worry among the interviewees about the future of second generation Somalis. The following politician argues that the future of second generation Somalis does not seem good and one of the major problems they face is the question of identity. They are not anymore Somali and they are not accepted yet as Finns. If host society really wants to help them they should support them with their culture and religion because without it they will be nothing. If the host society tries to assimilate them into Finnish society they will be lost generation and easily they will become second class citizens. Strong efforts must be made to guarantee their successful integration without losing their identity.
Really the future does not seem good I am very afraid of Somalis to be lost in Finland and become a people without identity and second class citizens. If the situation continues like this the future doesn’t seem good. Now we think we are doing well but the future will not be the same; we are losing our children. Somalis think the solution is to migrate into another country that is definitely not a solution and let’s look at the experience of those who went to other countries that eventually came back to Finland. We must have community centres that teach our children our culture, language and good values otherwise our second generation will be gone.

[Politician, 2]

The young people do many bad things but also many good things, there are amazing young people that established themselves in Finland and have good education that understand both Somali culture and Finnish cultures. That kind of young people is what we need. But the majority of young people are not doing well really; I have seen Somali young people denying their identity, they are saying I am not Somali. They really have identity crisis because they are not Somali but they are not Finn either. So we have to do something about it, we need to understand the causes of this problem.

[Politician, 2]

The problem our young people are facing is caused by this environment. Somali proverb says (Biyo kaa badan iyo dad kaa badan ba way ku jiitaan) “more water and more people make you sink”. Our youngsters don’t receive much help from the host society and if they really want to help us they should help us with our culture and religion because without it we will be nothing and if the host society tries to assimilate us in to Finnish society we will not because we are very different from them. We don’t have same colour, religion and language with them. If the youngest leave their culture they will not be Finnish, they will be nothing.

[Politician, 2]

According to the following community activist the future of Somalis in Finland also depends on the political stability of Somalia.

I hope in near future Somalis in Finland will change but we are not there yet, because the problem of our country still has some influence on us. It’s possible if Somalia gets peace those who are here to unite. Now anyone that tries to serve the community will face hardship, it’s very easy to create a group of people that are mobilized through tribalism against everyone who is doing good job for the community.

[Community Activist, 1]
The following researcher argues that if Somali community workers realize that the work they are doing for the community is for a common good the integration problem of Somalis can be solved. She also pointed out that if more chances are given to young people the situation will get better.

If we realize that the work we are doing for the community is for the benefit of all of us not only for a particular group, we can overcome our integration problems. Also we don’t give enough chances for young people, for example if we make organization all the positions are occupied by old people. I think if we give young people a chance I think they have more energy to sustain things.

[Researcher, 2]

8.3.1 Discussion – The Future and the Second Generation

The success and the failure of second generation immigrants is also a manifestation of integration policies. The life condition of the second generation immigrants constitutes a powerful indicator of the longitudinal impact of integration policies and programmes (Valtonen, 2008, p 139). Second generation immigrants are not only the future of their communities but also they are the future their host societies. The fact is that the Finnish society is a rapidly aging society, and as aging society, they need future work force in order to sustain their social and economic responsibilities. Therefore the success and failure of second generation Somalis in Finland might also be the success and failure of their adopted nation.

According to some informants the future of second generation Somalis in Finland does not seem good because there is crisis of identity among many of them; they do not feel Somali and have not been accepted yet as Finns. The identity crisis and low self-esteem among many second generation Somalis in Finland has narrowed their chances of entering higher education institutions because many of them barely complete comprehensive schools. According to the City Helsinki Report where majority of Somalis in Finland are located in the year 2010 only 156 Somali students were in enrolled secondary schools, in vocational schools there were 253 Somali students, in polytechnic colleges there were only 41 Somali students, and surprisingly there were zero Somali university students at that time (Open Society Foundations, 2013, p 50). This is because second generation Somalis are negotiating
between two different cultures and they are expected to win in both cultures, they are expected to be good Somalis with Muslim culture but also good Finnish citizens with successful Finnish life style. Unfortunately with all the expectations they don’t get the help they deserve either from their community or their host society.

Majority of Somali parents are less educated than their children and they cannot be role models for their children or teach how to be successful in Finland. Besides, there are no effective Somali community organizations that are fulfilling the missing role of Somali parents. Moreover, the general perception of the host society is that there will be more school drop outs and early marriages among many first and second generation Somalis but third generation will fit well to Finnish society. On the contrary, the majority of the informants argued that the second or third generation Somalis will never fit well to Finnish society but they will be lost generation, a people without identity. It can be argued that if the situation goes like this the second generation Somalis will be socially segregated and marginalized people or even worse than that. If they fail to be good Finnish citizens they may become drug addicts, criminals and most dangerously people who can easily embrace very dangerous ideas from outside world.

Informants also acknowledged that the future Somalis in Finland will depend on the following facts: If influx of Somali refugees coming into Finland will continue the integration problem of the community will also continue because the integration obstacles of new comers will also damage the reputation of the rest of the community. Also the political instability of Somalia has strong influence on the lives of many Somalis in Finland because they are not doing collective effort for their integration as long as Somalia is not a stable country. Finally, future economic crisis in Finland will badly damage the integration process of the community because as usual the immigrants are the last people to benefit from the economic progress of this country and they are the first people to leave in times of crisis.
9. CONCLUSION

The principle aim of this thesis was to identify the integration process of Somali community in Finland and the challenges and opportunities that they face in their daily lives. Also one of the means of interest was how Somalis can help each other as community towards sustainable integration in Finland? In the theoretical framework there is discussion about the migration and the settlements of Somali refugees into Finland and the theories of migration, integration and social capital. Thereafter, the educated and integrated Somalis who were considered the best people to explain the current situation of their community were asked the following two main research questions. What are your perceptions concerning sustainable integration in Finland? And what could be your role in the integration process?

The responses the informants gave were mixed and following major issues emerged from the data. First, the sustainable integration of Somalis in Finland is not working the way it should as result of the followings. Earlier the settlement and integration of Somalis in Finland started with hardship, and as a result of discrimination and negative public sentiments against them, Somalis in Finland are one of the least integrated communities among Somali expatriates around the world; also in Finland they are one of the least employed communities. One of the major issues that prevented them to integrate in Finland is the unwelcoming attitudes of many Finns against immigrants in Finland. Also the Finnish conception of integration that is the same as assimilation hundred the integration of Somalis in Finland.

Besides, the strong belief within the Somali community in Finland that in the near future they will move back to Somalia or to other countries delayed their integration. Moreover, the lack of Finnish language and educational skills among many Somalis made their economic integration difficult in Finland. Furthermore, Somalis in Finland are frustrated because they understand very little about the rule of law and the system of this country. Finally the tribal division within the community and lack of effective Somali community organizations in Finland jeopardised their integration efforts.

However, there are many issues that might help Somalis to integrate in Finland; some of them are the followings. Seeking Finnish language and educational skills is very essential for sustainable integration in Finland because Finns are high tech society and only those who equip themselves with good amount human of capital can live decent live in Finland. Still,
majority of Somalis in Finland do not possess enough skills that enable them to integrate economically in Finland. There is also an urgent need of open debate and reconciliation between native Finns and Somalis in Finland because there is big misunderstanding between the two communities; many Finns believe that Somalis in Finland are not willing to integrate and many Somalis believe that Finns are racist and they will never accept them as equal citizens in this country. But most importantly Somalis in Finland have to understand that Finland is land of associations and unless they came together and solved their integration problems as community they will remain in disadvantage situation.

The educated and integrated Somalis are the ones that successfully faced and defeated the integration challenges of this country; and because of that they are expected to ease the deteriorating situation of their community. If they are willing to help their community they have to reform, lead and be the role models for other Somalis, because they are the ones that understand the cultures of both Finns and Somalis. Educated and integrated Somalis must teach about their integration experience to the less integrated ones of the community. Moreover, they have to be the role of models for second generation Somalis because one of the main reasons that Somali youngsters are not doing well in schools and life after school is the lack of visible role models for them. Most importantly the educated and integrated Somalis must reform the failed Somali community organizations or form news ones because in Finland it is hard to do collective work without having an association or associations.

Finally, the future of Somalis in Finland doesn’t seem good because the community almost failed to integrate as community into Finnish society. But there are individuals who are doing well. In general the community seems to be frustrated and conscious about their unstable future. There are many external factors that are directly or indirectly affecting the lives of many Somalis in Finland. For instance, the political instability of Somalia is one main reason why Somali community in Finland are not working together as community for their integration. Also as long as Somali refugees are coming to Finland the bad image of the community will remain because the community shares everything with the new Somali refugees that are coming into Finland. In addition, future economic recession in Finland will badly damage the economic integration of Somalis because immigrants are the last people to benefit from the economic progress of this country and they will be the first people to leave in times of crisis.
10. RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 For Somalis

First, Somalis in Finland must be told very clearly that Finland is their home and they are not moving back to Somalia or to other third world countries, because the community have already the adopted the life standard of Finland. Second, when Somalis in Finland realize that they are already at home they must be encouraged to learn and understand the rule and law and the system of this country because without it they will not be able to have good future in Finland.

Third, Somalis in Finland must be helped to realize that in Finland integration begins from education and unless they seek language and professional skills they will not be able to live decent life in this country. Fourth, the unemployed Somalis must be encouraged to contribute to the society by working and paying tax because that is what is expected from all working age citizens of this country.

Fifth, Somalis in Finland must be helped to engage and socialize with their hosting society without leaving and changing their identity. Because in Finland socializing is more than having a fun it is creating social links with different people and many times it has economic returns. Sixth, the educated and the integrated Somalis must understand that they are the ones that are expected to help and ease the deteriorating situation of their community; they must reform, teach and lead their community. Seventh, the educated and integrated Somalis must teach about their integration experiences to the community especially to less integrated ones.

Eighth, the educated and integrated Somalis must be the bridge between Finns and Somalis in Finland because they are members of both communities and they do understand both cultures. Ninth, the educated and integrated Somalis must be role models for their community especially for Somali youngsters because one of the main reasons why they are not doing well in schools and life after school is the lack of visible role models for them. Tenth, the educated and integrated Somalis must understand that Finland is the land of associations and unless they come together and work together with their community they will not be able to do meaningful work for them.
10.2 For Finnish Authorities

First, Finnish authorities must understand that equality is not justice and if they claim that they are democratic government that respects human rights they have to make sure that all minorities in Finland do benefit from the resources of this country, and if they don’t, they have to facilitate. Also it is not an acceptable anymore that they offer all immigrant groups in Finland the same opportunities in order to integrate, because all immigrants are not the same and clearly Somalis are not benefiting the way they should from those opportunities.

Second, in the name of equality the authorities in Finland were for many years’ starting the integration of Somalis almost halfway, because they assume that all the people that are coming to Finland as refugees or immigrants are here to integrate and their job is only to help them to integrate. But that is not the case for Somalis, they needed first to be told why they should integrate then, they should be helped to integrate.

Third, if authorities in Finland want to solve the integration problems of Somalis in Finland they have to understand that they cannot do it all alone. They need partners from the community, especially from educated and integrated Somalis. Fourth, Finnish authorities must find ways to arrange Somalis as community or communities in order to find from them the right partners to work with for their integration. Because Somalis in Finland failed to arrange themselves as community.

Fifth, if authorities in Finland think that after some time Somalis will automatically integrate and in the near future the second and third generation Somalis will fit well into Finnish society they are wrong. If no efforts are made, the second and third generation Somalis will never fit well to Finnish society. On the contrary, they will be the second class citizens of this country. If they fail to be good citizens of this country they maybe become drug addicts, criminals and most dangerously a people who can easily embrace very dangerous ideas from outside world.

Finally, Finnish authorities must understand that Somalis in Finland are not anymore small immigrant group that came to this country and will go back some time soon. Somalis are here to stay and their number is growing rapidly. Therefore, before it is too late their integration problems must be dealt with; otherwise it is a matter of time when the same riots and the street violence that happened in Stockholm May 2013 will take place in Helsinki.
10.3 Further Studies

This study raises several issues about Somalis in Finland; but it also acknowledges that for the last two decades the integration challenges and problems of Somalis in Finland have been studied extensively. Very little attention has been given to finding the solutions for those problems. I think it is time to study how to solve the deteriorating situation of Somali community in Finland. I believe studying the following themes will contribute to the solutions.

- The home perception of Somalis in Finland and where they really think they do belong, is it Finland or somewhere else, and if it is somewhere else is that perception really a realistic one. Also how to persuade them that they are already at home is very important.
- The social contacts and the trust between Somali community and Finnish society. And how to create a dialogue that tells the truth about the two communities.
- How do the native Finns understand integration and how the Finnish authorities want immigrants in general and particularly Somalis to integrate in Finland?
- The future of second generation Somalis and the challenges and opportunities they face in Finland.
- What do Somalis really want to achieve as community in Finland and what/how they can contribute to the main stream society?

Finally, the whole picture of Somalis in Finland is not negative; there are also positive stories. For instance, studying the success stories of young Somalis that established themselves in Finland will be fascinating.
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APPENDIX 1

Research questions and interview themes

Background Questions

1. When did you come to Finland?
2. What brings you to Finland?
3. Why Finland?
4. On what bases did you come to Finland?

Educational and professional background

1. What is your educational background?
2. What is your occupation?
3. Are you working at the moment?
4. Where and how long have you been working?

Conceptions about integration

1. How do you understand integration?
2. Do you think you are integrated in Finland?
3. How long had you been in Finland before you felt you are integrated?
4. What are the major things that contributed to your integration?
5. In your opinion, how do the Finns understand integration?
6. Do you think Somalis in Finland are integrated?
7. Those who are not integrated why are they not integrated and what are the major issues preventing them from integrating?
8. What issues would help them to integrate?
9. Why do you think Somalis are integrated in some countries and not others?
10. How far do Somalis have good knowledge about the system of this country?
11. In your opinion, who will be the best to teach the system of this country to those who are not integrated?
Conceptions about integration policies in Finland

1. What do you think about the way immigrant policies are implemented for Somali community?
2. In your opinion do immigrant authorities generalize integration policies instead of considering the customs and cultures of each community?
3. How does it help the policy makers to consider Somali culture before any integration policy is made for them?
4. How do you think it will help if integrated immigrants are invited to the process of policy making on immigrants issues?
5. Should integration policies be changed or improved?

Conceptions about the possible role of integrated Somalis in the process

1. What is the role of educated and integrated Somalis towards sustainable integration for the community?
2. In your opinion, should the integrated Somalis teach about their experiences of integration to those who have not integrated? If yes, how?
3. Do you think educated and integrated Somalis can unite in order to help their people towards sustainable integration?
4. Whose responsibility is uniting Somalis? Is it the responsibility of Educated and integrated Somalis or the government of Finland?
5. In your opinion do educated and integrated Somalis need organized organizations to be united and the help their people?
6. If there are united what are the major contributions/changes educated and integrated Somalis can make?
7. Do you think the community will listen and accept their leadership?
8. Do you think immigrant authorities will listen and welcome their ideas?
9. What do you think educated and integrated Somalis should do/should avoid doing when/if supporting their people to integrate?
10. Finally, do you have any other comments, opinions or suggestions about integration of Somalis in Finland?