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PORTRAYING INDONESIAN WOMEN'S POST-MIGRATION LIFE IN
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Abstract			
<p>This research is a modest attempt to provide the other side of story if Indonesian women post-migration live in Finland who is married to Caucasian men (Finnish). The preliminary idea that is use as the background in writing this research is started with the number of stereotypes towards Asian women and Caucasian men. In Indonesia, the type of woman who is approaching a Caucasian man, hoping to be married and migrate to the husband's home country to have a better life known as a <i>bule</i> hunter.</p> <p>The key concepts of my literary review consist of social mobility, marriage migration, and post-migration experiences. The movement of transnational communities blurring the boundaries and has increased the number of transnational couples and marriages, which also affecting the opportunity of social mobility transfer into international level. Over time, the number of women getting married to foreign men has been increasing, from poor countries to more developed nations. In reality, immigration is a complex life journey which begins by experiencing loneliness, severe isolation, challenges, insecurity and disappointments. Downward mobility and career dislocation often accompanied changes in post-migration individual status. In the theoretical approach I am elaborating about my journey in finding the appropriate approach, starting from the possible approaches journey, introducing in brief of Bennet's DMIS and social integration. It then ends by selected approach for my research, which is postcolonial feminism approach. Bennett's ethno-relativism focuses more on the psychological scope and limits the development stages of ethnocentric only until integration process. While postcolonial feminism gives me more variety and flexibility in analyzing the data after my research subjects pass through the integration time, due to the fact that every person has its own context. The methodologies of this research is consist of qualitative, the narrative research and auto-ethnography. Qualitative methodology research is able to provide understanding of highlighting and investigating the social processes of migration decision making. In social research, the life story experiences have known as narrative research and a part of qualitative approach that could explain and help to understand social change in society. In auto-ethnography methodology, researcher can use her own personal experiences and studied along with other research subjects and look more deeply in self-other interaction.</p> <p>I conducted the interview by using open ended-interview. The data collection process began by searching research subjects, Indonesian women who got married with a Finnish man and who have been living in Finland for minimum period of three years. The length of period is enough time to adapt into Finnish culture and society.</p> <p>The main research question is "How do Indonesian women portray their post-migration life in Finland?" Following sub-research questions: (1) What kind of challenges do Indonesian women tells during a post-migration period of minimum of three years of living in Finland? (2) What kind of positive experiences do Indonesian women tell during this post-migration period? (3) How do Indonesian women account their personal changes during the period? (4) How do Indonesian women portray their future?</p> <p>The differences in climate and weather condition are usually the first thing migrants notice once they step to Finland. It then follows by the language, cultures and social challenges. Despite the challenges that have been face by the Indonesian women, there are many positive experiences as well. After the post-migration period, the Indonesian women are able to speak Finnish language and use that skill to socialize not only with Finnish people but also with fellow immigrants. The role of work office plays a big part in helping my research subjects settling in Finland. They are also able to get a job based on their interest and professional background. After living couple of years, some Finnish cultures affecting them personally in a more positive way. For example, they are becoming more independent and have higher self-esteem. All of my research subjects are most likely plan to continue their social mobility elsewhere, and plan to go back to Indonesia during their retirement period. Although all of my research subjects have to experience downward mobility, none of them complains about their current work life and career choice. To start a new life in a new country is always challenging for every immigrants. However, to face and how to handle the challenges are much more important to survive living in a new country. Be positive, embrace the difference and be active in socializing with local people and other fellow immigrants. The target audiences for this research are those who are interested in finding out about Asian women's (particularly Indonesian women) post-migration experience, how they manage to adapt and integrate in a new culture and society.</p>			
Keywords	Indonesia, Post-migration, Marriage Migration, Auto-ethnography, Stereotype, Social Mobility, Post-colonial Feminism, Immigrant, Qualitative Research, Narrative Research		

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research is a modest attempt to provide the inside story of Indonesian women's post-migration lived experiences in Finland (these women are married to Caucasian men (Finnish)). In Indonesia, there has been public secret stereotyping of Asian women who got married to Caucasian men that they will get better life and do not need to work hard.

In this chapter, I am going to use popularised research and personal experience account. Popularised research materials such as books and blogs are not scientific sources, but they can be used to illustrate certain phenomenon in order to get an idea of my research background and position. I am making this study about the Indonesian women's lived experiences in Finland not only because currently I am studying and living in Finland, but also due to many living experience stories I have heard from many Indonesian women who have been living here for many years. These women narrate how they struggle to adapt and integrate into Finnish society. Moreover, compared to the total number of Indonesian men who got married with Finnish women, the number of Indonesian women who got married with Finnish men is bigger. Based on the latest data I received via email from the Indonesian embassy on January 28, 2015, there are 176 women who are married to Finnish men, and 50 men who are married to Finnish women, it can be seen as follows:

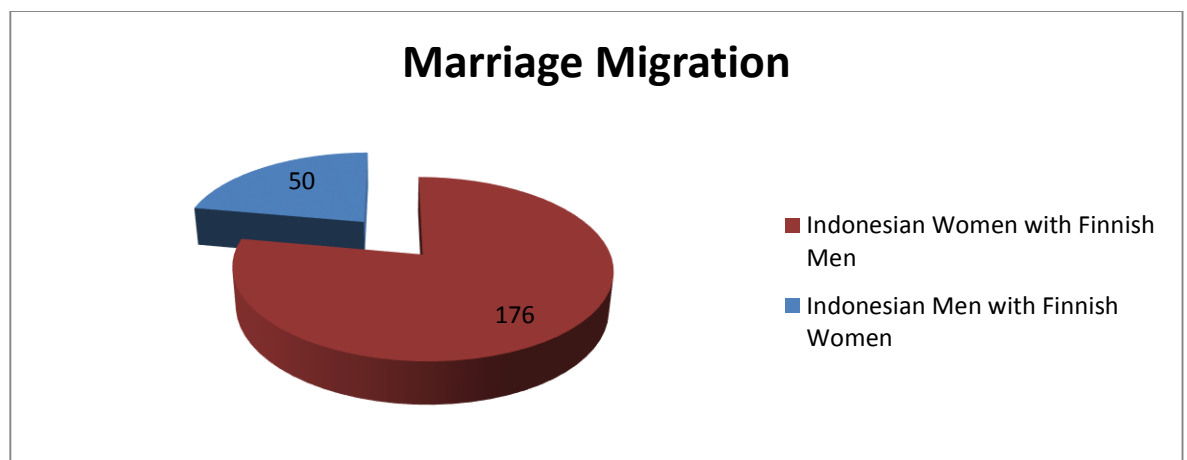


Figure 1: Marriage Migration Indonesian Citizens Based on Gender

I, as an Indonesian woman who is married to a Finnish man, I am intrigued further to study this phenomenon. At a personal level, this phenomenon is not only a ground for my own personal learning on how to adapt to a new culture, but it is also enables me to understand further on how to embrace new customs, tradition and culture. I am aware that my background and experiences so far could affect the interpretation of the data as I am also seeing myself in the research subjects' position. Therefore, in this research I am going to use auto-ethnography as one of my methodologies. The target audiences for this research are those who are interested in finding out about Asian women's (particularly Indonesian women's) post-migration experiences, how they manage to adapt and integrate in a new culture.

In Indonesia, the type of woman who is approaching a Caucasian man, hoping to be married and migrate to the husband's home country to have a better life is known as a *bule* hunter. According to Indonesian dictionary (n.d.), *bule* means a Caucasian (particularly European and American), or a westerner. As the flow of movement across borders is increasing, the number of Asian women marrying and migrating to developed countries is also growing. The dominant view from many scholars and social commentators is that women from developing countries seek partners from developed countries who can provide economic security and enter the cross-border marriages in order to extricate themselves (and their families) from poverty in their home country (Lu, 2007 and Kim, 2010, p. 721). Oktofani (2014) categorises three types of Indonesian women who are marrying Caucasian men, which are namely (a gold digger, a sex addict and it is all about love' woman). One of her interviewees said in her book that she is tired to live in a poor economical situation and she wants to get married with Caucasian man in order to upgrade her life situation. She states that many Indonesian women rarely admit as much because they often take their relationship with Caucasian man for granted (p.69).

Further claims about such phenomenon is presented by Daniel Ziv in Prasso's (2005) book, who stated,

“In Indonesia, there is a sense that any white guy is better than an Indonesian. In Indonesian culture, as in most of Asia, dark skin is

associated with peasantry and poverty. The rich elite are white from staying indoors; the poor are dark from working outside the fields. Therefore, dark is ugly, and white guys are the most handsome of all” (p.325-326).

Similar with Zev, based on Drieboneeta’s (2014) observation, in her blog, she writes that, physically, Caucasian men are more intriguing and how Indonesian people are easily admiring Caucasian men. It focuses on how many Caucasian men who are working in Indonesia not only receive bigger salary than Indonesian worker does but they also receive special treatment. It triggers the assumptions that all Caucasian men are rich, and as such, marrying them seems to elevate the woman’s live into a better life.

This particular idea seems to be shared by many Indonesian people as Fahlevi (2009) and Drieboneeta (2014) state that many Indonesian people tend to believe that Indonesian women who are married to Caucasian men are indeed a gold digger. Although such idea might be true to certain degree, I reject the generalization of the idea that all *bule* hunters are similar. Thus, it is a point that I am going to emphasize in this thesis. I believe that there are many Indonesian women who are married to Caucasian men based on mutual love and as such, they are more than just a gold digger per se and that there are so many layers of reasons on why they are getting married to a Caucasian.

It is challenging me to find credible resources for my thesis in relation to those stereotyping, particularly from Indonesian women’s perspective. As an Indonesian woman who is married to a Caucasian, I found that there is not enough information that could provide me with the reality life of becoming the wife of a Caucasian man. Reality bites. To name a few, not only the women have to learn their husband’s mother tongue language, but they also have to adapt to the weather, the society, the customs and the culture. It triggers all complicated consequences that I will discuss further in the last sub-chapter of this chapter (researcher’s position).

Despite the challenges to find scientific resources, I see the opportunity in writing this research topic. Due to many similarities between Indonesian values and

cultures with other Asian countries, I then looked for academic research and articles from the Asian context for the next chapters.

In this study, I am going to elaborate the background of my research context, which consists of social mobility, marriage migration, and post-migration experiences. I will proceed to the theoretical approach where I am going to elaborate about the possible approaches of introduction in brief, which consists of Bennett's DMIS and social integration. It will be followed by selected approach for my research, which is postcolonial feminism approach. Then, I will elaborate further about the qualitative, the narrative research and auto-ethnography as the methodology of this research, brief introduction to the collection of data and the data analysis. The data collection was taken by using open-ended and in-depth personal interview. deMarrais (2004) opines that "An interview is a process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study" (p.54). My research subjects are limited to Indonesian women who are married to Finnish men, and have been living in Finland for minimum of 3 years. After that, I am going to discuss and elaborate on the findings of the data and relate them to the theoretical approach and research methodology. In the end, I am going to conclude the research and provide the issues related to reliability, validity and ethical concerns.

1.1. Research questions and aims

The aim of this research is to provide an insight into the stories of Indonesian women's post-migration living experiences in Finland when they got married to Caucasian men. It also includes of their relationships with affinal families, social integration process, and adaptation with local community. This study is not only a useful exploration for me, but I also hope that it could be a valuable experience to share both for the academic readers and for the public ones. Although many academics have been researching marriage migration from South East Asia (Philippines and Singapore), and East Asia (South Korea and Taiwan) as the sender countries of the bride (Dale 2008; Kim 2010; Kim 2013), I have not found any academic research from Indonesian context in particular. As such, I am

hoping that this academic research analysis and writing could be my contribution to fulfil such gap of understanding from the Indonesian perspective. At a smaller scale, I hope that it could be beneficial not only to Indonesian society but also hopefully for Indonesian academics. At a larger scale, as the context of this study in Indonesia, one of the countries in South East Asia, I hope that it will contribute to the discussion, both general and academics, about marriage migration at this region.

The main research question is:

How do Indonesian women portray their post-migration life in Finland?

The main research question consists of sub-research questions as follows:

1. What kind of challenges do Indonesian women tell during a post-migration period of minimum of three years of living in Finland?
2. What kind of positive experiences do Indonesian women tell during this post-migration period?
3. How do Indonesian women account their personal changes during the period?
4. How do Indonesian women portray their future?

1.2. Researcher's position

Before I continue further about my research, I want to elaborate about my position and beliefs in this research, in order to make it easier for the readers to understand the analysis and interpretations of my research data. As I mentioned earlier, I already had a strong will to get married to a Caucasian man when I was so young. As I grow up, meet and have many friends, family and relatives who got married to Caucasian men, my perspective towards Caucasian men changed. I did not want to marry Caucasian men as I had seen many of them have particular physical type towards Indonesian women. They mostly like Indonesian women who have darker skin than mine, who are small and slimmer. I was so sure, none of Caucasian men would like me because of my physical figure that is not like other Indonesian women. Not until I met a Finnish man through the social media,

Facebook. We had known each other for 2,5 years and communicate only via Skype. Then, I applied for a master degree programme at University of Oulu and accepted in 2011. It was the first time we finally met each other in person and continue our relation from then on. I have never imagined that I would get married to a Finnish man before then. In 2012, we eventually got married in Finland. During my stay in Finland, I have met many Indonesian women who got married to Finnish men. Every time we meet, they like to share their living experiences with me. It then broaden my perspective and gave me an idea how stereotyping from fellow Asian women towards other Asian women who are married to Caucasian men and their lives in reality is not as easy and beautiful as people tend to think.

I was one of those Indonesian women who generalised and have the stereotype that all Indonesians women who are married to Caucasian men usually have better life, socially and financially. I also thought all those women only married the Caucasian men for financial reason, not based on love and care, although some of my relatives and friends who got married to Caucasian men are far from what I have thought earlier about them. Ever since I moved to Finland, I meet and spend some times with many Indonesian women who are married to Finnish men, and I humbly admit that I was wrong. Most Indonesian women I meet do love and care about their husbands, and the reason behind that is not because of financial reason. Most of them shared that they were a professional prior to getting married to their husbands. In addition, they shared about their difficulties to adapt to Finnish language, culture, society, customs and weather. Their lives are not like a fairy tale, they had to adapt to new environment, resigned from their steady job and be far away from their family and friends in Indonesia. It was not easy in the beginning, but eventually they all survived. It inspired me to write about this topic for my thesis. As the scope of my research is limited to Indonesian women who are married to Finnish men, the result of this research may not be able to provide all answers and cannot be generalised that all experiences are the same. However, I hope that at least, albeit really limited in scope, it could provide another perspective about the stereotype and the real life of marrying Caucasian men and live in their husband's country.

1.2.1. The background stereotype

My mother once told me that I have wanted to marry a western man ever since I was 2 years old. It raised concern from my mother's aunt, as I was so sure I only wanted to marry a Caucasian man at that young age. She was wondering what my mother did to make me have very strong will. She then asked why I wanted to marry only to a Caucasian man. I replied, "Because Indonesian men are all ugly, and Caucasian men are all handsome." I was not aware of how crazy that sounds, and I was not aware until my mother told me about it when I was around 14 years old. I was not so sure of how I was so certain of what I wanted until I found and read a book called *The Asian Mystique* by Sheridan Prasso. I am assuming I was exposed too much of watching the television series when I was so young, where most of it were produced by the Hollywood industry. I will be discussing further in this sub-chapter about these, which most media called "Yellow fever" phenomenon or the "Asian fetish" syndrome.

As I mentioned earlier, this research idea started with the some stereotypes towards Asian women and Caucasian men. However, Adichie (2009) warns that:

The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. It is impossible to engage properly with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories of that place and that person. The consequence of the single story is it robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar. (p.3)

On the other hand, Chandra (2013) says that, "Stereotypes are projections made in an attempt to organize the mind, exert power, and cope with and control a world that feels threatening or is not fully understood". Furthermore, Ramasubramanian (2011) opines, "Stereotypes are widely-accepted, culturally shared beliefs describing personal traits and characteristics of group of individuals. Media discourses help to define, share, and maintain racial stereotypes across societies over time, especially when inter-racial contact is limited". Both opinions mentioned the limitation of contact between a place and a person, and how media creates a story which shaped the frame of mind about a particular ethnicity across societies,

not only in Indonesia, but also in other part of the world. In this case, stereotypes are usually framed due to an image which is lack of understanding and not fully engaged to the stereotype subject.

According to Prasso (2005), "It needs to look back at the history of East-West relation where the thousands of years of trade and hundreds of years of colonial and military conquest, the experience of Asian immigrants in the West, and the pervasive and perpetuating images of literature and Hollywood" (p.xii). Said (1978) opines that "Colonialism and imperialism were the fundamental historical factors that formed Orientalism (the constellation of false assumptions based on the colonial mentality of the West) as an ideology to define the West as a superior civilization and power and East as an inferior" (as cited in Kim, 2011, p.239). In this research, I am not going to elaborate further with regards to colonialism and imperialism. However, I mentioned it briefly because it relates to how the stereotypes towards Asian women are mostly affected by the historical background of Asian countries during years of colonial, and continued portrayed by particularly Western media (Hollywood) in all of their movie productions until present days.

The power of media in shaping stereotypes towards particular race, religion or country has been strongly affecting the society. According to Adichie (2009):

Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but also to make it the definitive story of that person. It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power. How they are, who tells them, when they are told, how many stories are told, are very much dependent on power.

In addition, van Dijk (1995) opines, "Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the mind of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions" (p.10). "Hollywood as one of the biggest entertainment industry that has been rapidly evolved, and for many decades has played a huge role in defining and shaping the images of Asian women in all over the world. Not only does it portrayed Asian women as mystical sexual fascination" (Prasso, 2005, p.10), "Submissive in the bed" (Kim, 2011), but also "As less aggressive, more docile, self-sacrificing-more obedient in other words" (Chandra, 2013). Those portrayals are mostly from

Caucasian men perspective and one of many reasons why they are attracted to Asian women. On the other hand, the main reasons why many Asian women who want to get married to Caucasian men, other than to love and be loved, are not only to seek for material comfort, but also to have “A life changing opportunity” (Dang, 2012).

In relation to my own experience, the discussion on exposure to media has affected me strongly, particularly when I was younger. The media discussion in this case is not only visual media such as television and movies, but also audiovisual media such as radio, cassettes and CD. Particularly, with the advancement of technology, lately where we are able to obtain information easily and quickly. Any news is able to spread to the whole world within seconds and we are able to develop quick opinions regarding related matters. For example, following 9/11 attacks, according to Anderson (2002), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported 1700 percent crimes against Muslim Americans between 2000 to 2001 (as cited in Khan and Ecklund, 2012). The media coverage had increased the stereotypes of Muslim. As opined by Rose (2013), a man who is wearing turban, dark skin and has a beard, sharply hooked noses, evil moustached leers, and a Muslim woman who is wearing hijab, made them a target of Islamophobia. It can be seen clearly how powerful media discussion is contributing in creating stereotype towards a person or a group. The similarity between 9/11 attacks and my research is about how powerful media discussion are creating and perpetuating stereotype towards Asian women, Caucasian men, and Asian women who are having relationship with Caucasian men. Media is not only offering news and entertaining people, but also transfers the stereotypes, beliefs and values of the society to reproduce the existing order of social life (Gataullina, 2003).

2. BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I am going to discuss about the key concepts of my literary review. Firstly, I intend to discuss social mobility as the umbrella concept of my research. Secondly, I will further discuss about marriage migration. Lastly, the concept that I will discuss in this chapter is post-migration experiences.

2.1. Social mobility

The globalization and rapid development of technology has given impact on interaction between transnational communities, which blur the boundaries between variety of cultures and facilitating people's movement across continents and borders largely. The movement has increased the number of transnational couples and marriages, which is also affecting the opportunity of social mobility transfer into international level.

Over the past several decades, according to Xie and Killewald (2010), numerous historical studies on social mobility are landmark studies of Blau and Duncan (1967), and Featherman and Hauser (1978). Both of them did research about social mobility particularly in United States of America (USA). On the other hand, Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) studied such phenomenon particularly in Europe. Intergenerational occupational mobility intrigued many social scientists and sociologists in particular (as cited in Xie and Killewald, 2010). Furthermore, Xie and Killewald (2010) posit, "The interest is so common in sociology that inter-generational occupational mobility is referred to there simply as 'social mobility'" (p.3).

In order to elaborate, the concept of social mobility will require a comparative dimension. Sharlin (1979) posits, "In asking whether a society is open or closed, or whether the difference in mobility between two groups is large or small, we pose questions involving comparisons over time and space" (p.338). Furthermore, Giddens and Sutton (2009) posit, "Social mobility is the movement of individuals

and groups between socio-economic positions” (p.463). In addition, Barber mentioned,

“We have been using the term social mobility to mean movement, either upward or downward, between higher or lower social classes; or more precisely, movement between one relatively full-time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower” (as cited in Westoff, et.al., 1960, p.376).

There are five types of social mobility, which consists of horizontal mobility, vertical mobility, upward mobility, downward mobility and inter-generational mobility. According to Sorokin,

“Horizontal social mobility means the transition of an individual, from one social group to another situated on the same level. Vertical social mobility means the relations involved in a transition of an individual, from one social stratum to another”(as cited in Westoff, et.al. 1960, p.377).

Giddens and Sutton (2009) divided vertical social mobility into two types, which consists of upward or downward social mobility. Upward social mobility is if an individual achieves a better position in social pyramid, which also known as social climbing. In addition, according to Blau and Duncan (1967), the upward mobility was more common during their research in the 1960s, because there was shift, which created openings for sons of blue-collar workers to move into white-collar position. Moreover, they emphasized on the importance of education and training in order to gain success for individual’s career. In addition, upward social mobility is generally characteristic of industrial societies as a whole and contributes to social stability and integration (as cited in Giddens and Sutton, 2009, p.464).

On the other hand, downward social mobility is if an individual moves down the social ladder, thus lowering his status which also known as social sinking. In comparison to upward mobility, downward mobility is less common but it is still a widespread phenomenon. According to Giddens and Sutton (2009), “Downward intra-generational mobility is quite often associated with psychological problems and anxieties, where individuals become unable to sustain the lifestyles to which they have become accustomed” (p.466).

Furthermore, according to Giddens and Sutton (2009), there are two ways of studying social mobility, which is intra-generational mobility and inter-generational mobility. Intra-generational mobility is the social movement of individual's own careers in their working lives. Inter-generational social mobility means the mobility across generations which focusing on the extent to which children end up in the same social stratum as their parents or grandparents (Giddens and Sutton, 2009, p.463). Traditionally, sociologists used occupational class schemes in order to map the society's class structure. As Giddens and Sutton (2009) posit, "Class schemes are valuable for tracing broad class-based inequalities and patterns, but are limited in other ways" (p.470-471).

In the beginning, during the study of social mobility by Blau and Duncan (1967) in USA, all of their subjects of the investigation were men. Therefore, there was lack of gender balance in the early study of social mobility. However, in recent years there has been more attention to increasing patterns of mobility among women. In particular, the mobility in academic achievement that is affecting them heightened self-confidence and self-esteem. This leads the women into better chance of entering a good career. Giddens and Sutton (2009) posit, "As more women have entered paid employment the glass ceiling has been cracked and women have moved into high status positions, though not in equal numbers of men" (p.471). In addition, Radcliffe's (1991) study of Peruvian peasants found that the women's mobility was unduly shaped by broad political-economic forces, socio-cultural relations in the community, and the intra-household gendered relations and struggles (as cited in Fan and Huang, 1998, p.228).

I use social mobility as one of my key concepts because it helps me to understand in general the reason why people need or want to move into higher social classes in the society. In relation to my research topic, Dribe, Van Bavel and Campbell (2012) posit, "Marriage may have long-term implications for individual social mobility (p.181). In addition, by using social mobility as my umbrella concept, it helps to understand how women's marriage migration impose constraints on but open up opportunities for women's mobility. Fan & Huang (1998) posit, "Marriage is a strategy by which peasant women in disadvantaged positions move to more desirable locations where they may achieve social and economic mobility" (p.228).

In many societies, particularly Asian society, women have been seen as a subject of gendered expectations and responsibilities. With respect to marriage, most societies expect women to live with their husband and follow him when he migrates in order to support his career development. I will discuss further about the marriage migration in the next sub chapter.

2.2. Marriage migration

Migration theory has often failed to address migration experiences adequately due to traditionally it has emphasizes the causes of international migration over questions of who migrates. According to Boyd and Grieco (2003), research in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in the neoclassical economic and the push-pull demographic models began to include women and seen as the outcome of individual decisions. However, gendered responsibilities (women as wives and mothers) were less likely than men to participate in migration decision were. The role of men as breadwinners also sees men as decision maker for family. "Studies based on developing countries often consider women as passive, tied movers within marriage, viewing migration as a result of, but not the motive for, marriage" (Fan and Huang, 2009, p.229). In addition, Ackers (1998) posit that migration is predominantly male, and that economic motives primarily induce migration (as cited in Paskalia, 2007, p.118).

Tseng (2010) posits, "Marriage migration is understood mainly within the approach of family-oriented streams, although it has long been marginalized theoretically and empirically" (p.31). It differs from labour migration, which has been reported thoroughly with statistics in many academic journals; articles or Non-Government Organisation (NGO) report, there is lack of information in relation to marriage migration. In the beginning, I could not find many articles specifically mentioning about marriage migration. Finally, I come across an article elaborating about transnational marriage, cross-border marriage, cross-cultural marriage, international marriage and intercultural marriage. Those terms have been used interchangeably but often it has not been defined clearly. Basically, the terms can be used to refer to cross-cultural/ ethnic or same-cultural marriage. Lu (2007)

differentiates cross-border and transnational marriage as follows, “The term cross-border marriage emphasises geographical, national, racial, class and gender, cultural borders constructed in the hosting societies” (p.3). The main concern of the scholars who are using that term is the impact of marriage migrants and their integration and acculturation. Particularly for studying on how to empower migrant wives in exploitative situations, such as co-modified marriage brokerage and domestic violence. On the other hand, “The transnational marriage emphasises a transnational network and space created by the actors themselves and how these transactions (economic resource, symbols, political and cultural practices) influence local development, social practices and cultural norms in both sending and receiving societies” (Lu, 2007, p.3). The term emphasises on actors’ choices and the transnational actors and state mediate opportunities.

The decision-making between two individuals from different nationality to migrate to partner’s home country is a complex process. Migration decisions are made in conjunction with decision about other life course events, such as family transitions and residential changes (Jang, Casterline and Snyder, 2014, p.1340-1341). Transnational marriage is not only a commitment between two people based on love, but also compromising and blending cultural differences. Furthermore, it is also a matter of overcoming communication/ language barrier and facing the challenges of bicultural child rearing.

There are many reasons why marriage migration happens. One of the reasons is because being married to a Caucasian man is “A way out of poverty for many women in poor countries” (Hsia, 2010, p.2). Although this reason does not only applied for Asian woman, but, “It also applies for Russian women who want to live a better life”(Heikkilä, 2004, p.200). Along with the advancement of technology and communication, it is almost impossible to separate internet from daily life, particularly for people who have access to those things, it also increases the possibility of chatting and then arrange meeting with foreigners who have common interests, either the same hobbies, the same way of thinking, etc. Mediated marriage of couples are introduce either by marriage brokers or via social networks with a prior intention of marriage, is one of cross-border marriage characteristics (Lu and Yang, 2010, p.15). Marriage brokers usually provide

services to match women and men who have the same interest. Some Asian women are using social network as a way to meet their prince charming from outside their home country, such as Facebook and twitter. In addition, many Asian women meet the love of their life during social events, or while those women are studying or working in country of origin of Caucasian men. Three out of five Indonesian women, whom I interviewed for the purpose of this research, met their husband when the husbands worked and in short business trip in Indonesia. Her cousin's husband and her sister's husband introduced the other Indonesian woman.

Leinonen (2011) posits, "Marriage migration typically associated with foreign women" (p.6). Based on the Finnish statistical data, the number of Finnish men married with foreign women since 1990 until 2009 had been increasing, as illustrated below:

Table 1: Families of Foreign Citizens

Families of foreign citizens in 1990–2009

Man/woman Finnish/foreign	Year							
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Finnish man and foreign woman	3 938	7 156	10 914	15 038	16 048	17 236	18 181	19 259
Foreign man and Finnish woman	6 020	8 524	10 042	13 605	14 853	15 924	17 004	17 934
Foreign man and foreign woman	1 881	7 480	10 647	12 717	13 007	14 114	15 274	16 769
Foreign mother	553	2 374	3 815	4 768	5 033	5 220	5 339	5 947
Foreign father	101	300	371	474	498	542	564	628
Total	12 493	25 834	35 789	46 602	49 439	53 036	56 362	60 537

Source:

http://www.stat.fi/til/perh/2009/02/perh_2009_02_2010-11-30_kat_002_en.html

Furthermore, from the top 10 women based on country of birth who got married to Finnish-born men, there are only three Asian countries, which consist of Thailand, China, and Philippines, as it shown below:



Figure 2: Foreign-born Spouses of Finnish-born Men by Country of Birth in 2009

Source: http://www.stat.fi/til/perh/2009/02/perh_2009_02_2010-11-30_kat_002_en.html

Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Vesala stated that, “The most common reasons for migrating to Finland are marriage and family purposes, return migration and asylum seeking” (as cited in Sagne, Saksela and Wilhelmsson, 2007, p.103).

Below is the latest data of Indonesian people residing in Finland based on their resident permit status. There are 226 Indonesian people have migrated to Finland due to marriage reason.

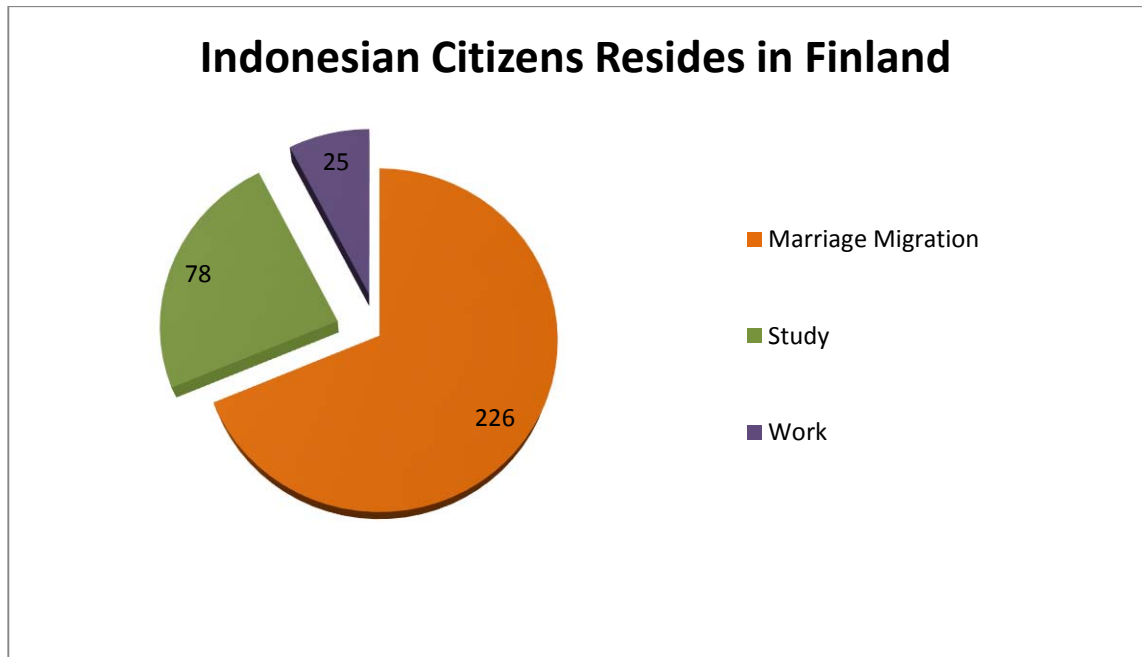


Figure 3: Indonesian Citizens Resides in Finland

Source: as per email from Indonesian embassy in Helsinki on January 28, 2015

From the data above, 69% of the Indonesian citizens who are residing in Finland are for marriage reason. Seventy-eight percent of them are Indonesian women who are marrying Finnish men. I have divided the resident permit status and the gender status in order to emphasize the major reason why Indonesian people residing in Finland and the number of Indonesian women who are marrying Finnish men.

In this contemporary modern world, people have increasingly migrated out and interacted with each other. The concept of marriage today also shares characteristics of global/local assemblage where they interacted in different cultural spaces outside of their local world. Over time, the number of women getting married to foreign men has been increasing, from poor countries to more developed nations (Nguyen and Tran, 2010). In addition, according to Tseng (2010), "Many women involved in international marriages are motivated to pursue better economic opportunities and 'good' marriages (cultural understandings of wifhood and modernity, via media and other forms of cultural globalisation) at the same time" (p.34).

2.3. Post-migration experiences

Migrating into new country always bring hopes and dreams for better life. At the same time, it also brings excitement and stressors of adapting in new place and society. In reality, immigration is a complex life journey, which begins by experiencing loneliness, severe isolation, challenges, insecurity and disappointments. Many literatures ignore the pre-migration lives of immigrants. It is as if an immigrant arrives to the host country without history, and resilience only commences during the immigration and post-migration process (Rashid and Gregory, 2014, p.3). Rashid and Gregory (2014) did a research, exploring holistic resilience of immigrant women in Canada. Moreover, Rashid and Gregory (2014) posit on how resilience for immigrants is crucial to facilitate their integration into local society (p.212).

Downward mobility and career dislocation often accompanied changes in post-migration individual status. For a large group of women, the consequences of partner-determined migrations and family formation are a decline in economic status and financial autonomy and a higher level of dependency on partners (Paskalia, 2007, p.126). Furthermore, according to Paskalia (2007), in order to gain financial independence on partners, many women took full advantage of training and educational opportunities in the host state and utilised their skills to best effect in the domestic labour market (p.127).

Kim (2010) suggested three dimensions in international marriage migrants' post-migration experiences that consist of interpersonal relations in households, institutional dimensions and social dimensions in communities (p.84). The context of Kim's research is Korean wives, daughters-in-law and mothers from the Philippines. An interpersonal relation in households shapes women's post-migration experiences and their perceptions. Many times immigrants who are living with people who have differences in language and daily customs create misunderstanding and tensions between the marriage couple and other family members. On the other hand, it could also create isolation for the women.

An institutional dimension of post-migration experience is a process for the women to acquire citizenship. The process of acquiring citizenship not only to maintain a secure legal status, but it also reflects women's relationship with husband, as it requires the husband's involvement. In order to decrease fake marriages phenomenon, each country has varied policy in order for the migrant wives to acquire citizenship. For example, in U.S.A. (United States of America), it needs two years after obtaining conditional resident status to get permanent resident status by presenting joint petition to adjust the conditional status.

According to Kim (2010), "International marriage migrants occupy various domains in their social life: an inter-ethnic social domain with or without their spouses, and a co-ethnic social domain exclusively for international marriage migrants and for all migrants including labour migrants" (p.90). Social participation in local communities or networking events is not only crucial in affirming the marriage migrants their social and political status, but are also sources of support in a new environment. There are many activities organised by married women's organizations, such as cooking, language lessons, sharing information on legal rights, regulations and local customs, and other useful hints, which help them to settle down and performing their daily activities (Ordonez, 1997; Yuh, 2003; as cited in Kim, 2010, p.91). The organization not only helps married migrant women to find a job, but also organizes political actions, particularly if they come from the same country and forming political solidarity regarding specific issues, which they are concerned back home.

Loneliness, disappointment and insecurity are one of many post-migration experiences of many marriage migrants. At the same time, the consequence of partner-determined migrations creates a higher level of dependency on partners. Particularly for women who had professional working experience prior to migrating, it is resulting into declining position in economic status and financial freedom. Differences in customs and languages easily create misunderstanding not only with native people, but also among immigrants themselves. In order to be able to adapt in new place, husband's support will definitely help the wife to pass through the integration process successfully.

In order to help me analyze my data, I choose the three concepts, which I elaborated earlier, which consists of social mobility, marriage migration and post-migration. Those three concepts are inseparable and complementing to each other. Social mobility as the umbrella concept helps me to understand better the general and basic idea of my research topic. The boundaries between cultures are blurring with the rapid development of technology. The advance technology is not only allowing easy communication among people across continents, but also it facilitates people's movement and borders into broader extent. It is also affecting the opportunity of social mobility movement, particularly the movement of transnational marriage couple. Marriage migration as the second concept helps me to understand the long-term implications on individual social and economic mobility, particularly for women's mobility. In developing countries, women are often portrayed as being passive and submissive. Therefore, men's role as the breadwinner and family decision maker is more likely than the women's role. Marriage migration usually affects people due to the life course events, such as family transitions and better job opportunity. During the migration into new country, typically one of the spouses (in this context, the wife) experiences the downward mobility. Post-migration as the last concept helps me to understand and define the transition process, which had experienced by many women migrants. Initially, there are many challenges, which have to be face by the women migrants, such as weather, language, and social interaction with local society. One of the focuses of this research are those challenges which are being experienced by many Indonesian women who have been living in Finland, and the reason behind their decision to migrate to Finland. In addition, another focus is how they manage to adapt their downward social mobility during their living in Finland, from having high levels of education and promising professional career in Indonesia and having to start from zero here in Finland. I will discuss further regarding this matter and the relation between the concepts in the later chapter.

3. THEORETICAL APPROACH

In this chapter, I am going to discuss my selected theoretical approach for this research, the postcolonial feminism. Post-colonial feminism is an umbrella term for a movement, which is call Third World Feminism and Global Feminism. It also seeks to de-validate western feminists' opinion and providing a chance for Third World Women to share their part of the story and opinion. However, I am going to discuss about possible approaches from Milton J. Bennett's ethno-relativism as part of the ethnocentric stages of development. The reason why I want to discuss briefly is due to the fact it has been widely used in studies concerning migration and post-migration in particular. I divided my theoretical approaches into possible and selected approaches in order to elaborate my journey in finding the appropriate theory for my research. Below is the figure of ethnocentric stages of development:

The Ethnocentric Stages of Development

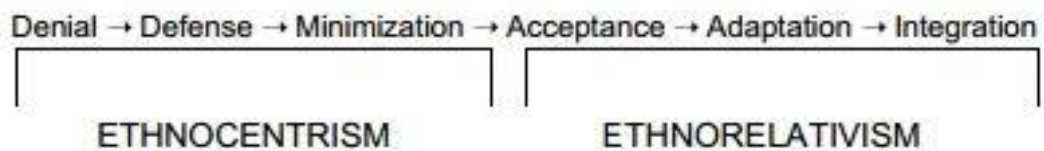


Figure 4: The Ethnocentric Stages of Development

Source:

http://www.wholecommunities.org/pdf/privilege/4_Becominginterculturallycompe_Bennett.pdf

3.1. Possible approaches

Experiencing own culture in other culture's concept is part of ethno-relativism stages of development by Milton J. Bennett, which consists of acceptance, adaptation and integration. Bennett (2004) opines that, "Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is not a model of knowledge, attitude, or skills,

which are not very useful unless they are accompanied by an acceptance/adaptation worldview” (p.69). Regardless of how knowledgeable a person is, about particular culture (linguistic, customs, behaviour), but if the person does not know how to use it in a culturally appropriate way, the person is not able to experience it in depth. He/she is not ready to hear further detailed information about the culture, then, it means the same person has not yet fully accepted the culture. Furthermore, Bennett (2004) opines, “Acceptance does not mean agreement. It is naive to think that intercultural sensitivity and competence is always associated with liking other cultures or agreeing with their values or ways of life”(p.69). In order to allow a person to take other perspective from another culture, do not mean that he/she has to lose his or her own perspective. Therefore, it is important to respect behavioural, customs and value differences. The next stage after acceptance is adaptation.

However, the journey and process of finding the appropriate approach has finally reached an end. I do not choose social integration and Bennett's ethno-relativism approach because DMIS largely focuses on the identity/ personal communication level. Moreover, “DMIS’ orientation towards empathy and humility cannot be harnessed to engage social justice issues and transform systemic oppression – in the context in which it was developed and is often applied, its scope is not so broad” (Sobre-Denton and Bardhan, 2013, p.100). Furthermore, Sobre-Denton and Bardhan (2013) posit, “DMIS does not speak to any possibility of trans-localism (local-to-local cultural connection). DMIS also presupposes that the various stages can be measured, and does not pay as much attention to local culture as do post-colonial”(p.99).

Another reason why I do not choose Bennett's ethno-relativism is that there is no mutual implication in the integration process. It emphasizes more to the immigrants to be intercultural and mutually enriching process. Teasley, Sanchez-Blanco and Depalma (2012) did a research in the context of social integration and cultural diversity in Galizian schooling using post-colonial perspective. According to them,

“Unilateral and unidirectional understanding of integration and has been demonstrated to reify and minorities these diverse students as ‘Others’.

Integration (assimilation) ideologies emerge from an institutional stance that allows culturally minorities' individuals and groups to lose certain aspects of their identity, which are replaced by those favoured by the institution and by culturally dominant groups, whose own cultural characteristics remain hegemonic." (p.306)

In addition, Aiyer (2006) in his research about 'Indian' post-colonial 'Integration' in Singapore posits,

"The position of local Indians, already subject to stereotypes drawn from historical events, therefore becomes more problematic as they relate to other ethnic communities, rendering the possibility of national integration and nation building on the basis of racialized identities even more complex"(p.115-116).

In relation to my research topic, having read many articles related to ethno-relativism and social integration, after many considerations, I decided that both approaches are not appropriate and are not fully compatible to my selected approach, which is postcolonial feminism approach. Bennett's ethno-relativism focuses more on the psychological scope and limits the development stages of ethnocentrism only until integration process. In addition, the social integration process emphasized more on oppressing the immigrants into becoming local people eventually. Therefore, I choose postcolonial feminism as the selected approach because it gives me more variety and flexibility in analysing the data after my research subjects pass through the integration time. Post-colonial feminism approach does not believe a person's development experience stop at integration stage because every person has his/her own context. I will further elaborate on post-colonial feminism approach in the next sub-chapter below.

3.2. Selected approach: Post-colonial feminism

In this sub chapter, I am going to elaborate about postcolonial feminism approach, particularly focusing on marriage migration. According to Dimitriadis and McCarthy (2001), "Post is not to be understood as a temporal register as in 'hereafter,' but as a marker of a spatial challenge of the occupying powers of the West by the ethical,

political, and aesthetic forms of the marginalized” (as cited in Teasley, Sanchez-Blanco and Depalma, 2012, p.303). Simon opines, “Post-colonialism seeks to remove western negative stereotypes about people and places from such discourses (as cited in McEwan, 2001, p.96). On the other hand, Thieme (2003) posits, “Post-colonialism is generally applied to describe any kind of resistance, particularly against class, race, and gender oppression” (as cited in Mishra, 2013, p.130). In addition, Amos and Parmar opines, “..., the category of feminism emerged from the historical context of modern European colonialism and anti-colonial struggles; histories of feminism must therefore engage with its imperialist origins” (as cited in McEwan, 2001, p.97). Mohanty (1991), who criticised Western Feminism (First World Feminism) by neglecting the unique experiences of women who are residing in post-colonial nations posits, “Women suffered double colonization which is as a colonized subject, and as simply being a woman by patriarchy” (as cited in Mishra, 2013, p.132). In one of Spivak’s essays, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, she explores the possibilities to recover the long silenced voices of the subaltern women (as cited in Mishra, 2013, p.132). Post-colonial feminism representing those subaltern women and elevate the questions of voice, whose voices are being heard of and who speaks for whom.

According to Rajan and Park (2000), “Post-colonial feminism is an exploration of and at the intersections of colonialism and neo-colonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women’s lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality, and rights” (p.53). Furthermore, they opine that post-colonial feminism is not as another variety of post-colonial or feminism studies. Post-colonial feminism is well known to pose challenge to First World feminist politics for “universalizing” the women’s condition. For First World feminist, distinctions of race, nationality and class are sometimes more important than women’s individual rights. Mishra (2013) opines, “Post-colonial feminism rejects Western feminism on the ground of its utter ‘eurocentrism’” (p.129).

In relation to previous opinion by Amos, Parmar and Simon, both Rajan and Park (2000) posits that post-colonial feminism is a product of and circulates mainly within the Anglo-American academy and metropolitan university. Further, they posit, “It is identified with the works originating in the First World which relates to

women's movements in the Third World, which are not often included in post-colonial feminist studies" (p.53). Moreover, Rajan and Park (2000) posit that the difference between post-colonial feminism, post-colonial and feminism studies are the contextual location.

"The importance of location has to do with the intimate connection between feminist studies and feminist politics, the engagement that is both so necessary and so productive for each. 'Post-colonial feminism' should enable us to see the connections among these different sites of engagement"(p.53-54).

There are two kinds of post-colonial feminist works or as it defined particularly by the frame of cultural studies in the metropolitan academy. Firstly, the theoretical concerns, in particular to issues of representation and question of location.

"First world feminists recognize differences and acknowledge the historical specificity of women in other places and times, and abandon their unexamined ethnocentrism and the reproduction of orientalist categories of thought. They also must enter the hard work of uncovering and contesting global power relation, economic, political, military and cultural-hegemonic historically"(Rajan and Park, 2000, p.54).

The First worlds often historicize, politicize, and cross feminist questions of location with histories of the arrival. In addition, they further argue,

"When "Third World Women" speak in the voices of these feminists, it is to repudiate otherness, tokenism, stereotyping, exceptionalism, and the role of "native informant." They seek to re-signify the attributes of Third World Women – silence, the veil, absence, and negativity, for instance"(p.54-55).

In addition, Mishra (2013) opines, "It provides of course correctives to mainstream Western feminism, and involves women of both developing and developed countries" (p.131). It is very common among western feminists to aspire towards a complete identity by examining their own culture and customs to evaluate the other part of the world. Moreover, post-colonial feminism challenges Western feminism by the continuation of stereotyped and marginalised Third-World women. As Shital and Mahavidyalaya (2012) posit, "Post-colonial feminists point out the ways in which women continue to be stereotyped and marginalised, ironically

sometimes by post-colonial authors who might claim to be challenging a culture of oppression” (p.284).

The second of cultural study frame of post-colonial work is the introduction of Third World women is writing into classroom curriculum. Although Anglophone or Francophone writers wrote most of the accessible texts, there is also growing number of texts, which are written in non-Western languages. Rajan and Park (2000) posit,

“Within the limitations of (often, undergraduate) classroom instruction, further, the dangers of an exclusively textualized understanding of Third World, the suppression of the histories of colonialism and imperialism [...]” (p.56).

Western feminists easily tend to homogenize, generalized and universalized women’s issues. They also believed that the written texts by them are representing women on the other part of the world (Third World Women). No other woman can precisely speak for other woman’s opinion, as women’s status and role in the society are widely different to one another. Post-colonial feminism is contesting the western feminist universal voice into heterogeneity feminists’ voice. Post-colonial feminism allows multiple approaches from many disciplines, not only highlighting the Western feminism works. According to Shital and Mahavidyalaya (2012), “Post-colonial feminist challenges Western academia by showing that it has tended to treat Third World women as other, denying their subjectivity and imagination”(p.284). Moreover, Rajan and Park (2000) posit,

“Post-colonial feminism distinguishes itself from other cultural and theoretical endeavours (which, as in the case of post-colonial feminism, also attempt to approach a more integrated and complex understanding of cultural, economic, historical, and political aspects of contemporary reality) [...]. In its emphasis on women as the group who will not only benefit most from the changed world but also lead this particular historical transformation of humanity in the future.” (p.67).

In addition, Shital and Mahavidyalaya (2012) opines, “Post-colonial feminist criticism is necessarily eclectic because Third World writing so often responds to different social, regional and national groups whose aesthetic values are very

diverse”(p.284-284). The usage of post-colonial feminism not only accommodating the rewriting history based on particular experiences of formerly colonized people (with respect of their post-colonial inheritance), but also their survival strategies.

In relation to my research, the selected approach I choose, which is post-colonial feminism, embraces difference with the willingness to change and recognize the different complexity from his/ her cultural context to embody cultural empathy. It also emphasizes the importance of keeping a foot immersed in local culture in a dialectic tension between local and global (Sobre-Denton and Bardhan, 2013, p.99). Moreover, post-colonial feminism provides hopeful, yet peaceful solutions for all marginalized women in the world where differences are celebrate and enjoyed. In addition, “Post-colonial approach allow non-indigenous researchers, such as ourselves, to ‘see’ similar process in today’s world, as part of the complex legacy of historic colonialism” (Teasley, Sanchez-Blanco and Depalma, 2012, p.305). Another reason why I choose post-colonial feminism is that it related to my research methods, qualitative narrative research and auto-ethnography. I will elaborate those methods in the next chapter.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

In this research, I am doing qualitative research, narrative life story experiences research and auto-ethnography. Auto-ethnography methodology is closely related and complementing the narrative life story methodology. There is not auto-ethnography without personal narrative life story. The usage of auto-ethnography as complementing methodology is because I am familiar with the research topic but also because we as a human being are living in a world that is always changing and uncertain things, which make us face many ethical, stereotype and moral choices. Jones (2005) opines, "Auto-ethnographic texts point out not only the necessity of narrative in our world, but also the power of narrative to reveal and revise that world, even when we struggle for words, [...], or when the unspeakable is invoked but not silent" (p.767). I choose both methods because I am aiming to provide insight into the story of Indonesian women's living experience in Finland. As a person who likes to hear other people stories and learn more from their living experiences, choosing this as a part of my thesis has been part of my life which I cannot resist. As Ellis and Bochner (2000) posit, "Stories should have therapeutic value. It would help provide understanding of what happened to you and help others who face similar circumstances cope"(p.754). Whenever I learn about a particular theory, it is always important for me to be able to relate it into real living experience. Not only does it help me to understand better, but also it is easier for me to remember about it. Therefore, I choose the topic of my research related to narrative life story that is now being closely related into my own personal life.

In the beginning, I conducted in-depth interviews with structured questions with two research subjects as a pilot study. The reason I did so was that I wanted to know whether the structured in-depth interview would work. However, after the interviews, I realised it did not work and decided to use open-ended interview instead. Open-ended interview fits my research better because I am using auto-ethnography, narrative methodology and post-colonial feminism approach. This type of interview is mainly use for ethnography research. I could conduct the interview more free flowing and made the research subjects feel more comfortable

to discuss in a way like in daily conversation. I also do not need to ask questions in the same order and it is a better way to approach my research subjects as it was the first time for me to meet and discuss with them. As Marin (1995) posits, open-ended interview were, “[...] personal, non-threatening, and to establish rapport with the person interviewed, regardless the ethnicity of race.” Although by doing the open-ended interview it leads to straying off the topic, but on the other hand it gave me richer data more than I expected.

4.1. Qualitative research methodology

According to Creswell (1998), there are five qualitative traditions of inquiries, which consist of a biography, a phenomenological study, a grounded theory study, ethnography and a case study. Among those traditions of inquiries, I will only focus on biography, as my research relates to it. There are four forms of biographies, which consist of biographical study, autobiography, life history and oral history. Albeit those forms vary, reflect different discipline perspectives but they are all an attempt to construct the history of a life. In relation to this research, I posit to focus on life history and oral history. According to Palmer (2010), “Life histories are collected to provide a more broadly informed perspective on events that are otherwise documented in written histories that may fail to record the views and experiences of non-elites” (p.527). On the other hand, Creswell (1998) posits that an oral history is “An approach in which the researcher gathers personal recollections of events, their causes, and their effects from an individual or several individuals” (p.49). Furthermore, Tilton (1980) makes an important distinction between the life story and an oral story as follows:

In oral history, the balance of power between the informants and historian is the historian’s favour, for he asks the questions, sort of through the accounts for the relevant information, and edits his way toward a coherent whole... However, in the life story the balance tips the other way, to the storyteller, while the listener is sympathetic and his responses are encouraging and nondirective (as cited in Atkinson, 2007, p.233).

The reason I have focused on the life history and oral history is obvious, as my research subjects consist of several individuals where they shared their life in their own words and I collected the data through conducting interview with them.

According to Rosaline (2008), qualitative research is able to provide understanding of how official figures are created through social processes. Furthermore she posits that compared to quantitative research, qualitative research is to provide fuller picture due to its capacity to elaborate *how* in 'micro' (i.e. every day practices, understandings and interactions) to guide individual behaviour. On the other hand, the quantitative research's capacity is to elaborate *how* in 'macro' (i.e. social class position, gender locality) (Rosaline, 2008, p.11). Furthermore, Silverman (2000) opines, "The qualitative methods may be favoured if you are concerned with exploring people's life histories or everyday behaviour" (p.1). Denzin and Lincoln also support the statement, "Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials –case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts- that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals lives" (as cited in Creswell, 1998, p.15). In addition, Flick (2007) opines that "Instead of numbers, qualitative research uses text as empirical material, starts from the notion of the social construction of realities, and perspective of participants in everyday practices to allow understanding of a process or relation" (p.2). Therefore, qualitative research would be the best method for my research, as it relates to my research topic and aim, which I mentioned earlier in the first chapter. Losifides (2011) opines qualitative methods have better way to highlight and investigate processes of migration decision making and experiences and identity formation. It also helps to understand the practical action within specific and particular structure and cultural contexts as the data gathered from interview and narrative approach.

4.2. Narrative research

Each individual has always had different life historical background. Therefore, it is always intriguing for me to listen to my friends, colleagues and families life story as

I could learn so much from their experience. In every life story there will always be connection with our roots, which gives us direction, restore values to our lives and validate our own experience. In social research, the life story experiences are known as narrative research and a part of qualitative approach that could explain and help to understand social change in society. I am going to elaborate on definition of narrative research, the social context of narrative research and relate it with my research.

There is still dispute among researchers' in defining what narrative research is. Hinchman (1997) defined narrative as "Discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a define audience" (as cited in Elliot, 2005, p. 2). Andrews, Squire, and Tamboukou (2008) also supported Hinchman's definition by saying that, "Narrative is used descriptively in popular discourse, as it is in academic, humanities disciplines, to indicate the lie of thematic and causal progression in cultural form such as a film or a novel" (p. 4). Lieblich, Tuval-Maschiah and Zilber (1998) defined narrative research as, "Any study that uses or analyzes narrative materials where the data can be collected as a life story provided in an interview or literary work or in a different manner (field notes of an anthropologist who writes up his or her observations as a narrative or in personal letters)" (p.2). Moreover, according to Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008), "Narrative research offers no overall rules about suitable materials or modes of investigation, or the best level at which to study stories. It does not tell us whether to look for stories in recorded everyday speech, whether to aim for objectivity or researcher and participant involvement, whether to analyze stories particularity or generality, or what epistemological significance to attach to narratives" (p.2). It is clear that Andrews opposing Aristotle's characterization of the typical narrative by pointed out that not all narratives automatically create starting and finishing plot.

According to Atkinson (2007),

There are two distinct ways of using a life story: for ideographic (individual or personal) or for nomothetic (universal, collective, or social) purposes. A life story can be analyzed or interpreted, from either an individual or collective perspective, and the content of a life story can also be gathered

for either personal or social purposes, or for both purposes at the same time (p.225).

Furthermore, Atkinson (1998) define a life story as follows,

A life story is the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another... A life story is a fairly complete narrating of one's entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects (p.8)

As I mentioned earlier regarding the reason why I choose narrative research as my research methodology, it is because I can learn more through other people's life story. Ellis and Bochner (2000) posit, "Thinking with a story means allowing you to resonate with the story, reflect on it, and become part of it. We use stories to try to figure out how to live our lives meaningfully" (p.753 & 760). Atkinson's opinion defines exactly how I use other people's life story in daily life, particularly for this research. As posited by Kramp (2004) "The researcher who engages in narrative inquiry is interested in determining the meaning of a particular experience or event for the one who had it, and tells about it in a story" (p.5). Furthermore, Atkinson (2007) divides life stories researches into ten usages, which consist of psychology, gerontology, sociology, anthropology, folklore, history, education, literature, religion and philosophy. From these ten usages, gerontology is closely related the usage of life history in my research. As Butler (1963) opines, "Gerontology is the traditional role of elders to pass on their values and wisdom through their stories, a process of remembering, expressing the experiences, struggles, lessons and wisdom of a lifetime" (as cited in Atkinson, 2007, p.227). Furthermore, in relation to the postcolonial feminism approach I use in this research, Gergen & Gergen (1993) opines, "More narratives in the voice of women would help to eventually achieve a synthesis of knowledge that would benefit both genders" (as cited in Atkinson, 2007, p.230). Not only are women able to learn and have better understanding on how challenging to live outside Indonesia, but also it is able to provide insight for the men as well, on how challenging it is for the women to adapt in very new environment, society and

culture. These things might be for a further research topic from the husband's perspective, how they perceive their foreign wives in adapting into the husband's culture.

According to Elliott (2005), "There is no single narrative method, but rather a multitude of different ways in which researchers can engage with the narrative properties of their data" (p.3). In addition, there are challenges for the narrative research. As elaborated by Bathmaker (2010), "Narrative and life history research face the challenge that they too may open up personal lives and experience for scrutiny, but do no more than satisfy the curiosity of a wider audience" (p.2). In relation to ethical issues in narrative research, the narrator should decide whether to follow his/her own ethics as a narrative researcher or the audience.

Many narrative researchers are able to define what narrative is, based on their findings and analysis. Therefore, there is no exact definition of what narrative is. In addition, this narrative research is also being used by researchers from various types of disciplines, not only in social disciplines. Moreover, the result of narrative research depends on how far the researcher is engaged to particular story or the narrator. Everyone could develop or shape a narrative but it is important to see the context of the narrative and how it was constructed. Narrative could not be generalized as the only representation of particular event. There will always be other versions from a single narrative. It depends on the perspectives the storyteller has used, the relation between a story, the storyteller's historical background and how the story is affecting the storyteller's life.

4.3. Auto-ethnography

According to Reed-Danahay (1997), the term auto-ethnography was taken from "*Auto* (self), *ethnos* (culture) and *graphy* (research process)" (as cited in Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p740). Anthropologist Karl Heider (1975) introduces the term 'auto-ethnography'. However, according to him, the 'self' means is informants, not the ethnographer (as cited in Chang, 2008, p.47). Differ than Heider, David Hayano (1979) used the 'self' in a different way where he refers it to their 'own

people', "[...] in which the researcher is a full insider by virtue of being 'native,' acquiring an intimate familiarity with the group [...]" (as cited in Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p.739). Hayano is known as the originator of the term, auto-ethnography as a concept. Ever since, the meaning and applications of auto-ethnography have evolved in several forms and strategies methodology. In some disciplines, the methodological approach of auto-ethnography have evolved, such as in sociology: personal sociology, autobiographical sociology; in communication: rhetorical auto-ethnography, performance autobiography; in anthropology: reflexive ethnography, native ethnography, personal narrative, just to mention some of them (Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p.740-741). Geertz (1983) referred auto-ethnography as "The blurred genre, it overlaps with, and is indebted to, research and writing practices in anthropology, sociology, psychology, literary criticism, journalism and communication" (as cited in Jones, 2005, p.765). In addition, Ellis and Bochner (2000) posit, usually auto-ethnography texts written in first-person voice and appears in varies forms such as, "[...] short stories, poetry, fiction, novels, photographic essays, personal essays, journals, [...]" (p.739). The similarity in reflexive ethnography and narrative ethnography is that in which the researcher's use her own personal experiences and studied along with other research subjects and look more deeply in self-other interaction. For the purpose of my research, I found that type of auto-ethnography is the most suitable one because it relates to my own personal experiences studied along with my research subjects.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) define auto-ethnography as "Autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the culture"(p.739). On the other hand, Jones (2005) opines, "Auto-ethnography writes a world in a state of flux and movement – between story and context, writer and reader [...]. It creates charged moments of clarity, connection and change"(p.764). Differ than Ellis, Bochner and Jones, Reed-Danahay (1997) divided the writing of auto-ethnography into three scopes, native anthropology, ethnic autobiography and autobiographical ethnography. According to Reed-Danahay (1997),

"Native anthropology in which members of previously studied cultural groups become ethnographers of their own groups; ethnic autobiography in which personal narratives are written by members of ethnic minority groups;

and autobiographical ethnography in which anthropologist interject personal experience into ethnographic writing” (as cited in Chang, 2008, p.47).

According to Chang (2008), there are three benefits of doing auto-ethnography. First, in terms of methodology, auto-ethnography is not only researcher-friendly, but also reader-friendly. The resource of the data is the researcher is itself, it allows to access the primary data, and be able to do in-depth data analysis because the researcher is already familiar with the data. For the readers, the auto-ethnography writing style is more appealing compared to conventional academic writing. Secondly, by doing auto-ethnography, it allows the researchers to understand themselves and others. Florio-Ruane (2001) and Nash (2002) posit, “Not only writing one’s own auto-ethnography but also reading others’ auto-ethnographies can evoke self-reflection and self-examination” (as cited in Chang, 2008, p.52). Third, “Doing, sharing, and reading auto-ethnography can also help transform researchers and readers (listeners) in the process” (Chang, 2008, p.53). It helps to increase understanding in learning new unfamiliar cultures, particularly for those who are working with people from varies cultural background.

Qualitative research as the bigger part of my research methodology funnel, followed by narrative life story and then auto-ethnography as the smallest part in the funnel. In every narrative life story of individuals, they must have varied living experiences and historical background. Every life story is interprets or analyze by either individual (the researcher itself) or collective perspective. Chang (2008) posit, “Individual stories are framed in the context if the bigger story, a story of the society, to make auto-ethnography ethnographic” (p.49). In relation to my research topic, and me as the researcher, I want to provide other side of the story of Indonesian women’s living experience in Finland, also to relate and reflect their stories to my own living experience. As Ellis and Bochner (2000) opines, “Personal narrative is part of the human, existential struggle to move life forward, through the narrative activity of self-creation, we seek to become identical to the story we tell” (p.746). I will further elaborate my data collection process below.

4.4. Data collection

The data collection for this research is by using open-ended and in-depth personal interview in order to gain in-depth knowledge of research subject's views on his or her experiences. Unlike the daily conversation, prior to the interview, the researcher prepared an interview question list as a guide that serves as the basis of the conversation.

The data collection process began by searching research subjects that fulfilled my criteria. It has to be an Indonesian woman who got married to a Finnish man and who has been living in Finland for minimum of 3 years. I tried to limit the minimum living experience period to 3 years, as for me, such time length is adequate to adapt into the Finnish culture and society. Furthermore, I also joined Facebook group of Indonesian community in Finland. I contacted all my research subjects through Facebook messaging and then we agreed on interview schedule. Prior to the interview, I informed them briefly about the topic of my research and assured the research subjects that I will record the interview. In addition, I assured them that all of the data (personal data and the interview data) which they provide during the interview will be treated confidential. Therefore, I sent my entire research subject letter of consent for them to read prior to the interview. However, I am going to make a list of the information about the research subjects' professions before and during their stay in Finland, length of stay, region where they live, and length of interview, as those are important information and relevant for my research. I put their previous profession prior to their arrival in Finland because I want to present that not all of Asian women, particularly Indonesian women who got married with Caucasian men came from less educated background. It is also important to represent how the Indonesian women are willing to leave their steady job and start all over again once they arrived in Finland. In addition, due to maintaining the research subjects' confidentiality, each of their names are given pseudonym name.

No.	Name	Profession Before/ Current	Length of stay in Finland	Length of interview
1	Menik	Reservation manager at hotel/ Tradenomi student	4 years	1 hr 11 min 19 sec
2	Sri	Waitress/ Daycare personnel	13 years	36 min 43 sec
3	Sansekerta	English teacher/ Nurse	8 years	1 hr 40 min 29 sec
4	Butet	Oil and drilling director for Indonesian region/ Financial personnel for Finnish import company	5 years	1 hr 50 min 04 sec
5	Noni	Personnel at French company/ Housewife	10,5 years	2 hr 45 min

Table 2: List of Research Subjects

4.5. Interview

According to Atkinson (2007), there are three steps involved in a life story interview. Firstly, planning (pre-interview) and preparing for the interview in order to understand the benefit of a life story. Secondly, doing the interview itself (interviewing) by recording it on audio or video tape while the research subject is telling his or her story with the guidance of the researcher. Lastly, transcribing the interview (post-interview) by highlighting repetitions and commenting the interview transcribed in order to keep the words of research subject so that it becomes flowing and connected. Furthermore Atkinson (2007) opines, "The point of life story interview is to give the person the opportunity to tell his or her story, the way he or she chooses to tell it, so we can learn from their voice, their words, and their subjective meaning of their experience of life" (p.233).

Initially I was planning to conduct interviews with minimum of six women. However, due to limitation of time and the amount of time I spent to transcribe each interview and translate it into English, I decided to conduct only five interviews. Four out of five research subjects' interviews were conducted face-to-face, while one of them were interviewed via Skype as she was on holiday at the agreed time and I had to compile all the data immediately. The interview via Skype took over 2 hours due to unstable internet connection where she stayed during the holiday. The language I used for the interview was Indonesian language as it will be more comfortable for the research subjects' and they are able to elaborate further if they use the mother language and able to feel more connected with me, not only as fellow Indonesian but also as the researcher/ interviewer. One of the challenges in transcribing the interview was to translate it into English, as I could not find the appropriate word for some of Indonesian expressions. Due to the research method I use, which is narrative life history, many of the research subjects spoke in discursive way, which took longer time for me to grasp the essence of their story and translate it into English at the same time. Albeit, I tried to avoid leading the questions in order to get the answers from the research subjects', some of the research subjects' asked further clarifications about my questions due to the fact that questions were too general. For example, when I asked about the most difficult thing about integrating into the Finnish culture, the research subject asked me to elaborate further and give some examples.

As I mentioned earlier, I interviewed five Indonesian women as my research subjects'. In the beginning, I approached an Indonesian woman whom I observed was very informative and friendly to answer other members in the group. She then agreed to be my research subject and even managed to arrange another two Indonesian women to be my research subjects' as three of them are living in the same region, although one of them has been living in rural area. Then, I managed to approach another two Indonesian women to become my research subjects. They have been living close to city centre and in rural area. I thought it would be intriguing to find out whether the living experience would be the same between those living in the city area and in the rural area. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will discuss the data analysis process and findings of the data.

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS OF THE DATA

In this chapter, I am going to elaborate on the process of data analysis and findings of the data as an attempt to describe the Indonesian women's living experiences in Finland in order to answer the research questions which consists of:

The main research question:

How do Indonesian women portray their post-migration life in Finland?

The main research question consists of sub-research questions as follows:

1. What kind of challenges do Indonesian women tell during a post-migration period of minimum three years in Finland?
2. What kind of positive experiences do Indonesian women tell during this post-migration period?
3. How do Indonesian women account their personal changes during the period?
4. How do Indonesian women portray their future?

I am going to present the findings in the form of narrative from the interview session with my research subjects and relate it to my own experiences. Due to the richness of my data and to create shorten discursive texts I am going to modify the excerpts in more reader-friendly form. For further consideration, some issues in each topic will overlap with each other, as I have not sought clear-cut division themes in presenting my findings.

5.1. Data analysis process

Kramp (2004) opines that "Narrative knowing is expressed in a narrative form we call stories. Stories preserve our memories but also prompt our reflections, connect us with our past and present, and assist us to envision our future" (p.3-4). Every story has a beginning, middle and ending based on the context of the story

that is able to assist a researcher not only to understand the meaning of the story but also interprets it. Furthermore, Kramp (2004) opines that each story has a “plot” which is one of the formal elements of narrative and reflected the teller or narrator’s perspective or point of view. According to Emden (1998), “A plot is sometimes used in literature interchangeably with ‘theme’ or ‘main point’, that is a story usually (but not always) has a theme or main point to it (or more than one)” (p.35). Part of story is constructed and it conveys meaning, not only aimless words. In addition, by adding the context into a story, it enables the researcher to make meaning if there was no meaning previously. Furthermore, Bruner (1984) opines that, “Stories cannot be viewed simply as abstract structures isolated from their cultural context and must be seen as rooted in society and as experienced and performed by individuals in cultural settings” (as cited in Moen, 2006, p.5). In relation to this research, all research subjects do only remain maintaining their own culture as Indonesian, but also learn, integrate and are affected by Finnish culture as well.

In order to create core story and emplotment, there are eight moves recommended by Emden (1998). This involves reading the whole interview transcription many times in order to grasp its content, deleting words which detract from the key idea of each sentence, read it all over again, identify subplots (fragment of constituent themes) from the ideas within the transcription and move it all together to create one coherent core story or series of core stories. Moreover, Emden (1998) defines emplotment as “A process of working with the one or more plots of a story in such a way that the significance of the story is disclosed - at potentially different levels of complexity and sophistication” (p.36). In addition, Kramp (2004) defines emplotment as “A process where the narrator constructs a plot by selecting and sequencing actions and events, thereby imposing a meaning on these actions and events that comprise the story” (p.6). I then proceed to read all the transcribed interviews all over again as posited earlier by Emden (1998), identify subplots and merge it all into series of core stories. For the next sub-chapter, I would like to explore my interviews with my research subjects and present them by using key themes based on my research questions. In order to answer my research questions, for the purpose of clarity, I will analyse the main

themes which are connected to the distinct groups of each themes and relating the essential transcript of the whole data interview.

5.2. Indonesian women's post-migration experiences

To begin the data analysis, in this section I am going to present my findings into four separate main themes related to my research questions. The main themes consist of challenging experiences, positive experiences, and personal changes during the post-migration period, and Indonesian women portray their future. For clarity purposes, each of the themes will be divided into several distinct groups, and the main idea of these groups are on minimum three research subjects who mentioned similar topic during the interview sessions. Furthermore, I draw my mind map of two out of four main themes in order to clarify my analysis understanding and to make it easier for the readers to understand.

5.2.1. Challenging experiences

In this sub-chapter, I am going to elaborate on the challenges of Indonesian women during a post-migration period of minimum three years. In no particular order, the challenges can be divided into three distinct groups, which consist of weather, cultures, and perceptions and stereotypes. The mind map of challenging experiences is as follows:



Figure 5: Indonesian Women’s Challenging Experiences during Post-Migration Period

Firstly, I am going to elaborate about the weather challenge. To migrate from a familiar and sociable society into a totally new and individualistic society creates culture shock experiences for all of my research subjects. Whenever I discuss with fellow Indonesian immigrants and or immigrants from other countries about their first impression and challenging living experiences so far, most of them always started with the weather differences. For example, when I asked Menik her first time experience of arriving in Finland, she suddenly went silent and so vibrant, she says,

“My first impression about Finland was so cold. Dark. Quiet. When we went out, there was no one, nothing. Particularly during winter. What kind of country is this? It was totally quiet.”

Indonesia as one of tropical countries always has hot summer almost the whole year, and only a couple of months of rain. To have 20 degrees Celsius in our daily life would only be possible if we are constantly inside a building, a house or a car with air conditioner on. Moreover, in Indonesia the length between the bright sunny day and the dark cold night is about equal. In Indonesia, the sun usually rises

about 6 o'clock in the morning and it sets about 6 o'clock in the evening. To compare the length of the bright sunny day and the dark cold night during wintertime in Finland is too much different. In Finland, during wintertime the darkness can be between 20-23 hours depending on which part of Finland you stay, while during the summer time, the brightness last from 20-23 hours per day. The sudden temperature difference, the lengthy period of brightness and darkness has shocked many of Indonesian immigrants during their first couple of months living in Finland.

Furthermore, during wintertime in Finland, many people prefer to stay inside their home to keep them warm, although there are people who enjoy outside activities during wintertime. Therefore, it is mostly quiet during wintertime, not so many activities outside. On the contrary, during summer time in Finland, everyone loves to spend time outside the home with loved ones. The surrounding environment becomes so lively. To compare with Indonesia, we can always hear other people doing activities outside our home, even there are many street vendors selling their goods around our homes in the evening. The situation around Indonesian homes are always lively, regardless it is morning or evening time.

Secondly, I am going to elaborate about the cultural challenges. In this theme, I divided them into four distinctions, which include the language, social skills, social life and family value. I distinguish the cultural challenges in order to make it easier not only for the readers but also for me to have clear understanding of how to analyse this research. The difficulties in learning the Finnish language has been emphasised by all of my research subjects when they start to tell about one of their biggest challenges. For example, Sri has been living in a small village in western part of Finland for over 13 years. When Sri and I are discussing about her challenging experiences living in Finland, she says,

“The language is very difficult and because I live in a small village, there are not so many people who are able to talk in English. I felt it was kind of limited to whom I could communicate.”

To migrate and live in a small village and not knowing the language was so challenging for Sri. The willingness to be able to communicate to local people became limited for her, as English is the only language that she could use to

communicate at that time. Implicitly from what Sri says that this kind of experience could be different if only she is living in a bigger city. Assuming much more Finnish people are able to speak English in a bigger city, she implied that the communication would have happen more naturally and as such might be less difficult for her. Yet, learning a new language, in this case, Finnish language is not an easy task for them, as it tends to lead to decreasing self-esteem. For example, Noni says,

“Lately, I felt so hurt when somebody tries to make a big deal and laughs at my Finnish language.”

To migrate into a new country and society can make a person to feel lonely, particularly if the language is not too familiar prior to the arrival. Even though many Finnish pronunciations have similarity with Indonesia and only some letters have different way to pronounce, but the Finnish grammar is many times confusing, particularly if we do not pronounce it correctly. It is a struggle to learn and understand the Finnish grammar. It then affects the effort to build communication with local society, which becomes limited. Sri and Noni's stories show they are struggling to learn Finnish language in order to be able to communicate with their husband's families and relatives, and other Finnish societies. Although Noni has been living in Finland for over than 10 years, sometimes she still feels not confident with her Finnish language and feels embarrassed about it. It seems like the teasing and reaction from some Finnish people whom she knows have made her self-confidence decrease and make her feel insecure. It also makes her questioned her language ability and it is affecting her self-esteem while trying to communicate using Finnish language.

The second part of cultural challenges I am going to elaborate on the social skill of Finnish people, which is the external challenge that my research subjects have to face. All of my research subjects mentioned how Finnish people are too silent and individualized. As Butet says,

“When you first meet Finnish people, they would be very nice to you, as they thought that we were their new friends, but do not expect that they will do the same the day after. They will go to their own natural habit. They do not have to call and say, ‘Hi.’ It is their culture, and they do not like to have small talk. I thought firstly that they are arrogant; do not like to talk much. I

got shocked at that time; it was totally different than what we have in our culture.”

In the beginning sentence, Butet emphasizes in more positive and hopeful way of portraying Finnish people. However, the later sentence after that showed her disappointment. She portrayed Finnish people’s different reactions towards her the day after they met. Silent treatment many times related into a cold, lack of social and communication skill for an individual. Therefore, some people relate silence to coldness. By using the word, ‘Natural habit,’ she emphasized the coldness of Finnish social skills. Furthermore, Butet says,

“As Indonesians, we usually try to smile at least, throw the conversation ball or making topic. They would not be interested. At first, I thought, if I did not say anything, they could think that we are arrogant. For real, they do not even care and they do not even talk. In our culture, if we do not say anything, people would think we are arrogant.”

It is clearly in her sentences when she uses the word, ‘They,’ she refers to Finnish people, and ‘We,’ refers to Indonesians. Forshee (2006) posit, “Unacquainted Indonesians passing on streets will acknowledge each other out of mutual respect. Greeting others is both leisure activity and norm of polite social behaviour and can lead to conversation” (p.174). Indonesian people are mostly warm, friendly, enjoy socializing and always be a part of collective society. For Indonesian people, sometimes smile is just enough to show kind gesture if there is nothing to say. Finnish people behave contrarily to Indonesians; Finns are the opposite. Lewis (2006) posits that, “Finns display obvious weaknesses in communication – they speak little and often avoid showdowns with other peoples because of shyness [...] In Finland, silence is not equated with failure to communicate but as an integral part of social interaction” (p.333). Such points can be seen from Butet’s point of view. Although in the later interview she confesses that after living a couple of years in Finland, she manages to adapt to Finnish silence culture and start to like the silence as well. This particular idea about Finnish people seems to be major occurrence in how she expresses her first experience; the point that occurred in all point of views expressed by the subjects of my study. While silence is part of social interaction in Finnish culture, in Indonesia it shows arrogance. This two different meaning ascribed to silence easily create misunderstanding for all of my research subjects during their first couple of month’s arrival in Finland.

To be able to be independent is another challenge related to social skill that has to be faced by my research subjects. This differs from the previous paragraph; in this paragraph, the social skill challenge comes from the internal challenge. Sansekerta says,

“The most memorable experience is when my husband was in China. I go to school, take care of the children, take them to school, and do everything on my own. It was the hardest moment when I should keep fighting to finish the school, handle children and do everything.”

From Sansekerta's experience, I can see how to be independent doing domestic works like cleaning, cooking, and taking care of the children at the same time are some things they have to learn once they migrate to Finland. Prior to coming to Finland, Sansekerta got used of having a house assistant to help her doing domestic works and take care of her children. When she moves to Finland, she should learn to handle all by herself without anyone helping her. Although in the beginning, she felt it was the hardest moment for her, she should learn from being spoiled by getting help from house assistant, to be independent, handling everything by herself and she got used to it eventually. From her experience, I could see how challenge can be difficult in the beginning, but in the end, it is affecting a person's life in a more positive way. Having observed her colleagues and her husband's relatives, and getting huge support from her husband has helped Sansekerta to encourage herself, to think that she is a strong woman and can do all by herself. In Indonesia, we have house assistant to help do domestic works, while in Finland, everything has to be done by ourselves, which is part of Finnish culture. To do domestic works after work or study is just another regular daily activity for Finnish people. This Finnish culture to be independent is challenging for all of my research subjects, but at the same time affecting them positively.

The third part of cultural challenge relates to social life among Indonesian people who are living in Finland. As I mentioned earlier on how Indonesian people are a collective society, my research subjects and I discuss about their experience in finding and gathering with Indonesian people who live nearby. For example, Butet says,

“I am the only one who lives in this small city. Other Indonesians live in other small cities, about more than 100km from where I live. Ever since there is social network, I do not feel so lonely because the presence is in cyberspace. Although I do not really know them, I just acted like I have known them.”

Having been raised up in a collective society, it is really challenging for some of Indonesian people who move here to Finland. To live far away from familiar and friendly faces and not being able to communicate in local language can be devastating for many Indonesian people who have moved to live in Finland. The lonely feeling make the need to meet up, talk in native language, eat Indonesian foods and share stories among Indonesian people and those parts of what are being missed the most by Indonesian people. However, the gathering rarely happens due to differences in schedules and distance. In Indonesia, we can just stop by and visit our friend’s house without making any appointment in advance. In Finland, whenever there is Indonesian gathering nearby, Indonesian people are looking forward to the event. Butet expresses her challenge to meet Indonesian society due to the distance. In order not to feel lonely, Butet has been using social network to keep in touch and updated about Indonesian people particularly those who live in Finland.

I notice how she emphasises that she does not really know the Indonesian people she meets through social network because she has not met them physically in person. Therefore, she posits that she only acted as if she has known them. For some people, it does not matter whether they meet a friend through social network, have met in person or not, as long as they have been actively communicating with that friend, it can mean that they have known each other. However, from Butet’s perspective, regardless of how active the communication with other Indonesian people who are living in Finland is, she still does not know them in person, as meeting physically with them regularly mean so much for her in defining whether she really knows a person or not. In order not to feel lonely, the usage of social network have benefitted many Indonesian people who are living abroad to keep in touch with loved ones back home and also to meet new Indonesian people who are living nearby.

The last part of cultural challenge I am going to elaborate relates to the family value. Politeness and respect are one of social behaviours of Indonesian people. Noni opines her culture shock experience was when her husband showed something to her by using his feet. She says,

“I had a little bit of a culture shock when my husband showed something using feet. It is not polite in Indonesia.”

For Noni, the idea of politeness includes those with the family members. Such idea of how politeness extends to include family members in Indonesian culture has been mentioned by Cortez (2008) who posits, “[...] Canada’s custom of being punctual is contrasted to Indonesia’s custom of not pointing to anything with a foot” (p.111). Even though Cortez has been specifically comparing Canada and Indonesia, I think the same comparison can be used to explain Noni’s confusion about her husband’s behaviour, how such idea creates conflicted idea about politeness for her. For Finnish person to point at something using feet is normal behaviour and it has never been a problem for Noni’s husband, but for Noni it is a big problem. Following her statement, Noni says she then discusses with her husband related to the matter and her husband rarely does it again after that. To fix the misunderstanding between two different cultures it needs discussion between two related people in order to gain mutual understanding. This idea of conflicting politeness that relates to the family members is not something new for Indonesians. It has been passed down over generations, from older to younger generations in Indonesia to always be polite and respecting to other people, particularly to older people (parents, grandparents, and older siblings). Such respect value is one of the important things for Indonesians, as Sri says,

“There are positive values which my parents taught me and I taught my children as well, such as to appreciate and respect the parents, and being thankful. I compare it to Finnish culture, in which I think the children have lack of respect towards their parent(s). Also, I taught the not to call their parent(s) by their names because it is impolite in Indonesian culture.”

I view Sri’s statement emphasizing that she has been introducing and wants her children to follow her Indonesian culture by teaching them to respect her as the parent and not to call her by her name. As her way to acknowledge how important that value is for her that, even when she moves to Finland she instils such value in her children. She also explicitly mentioned how Finnish culture has lack of respect

towards parent. For example, it is impolite in Indonesian culture if a child responds aggressively verbally towards the parent's wish. It shows disrespect towards the parent. Therefore, Sri has always discussed with her children to act politely and respectfully, not only towards the parents, but also towards other people. To follow what her parents had taught her and pass it to her children is very important not only for Sri, but also for all of my research subjects. The other reason why almost all of my research subjects emphasize the importance of teaching how to act politely and respect the elders is in order to prepare the children when they visit their families in Indonesian. Therefore, the Indonesian women are making sure that both sides, their children and their Indonesian families do not experience culture shock from each other.

The third challenging experiences I am going to elaborate relates to perceptions and stereotypes. These perceptions and stereotypes are divided into three namely distinctions, (1) perceptions and stereotypes from Indonesian women towards Finnish people, (2) from Finnish people towards Indonesian people, and (3) perceptions and stereotypes from Indonesian women towards fellow immigrants. For the purpose of clarity, in this perceptions and stereotypes part, I use the word 'Indonesian women' referring to my research subjects. Although I do not mean to generalize, but the word 'Finnish people' and 'Fellow immigrants' will refer to some Finnish people and fellow immigrant without mentioning particular gender.

In the following example, I am going to expatiate on the first and the second distinctions related to perceptions and stereotypes, which is from Indonesian women towards Finnish people and vice versa. Menik says,

“One time, I talked to another neighbour; she asked what I did when I was in Indonesia. I worked in a hotel, I said. ‘Were you the cleaning service?’ she said. I replied, ‘Oh my God! Are you kidding? Of course not.’ Beside, even though if I worked as a cleaning service or else, it was a job! She then continued to ask, what I did then. I said I worked in the front office as the reservation manager. She said, ‘Really?’ I replied, ‘Yes, Why?’ Crazy. I had heard that a lot of Finnish people more likely to feel envious of others”

I see how Menik felt underestimated by her Finnish neighbour when the Finnish neighbour automatically thought that her previous job was as a cleaner in a

cleaning service. Her strong answer based on her neighbour's remark about her job, shows how she felt. From Menik's conversation with her neighbour, it looks like her Finnish neighbour is aware that Indonesia is one of Asian countries. Therefore, the Finnish neighbour's has the tendency to stereotype Asian people and closely relate Asian people jobs as those at the lower bottom of the labour market. In Menik's case, she assumes that Menik was only a cleaning service worker before she came to Finland. The Finnish neighbour perceptions and stereotypes might come from her own daily observations or from other resources, such as from her colleagues or from multimedia information. Menik's neighbour could not believe and sounded so surprised when she found out Menik was working as a reservation manager before she came to Finland. From her reaction, it shows and proves that her stereotype towards Asian people is unjustified. On the other hand, by using mouth-to-mouth information and without any further justification, Menik also creates perceptions and stereotyped on how Finnish people behave. Unfortunately, I am not going to elaborate more on how such thought might occur, as it will need another kind of research to define the background history and justify this kind of perceptions and stereotypes.

The last perceptions and stereotypes that I am going to elaborate here is from Indonesian women towards other fellow immigrants. Sansekerta is working as a nurse in the hospital, and she says her own daily observation is as follows,

“I do not want to generalize, but I want to take an example from my working environment because it is the place where I spend most of my time. Sometimes immigrant patients' family bring their traditional foods to the hospital and warm it in micro. The smell of the spices can make others feel nauseous. Sometimes that small thing makes my friends wonder why they do not respect us while we are trying to respect them. I understand that they also have to maintain their own culture, but it does not mean we should not respect the culture where we live. Appreciate local cultures.”

Even though Sansekerta portray herself as an immigrant as well, but she explicitly mentions that she does not want to generalize all immigrants are the same. She told me about what has happened in her work place. In her statement, she tries to understand that the fellow immigrant is trying to maintain his or her own culture. On the other hand, she also expected the fellow immigrant to respect local people

as well, in this case, the Finnish people who are patients, patient's visitors and or working in the hospital. At one point, she finds it difficult to justify fellow immigrants' behaviour in front of her colleagues. From Sansekerta's story, not only does it show perception and stereotypes from Indonesian woman towards fellow immigrants, but also perceptions and stereotypes from Finnish people who are working at the hospital towards immigrant patients. For Sansekerta, it is important to respect each other wherever we are. As Bennett (2004) posit, "Attempt to learn how to act in ways that are to some extent appropriate in those cultural contexts" (p.71).

The challenges to migrate and live in new country such as in Finland create many challenges, which have to be faced by the immigrants. The differences in climate and weather condition are usually the first thing migrants notice once they step into Finland; it is then follows by the language, cultures and social challenges. Beresneviciute (2003) opines, "Relations between a person and social reality develop through the individual's skills and competencies that enable them to act according to structural rules of social reality" (p.100). In relation to my research, by learning the local language and cultures, it helps the Indonesian women to be able to understand, communicate and act based on local cultures.

5.2.2. Positive experiences

Despite the challenges that have been faced by the Indonesian women, there are many positive experiences as well. In this sub-chapter, I will elaborate about the positive experiences during the post-migration period. In no particular order, the positive experiences can be dividing into three distinct groups, which consist of nature, cultures, and structures. The mind map of positive experience is as follows:

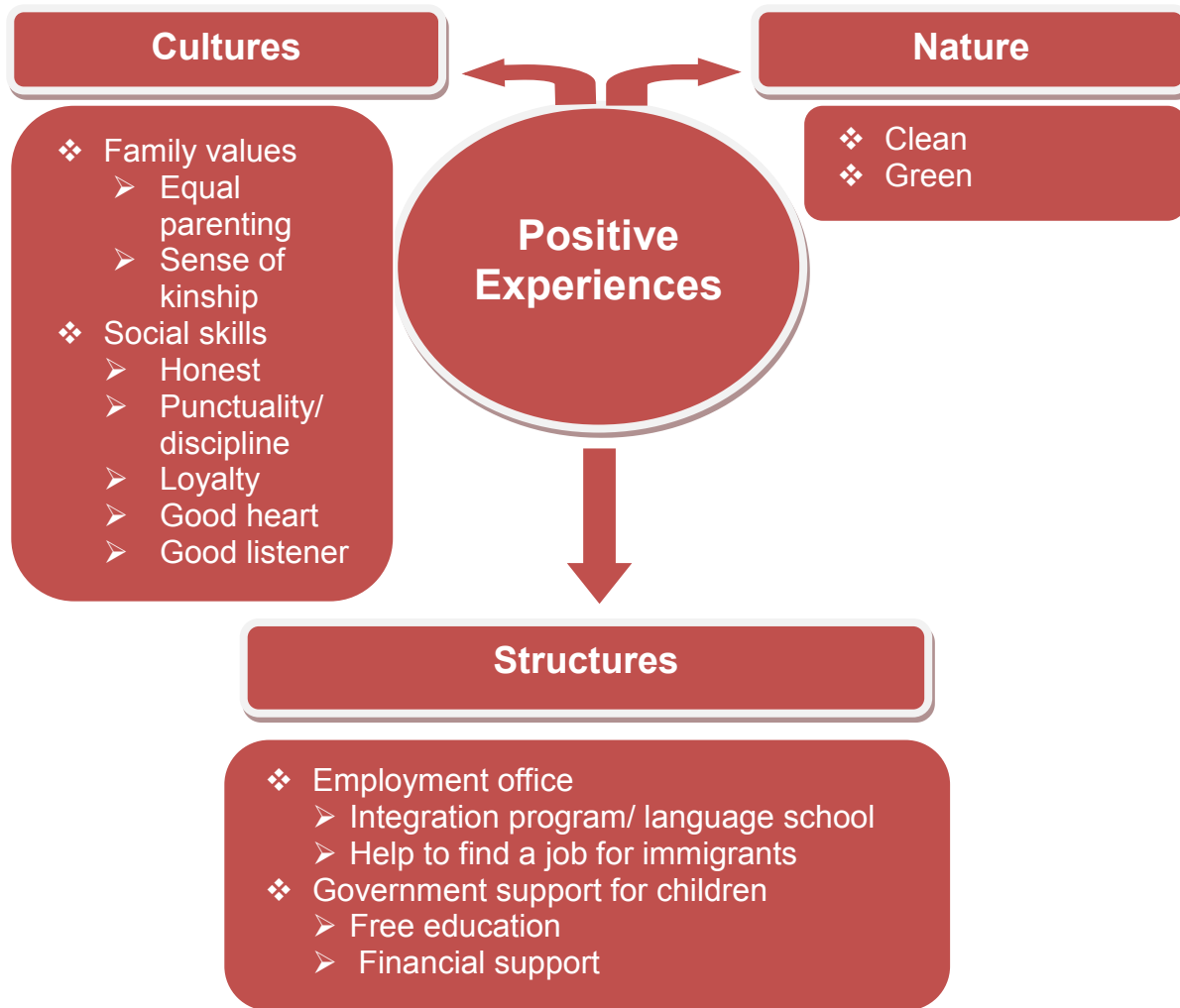


Figure 6: Indonesian Women’s Positive Experiences during Post-Migration Period

Firstly, I am going to discuss about positive experiences related to nature. Similar like when my research subjects were ask about their challenges, they mentioned about the weather/ nature in the beginning of conversation. Finland has beautiful and breath taking nature which is also appreciated by the Finnish people. Butet and Sansekerta notice how Finnish people enjoy and appreciate the nature. According to them, one of the ways of how Finnish people appreciate their nature is by doing outside activities related to nature, such as walking or running in the middle of forest while enjoying and appreciating the nature. Another thing, which my research subjects like about Finnish nature, is that it is clean and green, particularly in the summer. For example, Noni says,

“I usually say to my Indonesian friends back home that Finnish people do not litter anywhere.”

From her statement, I can see how Noni is really impressed by the cleanliness of Finnish nature. It is a contrast to the habit of many Indonesian people. They like to litter everything everywhere. The awareness of keeping the nature clean is something that still needs to be learned by many Indonesians. Not only do Finnish people like to put their trash in its place, they even make sure to put their pet's dirt into plastic bag and put it in the trashcan. Therefore, the nature environment can maintain its cleanliness with the support of the people.

Secondly, the positive experiences that Indonesian women talk during their post-migration period are those relate to the cultures. In this theme, I divided them into two groups, which are family values and social skills. In this paragraph, I am going to elaborate about the family values first. I divided the family values into two categories, equal parenting and sense of kinship. For the purpose of clarity, the equal parenting I am going to expatiate consists of equal opportunity for both parents in raising the children and gender equality treatment towards the children. For example, Menik says,

“My husband and I have equal position at home. In Indonesia, it is usually only the woman who has to do all the domestic works such as cleaning, take care of children, cooking, etc. But in Finland, we have equal responsibility to do housework.”

Menik mentions about equal parenting, particularly in terms of doing housework together with her husband. We can still see the inequality in marriage in Indonesia up until today, where many textbooks for elementary school students are still using the gender patriarchy module. Utomo, et al (2009) opines that in Indonesia it is easier to find, “Text books with gender patriarchy module describing the role of the father working outside the house and the mother looking after the domestic duties and cooking” (p.3). Thus, in the Indonesian context, the women have been indirectly assigned the role model of moral educators for their children at home, with the aim to keep the next generation in the right direction, straight and narrow. According to Mariana Amiruddin, the director of Jurnal Perempuan Foundation, those things mentioned earlier lead to shaping a gender stereotype of the ideal Indonesian woman, as cited below:

“Indonesian women are supposed to embrace Eastern and Islamic cultures, [...] become good mothers who serve their husbands, nurture their children and support the family.” (as cited in Kuswandini, 2010).

Such phenomenon, though, does not exclusively happen only in Indonesian context, as the inequality in doing house works also happens in other countries contexts. As Giddens and Sutton (2009), for example, posit, “Men rarely willing to share full responsibility for domestic work and child care” (p.469). Regardless the religion or the gender, in Finnish culture, equal parenting in sharing responsibility to do house works is part of their life.

In relation to equal parenting, Sri, Sansekerta and Menik share the story of how they raise and treat their children equally. Despite the gender inequality treatment towards children in Indonesian culture, all of them posit that along with their Finnish husbands, they agree to raise and treat their children equally. All of them share the same perspective that a girl can do what a boy can do, and vice versa. I can see how on some level there is no dominant culture in their house, every family values that both parent want to implement to their children is based on the discussion and compromise by both parents. Besides acknowledging that all children are treated the same, they also mention the need to acknowledge children’s individual uniqueness and personalities. For example, as Sansekerta says,

“I treat my children equally when it terms of caring them, nothing is different. The differences are only how I face them due to character and personality differences.”

Even though Sansekerta is proud of Indonesian culture, however, she is implementing Finnish culture towards her children, which is gender equality treatment. For her and her spouse, this type of Finnish culture is very good to inculcate in her own children. They both believe both male and female children are on the same level regardless of their gender.

The second group of family values relates to Finnish sense of kinship. In the matter of sense of kinship, Finnish and Indonesian families have similarity. As Butet says,

“I think Finland is a bit conventional, compared to other Scandinavian countries. Finnish family has strong bonding of kinship, but the family circle is smaller than in Indonesia, only a father, a mother and children. They call it *perhe*. Outside the circle, they call it *suku*. Not like in Indonesia, if we are family, it is a big family. Even cousin is also a family.”

Although she does not mention in detail which country to be exact, Butet compared the kinship relationship between Finland and other Scandinavian countries. Finnish sense of kinship has similarity like Indonesian family values. The difference is that family circle in Indonesia is wider than in Finland. Extended families such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins are part of the family. Even in modern culture like these days, the nuclear family is becoming popular particularly in urban areas. Often, extended families, elders and unmarried siblings reside with their families in one place. The Finnish sense of kinship is one of Finnish cultures that my research subjects mention as their positive experience during their post-migration period.

Finnish social skills are the second group included in the culture themes of the positive experiences of Indonesian women during their post-migration period. Despite the Finnish silence and individual social skills that I mentioned in the earlier sub-chapter, my research subjects mentioned many qualities of Finnish social skills during the interview session. For example, as Butet says,

“Mostly Finnish people are very honest and basically they have a good heart. My own personal experience, if they do not like a person they will say it to other people whom they both know. I know that they are not the kind of person who keeps things. Finnish people rarely give any compliment I appreciate their honesty. They listen more. When they are doing the job and expressing opinion, the others will wait until it is their turn to comment.”

Although in the beginning of her arrival in Finland, she mentioned how Finnish people are so cold and quiet, but after living in Finland for over 5 years, she mentions how actually Finnish people have very good qualities in terms of social skills. All of my research subjects posit they like Finnish people’s honesty, kind heart, straightforward talking, open-minded and loyalty towards spouse or friends. My research subjects also mention many times about Finnish people’s discipline in terms of punctuality as one of positive things from their social skills. In Indonesia,

there is a popular term '*jam karet*', which means 'time that stretches like rubber'. For example, if the meeting appointment was at 1:00pm, the person would come at 2:00pm. They said, in the beginning it was challenging, for them to be punctual. However, the longer they stay here in Finland they have learnt to be punctual like Finnish people.

Thirdly, the positive experiences, which Indonesian women talk about during their post-migration period, are the structures. I divided Finnish structure theme into two distinctions, employment office structure and Finnish government support for children. Finnish employment office has played a huge role for immigrants, particularly for Indonesian women. In relation to employment office structure, I divided it into two groups, (1) language school as part of integration program and (2) helping to find a job for immigrants. The first group of employment office structure I am going to elaborate is the language integration program. Immigrants who have come to Finland for marriage purposes, family union, asylum seekers, and refugees who come to Finland, is expected to join Finnish Government's integration program where they can learn Finnish language and cultures. Most people who have come to work initially are not categories for integration program.

Koivukangas (2002) posits that there are three levels of integration policies in Finland, which consists of "The national integration policy, the municipal integration program and the integration plan, and integration plan for individuals and families, language teaching, etc" (p.10). In Finnish law, every municipality has to have an integration programme. According to Sagne, Saksela, and Wilhelmsson (2007, p.102-103), the programme should be based on the individual integration plan from every immigrant, which was planned together with the related authorities, which consists of the municipality and the employment office (Seppelin, 2010, p.2). This plan is including the participation to get vocational education and language education, also work training after the education and the support. The length of the integration plan usually takes about three years, within the period of one year upon their arrival in Finland. There are two official languages in Finland, which consists of Finnish and Swedish. Depending on the location, whether the municipality is located in Swedish speaking area or not, the immigrant is able to get Swedish or Finnish language education or even both.

During the period of getting education, those immigrants who have come to Finland for marriage purposes, family union, asylum seeker and refugees is entitled to get integration/education/ social support. As Butet says,

“Finnish social welfare system really supports us. I am not aware when I came that I am entitled to go to school. It is strange [for me] why they give me money to go to school. I usually pay to go to school. Every day they pay for my food allowance. Although we came here with nothing, we will not die, we will survive.”

Butet and Sansekerta notice and appreciate the facilities provided by the Finnish government for them. In Butet statement, what she means by ‘us’ is the immigrants. When she says, ‘although we came here with nothing,’ she is implicitly saying that, ‘although we came here without extra money or education,’ we do not need to worry. I do not see that she undermines and uses Finnish Government’s facilities for her own benefit, but she emphasizes how she appreciates Finnish government support for the immigrants in order to be able to adapt in Finland. Indonesian system is very different from that. In Indonesia, the people have to pay to go to school, instead of the other way around. Indonesian government does not provide language-teaching facilities for foreigners who come to Indonesia. They have to pay to private Indonesian language teacher or private language school provider. Butet further says, “Maybe if westerners come to Indonesia without anything, they could die, because no one will help them. The government will not come and say that they will help the westerners and will pay them if they go to school.”

Despite the challenging experiences at the beginning of my research subjects’ arrival, all of them share the same opinion when they start to discuss about equality treatment from both the Finnish people and Finnish government. As Sansekerta says,

“In general, the Finnish government tries to introduce, teach and inform that here are the differences among us, and we also try to respect. Facilities, infrastructures, and coaching have been provided to handle immigrants or refugees.”

All of my research subjects opine positively regarding Finnish government’s equality treatment towards immigrants. Sansekerta posits how Finnish government

tries to introduce differences between Finnish and immigrants cultures, and at the same time they implicitly expect the immigrants to respect their cultures, and vice versa. During the Finnish language school, the employment office emphasizes the importance of equality as one of Finnish cultures. There is no gender, religion or citizenship difference. Everyone who is living in Finland have a right to get equal treatment.

The employment office facilitates all immigrants to learn Finnish language into the same school. Finnish language school is the meeting point where immigrants gather and have one similar aim, to learn and understand Finnish language and cultures. At the same time, not only can they learn local language and cultures, but they can also learn about other cultures as well from fellow immigrant classmates. For example, Menik says,

“I like it when I went to the language school. I was able to meet other immigrant students from other countries. I learned about their culture, how they think, what kind of lifestyle they have, and what they are experiencing during their life in Finland. So, I was not only learning the language, but also other country’s cultures. It was also a place to share.”

The second group of employment office structure I am going to elaborate is the help to find a job for immigrants. The role of employment office for immigrants is not only providing the language school as part of integration program, but also to help them to find suitable job based on their interest and their educational background. If the immigrants are aiming to work for a particular job but do not have any educational background to support, the employment office also provides an information on what kind of education is needed and to whom they should contact as person in charge who can help them further. Butet shares her impression towards Finnish bureaucracy system, particularly the employment office. She says,

“The employment office here is really extra ordinary. We just need to come to make appointment with them, and then there will be a person who is assigned to serve the foreigners. They would make a plan for me and inform me that if I want to join the course. I was quite impressed with their services. We came, they served directly, and they found the place. They

were really trying to find us a place when we told them we could not speak Finnish, and based on our working experience. I got my job now from a woman who was working to find job training for immigrant. I did my 2 months job training there, and before it ends, I asked the boss if he needed new employee. At that time, he said they did not need any new employee. Not long after my job training ended, he asked if I already got a job or not. Then he offered me a place to work at their office. I was not fussy at that time and did not mind even if they put me in the warehouse. The most important thing is to get in first, because when we are already inside, people will be able to see what kind of person we are.”

At the end of Finnish language school, usually the students are required to do job training in one of Finnish companies. Butet’s teacher at the intermediate level introduces her to a woman who works in employment office. I see how Butet really appreciates the effort of Finnish employment office in finding her a job that suits her professional background. During her last job training, her boss was impressed by her work. At the same time, she actively asks her boss to think about her if there is any open position for her. After her job training ended, she then receive job offering from her boss. Four of five research subjects shares their positive experiences in finding job in Finland. All of them share the same attitude to actively ask and contact a company that interest them. They also show their best efforts in doing their job during the job-training period and actively asked job opportunity in the same company. Slightly different from the others, Sansekerta’s experience is finding a job provided by the nurse school where she studies. She says, “The nurse school provide place to do the internship. First, they put me at nursing home, then at the hospital, mental department, and lastly I have to choose which ward I am interest to work. Now I am working in the central hospital in orthopaedic and trauma department.” Sansekerta emphasizes how she has been so lucky in finding a job in Finland. She and the other research subjects share that the tip to finding a job is to be actively asking for opportunity. Use the contact person given by the employment office and be active.

The second structure theme I am going to discuss in this paragraph is the Finnish government’s support for children. The support from Finnish government for

children is not only the free education for all level of educations, but also in terms of financial support for children's necessities. For example, Sansekerta says,

“When I moved here, I am already aware that in terms of safety, education and welfare are more guaranteed here. Both education for children and language courses for immigrants are free. I am also impressed with the social welfare here, which is much better than in Indonesia.”

In her statement, Sansekerta is not only impressed by the free education provided by Finnish government for immigrants and their children, but also that provided by the social welfare system. The social welfare that Sansekerta mentioned is the financial support for daily necessities. To compare between Finland and Indonesia, in a matter of facilities, Butet compare the government support to the children. She further mentions how in Finland, ever since the baby was born, him/her already has been receiving financial support from the government. In Indonesia, there is no such kind of social welfare system. Children usually fully receive financial support from the parents. In certain case where the parents are poor, the rich extended family members are usually helping in that matter. All my research subjects opine the Finnish government support for children positively.

Raden Ajeng Kartini is one of Indonesian woman figures who were fighting for equality in Indonesian society. Her Dutch friends who received Kartini's letters about her dream towards Indonesian women to have equal position both at home and work place was compiled into one book and name, 'From darkness into light.' I think the phrase really suit to summarize this sub-chapter. In the beginning of arrival in Finland, all of my research subjects were facing many challenges, starting from the weather, language, loneliness and culture shocks. After living for minimum of three years in Finland, slowly but surely, their life has become better compared to in the beginning. They are able to speak Finnish language and use that skill to socialize not only with Finnish people but also with fellow immigrants and Indonesian people who live nearby their place. They are also able to get a job based on their interest and professional background. The role of employment office plays a big part in helping my research subjects to settle in Finland. In the end, they feel comfortable and start to enjoy their life in Finland. The main message from their post-migration narrative is to embrace the differences, focusing on the positive things and live with it, stop complaining. In the following

sub-chapter, I will elaborate how Indonesian women account their personal changes during their living in Finland.

5.2.3. How Indonesian women account their personal changes during the post-migration period

In this sub-chapter, I am going to elaborate on personal changes experienced by Indonesian women during the post-migration period. After living for a couple of years, almost all of my research subjects notice about their personal changes, particularly their social skills. Although in the beginning, all of my research subjects mentioned Finnish people lack of social skills, such as silence and independence, but after a while, their behaviour was affected positively by Finnish social skills. Butet mentions how she is now feeling more independent and she is now having a lot of courage to do all things herself. To achieve particular level of personal change, from being a spoiled person into becoming an independent person is something that my research subjects tend to be proud of. To start a new life in a new country without familiar faces and familiar system seems to encourage my research subjects to believe more in themselves and that also elevating their self-confidence from low to higher level. In particular, this usually happened after they are able to handle and pass through one challenge at a time. For example, Sansekerta says,

“In terms of personality, I do not think I have changed. As time passes, I feel my self-confidence is higher now. I feel wherever I will stay, I am sure I will be able to handle everything (adaptation to new culture, doing all domestic works, etc).”

Many things that have happened to Sansekerta during her living in Finland have affected her self-confidence.

Sri notices her personal change. She mentions that she is changing from being friendly to other people into becoming less friendly and cautious about greeting others. Her lived experience in Finland has changed her; she does not have small talks with strangers. As I mentioned earlier, Finnish people do not like do small talk. If there is nothing to say, Finnish people will mostly keep quiet. In the earlier

chapter, I mentioned how important it is in Indonesian culture to be polite to other people in terms of trying to say something in a nice way to older people or to other people in general (not saying bad words or scream at them). For many Indonesian people, sometimes it is unacceptable to talk straightforwardly because it can mean insulting the other person. However, to talk straightforwardly is one of Finnish people social skills that are affecting Indonesian women who have been living in Finland for many years. It is acceptable in Finnish culture, but it is unacceptable in Indonesian culture. Therefore, many times my research subjects need to position themselves with whom they are having interaction, Finnish people or Indonesian people.

For the first couple of months when my research subjects migrated to Finland they experience culture shock challenges. After living a couple of years in Finland, some Finnish cultures start to affect them personally. Almost all of my research subjects notice how Finnish cultures are affecting them personally in a more positive way. For example, they are becoming more independent and have higher self-esteem. In the following sub-chapter, I will elaborate on how Indonesian women are portraying their future in Finland.

5.2.4. Portraying the future

In this sub-chapter, I am going to elaborate on how Indonesian women are portraying their future. When my research subjects and I start to discuss about their future in Finland, all of them state that they are planning to stay in Indonesia. They have not made any firm decision, but some of them are planning to stay half-year in Indonesia and the other half-year in Finland, or even to stay in Indonesia for good. Although they enjoy their life in Finland, they do not see Finland as their future place to live. Even though all of my research subjects feel comfortable to live in Finland, they only view Finland as a temporary place to live and save some of their income for the future in Indonesia. As Noni says,

“Sometimes I feel like I have two sides [of me]. On one side, I like to live in Finland because everyone follows the rules and everything runs well,

including the internet connection. On the other hand, I also want to live in Indonesia during my retirement. ”

From Noni’s statement, I can see how she is enjoying the life in Finland by comparing the facilities in Finland and in Indonesia. At the time of interview, she is still hesitating on her plan in the future, whether to stay in Finland or move and live in Indonesia.

Moreover, when I ask them whether they are interested to change their nationality after their living experience in Finland, almost all of my research subjects say they do not want to change their nationality. As Sri says,

“I do not need to have Finnish nationality because I have the same right, no differences. I think the only difference is that I cannot vote for president during general election. It is ok; let the people here vote for their own president.”

To apply for Finnish citizenship is not important for Sri and other research subjects as they have the same freedom and receive the same right as Finnish citizens. The only thing that differs is their civil right to vote. Indonesian law do not let their citizen have double nationality. However, a couple of years ago Indonesian government let children from mixed marriage have two nationalities until the age of 18 years old and additional 3 more years waiting time until they can make their own final decision about nationality they really want. Nevertheless, my research subjects who have children are almost certain that their children will choose Finnish nationality instead of Indonesian nationality due to the fact they have spent their childhood and will probably spend their adulthood in Finland. Another reason my research subjects posit during the interview is that it is easier for the children to travel everywhere by using Finnish passport than Indonesian passport. The children’s possibility in choosing Finland as their citizenship and the country they will live in the future is one of considerations for Sansekerta and Sri to spend half of the year with their children in Finland or wherever they will stay later. Anand Krishna opines, “Being Indonesian means more than having a passport, it is an identity that no one can remove” (as cited in Hallet, 2012). Wherever Indonesian people are, particularly outside Indonesia, they cannot be separated as Indonesian as their identity.

To live for long period in a country does not mean it can automatically erase a person's identity background. All of my research subjects are most likely planning to continue their social mobility elsewhere. All of them have either plan or dream to go back and live in Indonesia during their retirement period. The comfortable feeling of living in Finland does not make them forget easily about Indonesia. No matter where we live, there is no other place that can make us feel comfort and happy unless in our own home surrounded by the loved ones.

6. DISCUSSION

“I turned to narrative as a mode of inquiry because I was persuaded that social science texts are needed to construct a different relationship between researchers and subjects and between authors and readers. I wanted a more personal, collaborative, and interactive relationship, one that centred on the question of how human experience is endowed with meaning and on the moral ethical choices we face as human beings who live in an uncertain and changing world” (Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p.743-744).

In this chapter, I am going to discuss the main research question, which is how do Indonesian women portray their post-migration life in Finland. The first thing I need to emphasize about this research is to note that one should not generalize from the stories of all of my research subjects. The mind map on how I analyse the main research question is as follows:

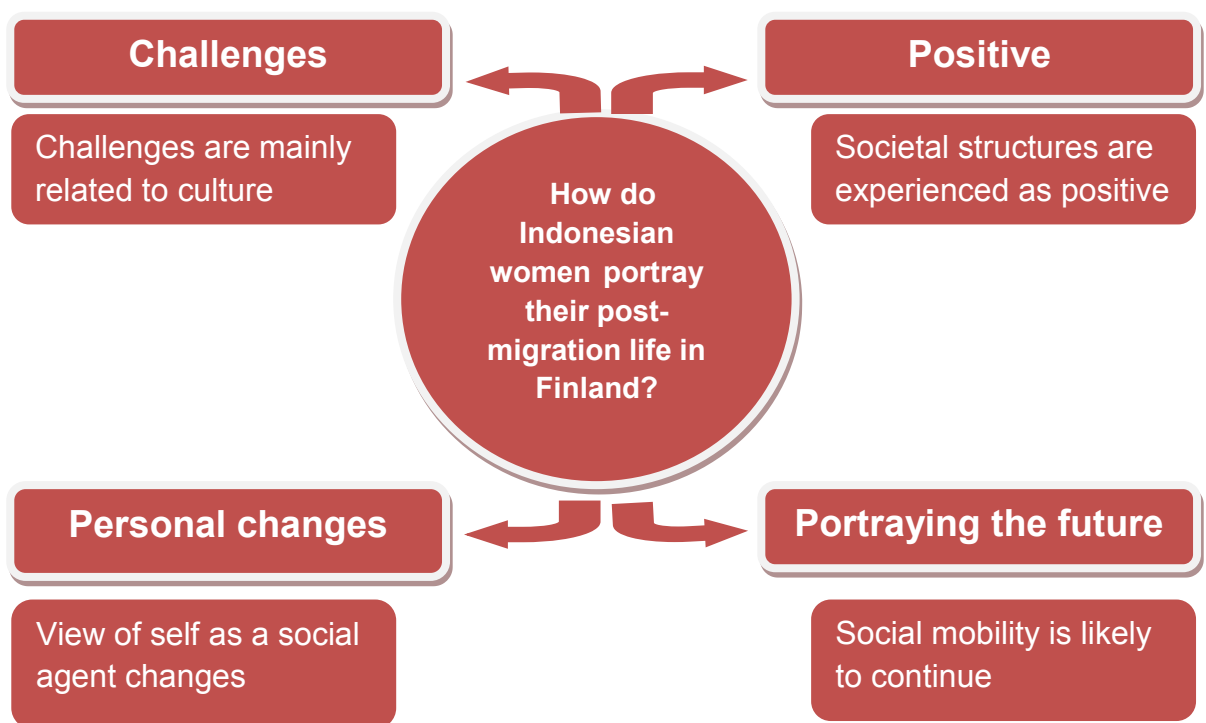


Figure 7: Indonesian Women’s Portraying Their Post-Migration Life in Finland

For the purpose of clarity, the one main idea in each of the four themes above is based on the idea that all my research subjects have mentioned them several times. For example, during the interview, when all my research subjects and I discuss about personal changes, many times they mention and elaborate details about how their social skills have changed during their life in Finland. Indonesian women's post-migration living experience in Finland has shown not only the challenges they are facing in the earlier months of their arrival, but also how they manage to survive the challenges. When all of my research subjects are sharing about their challenges and positive experiences during post-migration period their first response is always relate to weather and nature. However, when we discuss further, all of them discuss more about cultural challenges and the positive things about Finnish structures. The biggest challenge for my research subjects in the beginning of their post-migration life is adapting to the Finnish culture. The culture includes the challenging language, different social skills, limited social life and different family values in terms of lack of respect towards the elders and other people. Experiencing culture shocks and challenging interaction with Finnish people, as well as other Indonesian marriage migrants and other fellow immigrants are among one of many experiences shared by my research subjects. Although it is difficult moment for my research subjects, but during the adaptation and integration process, they are able to embrace their challenges and differences. They are also starting to see and live in a more positive way of life.

Another thing mentioned by all my research subjects are the Finnish well-structured governance in relation to the service from the employment office. Starting from their arrival in Finland and reporting themselves at the employment office, and the employment office enrolling them to Finnish language school. The support from the employment office continues in helping my research subjects in finding a job. Those things are impressing and embraced positively by all of my research subjects, as they did not receive similar treatment in Indonesia.

Despite the challenges in the beginning, in the end, those challenges help them to improve their social skills into a better one. Even though at the beginning they complained about Finnish people's social skills, but at the end of the day, their behaviour changes, which they consider a positive thing. For example, at the

beginning they complained about how they have to do everything, including doing domestic work and taking care of children, all by themselves. After couple of years living in Finland, they proudly said that they are more independent compared to their previous life in Indonesia. No matter how long they have been and how they feel comfortable and enjoy living in Finland, it does not affect their love towards Indonesian land and cultures. They all have plan and dreams to go back and live in Indonesia someday in the future. If this happens, it means they are going to continue their social mobility experience.

Migration scholars have been writing about social mobility histories by focusing on achieving better life in terms of having better social economic condition as the main reason for people to migrate. They have neglected migration for marriage reason until recently. As Kim (2010) says, "The recent growth of marriage migration in Asia stimulated the scholarly discussion of international marriage migration and led to nuanced descriptions and theoretical elaborations, especially concerning the distinctively gendered nature of the migration" (p.726). Even though in the previous chapter, Giddens and Sutton (2009) define social mobility as relating to the individual or group's movement between socio-economic positions, the results of my data analysis show differently. In this research, the social mobility of my research subjects is not related to the socio-economic position, but to their decision to get married to Finnish men and following the husbands back to their home country. They are all aware they are having downward mobility by the time they migrate to Finland. However, they do not see it as part of social sinking, but more of starting their new life journey all over together with their husband.

Prior to coming here to Finland, almost all of my research subjects had good position in their work place. Coming here is not only to be ready to be away from family and friends, but also to start the career from zero again (if not to change the career completely). As part of post-migration life, all of my research subjects have to go back to school to learn the Finnish language and some of them continue their education to get Finnish education certificate in order to be able to work in Finland. Some of my research subjects mentioned how it was difficult to go back to school after working for so many years in Indonesia. They realise that to go back

to school is something they have to do in order to understand Finnish language and culture and to be able to function fully in Finnish society. As Paskalia (1998) posit, "Career dislocation and downward mobility often accompanied changes in post-migration personal status, with marriage, family formation and the evolution of caring obligations. In many cases, these women resulting in difficulties a use for their skills in local labour markets"(p.127). In addition, Kim (2010) says,

"Many women who migrate to rural areas find that their educational attainment is higher than that of their husbands and that moving to a developed country does not guarantee upward mobility in term of class and social status; instead, many marriage migrants experience downward mobility" (p.726).

For example, Sansekerta continued her education in Finland by enrolling at the nursing school. Even though prior to her migration, her education background is an English certified teacher, but she realized she needs Finnish education in order to get a good job and survive living in Finland. She says,

"The most difficult thing to adapt when I arrived here for the first time was to get back to school. The only way to survive is to get the education from here."

Three out of five research subjects mention how it is important to get Finnish higher education to get a better life in Finland. They have to gain individually without relying completely on their husband. Two out of three research subjects decide to get Finnish higher education based on their own will, while the other one got the decision made for her at her work place as one of the requirements to continue her contract there. Even though they have to experience downward mobility, none of them complain about their current work life and career choice.

My initial background in doing this research is to challenge the stereotype way that perceiving of Indonesian women who are married to Caucasian men would have better life. The definition of 'better' itself can vary, depending on the context and personal background. To start my research with the stereotypical way of perceiving other people's life was a challenge for me as it is something cannot be defined whether it is white or black. Stereotypical way of viewing other people's life is more of multicolour. It has always been different in real life because it affected

by many varieties, such as the context, the resource of the stereotypical view come from, etc. From my data, my research subjects mention that their reason to migrate to Finland is due to the fact that they want to follow their husbands back to Finland. Looking at the stereotype in the previous chapter and based on the data I received from my research subjects, the stereotypical way of viewing their lives is challenged. None of my research subjects has mentioned the kind of stereotypical way of viewing. All of my research subjects implicitly mention their marriage based on mutual love. In fact, all of them said they never dreamed to get married to Caucasian men. None of them had particular preference about which country's they wanted to be married to. It just happens that they meet their Finnish husband and they both have mutual feeling's for each other.

6.1. Evaluating reliability and validity

In this sub-chapter, I will elaborate on my research's reliability and validity. As mentioned in previous chapter, in this research I am using three research methodologies, which consists of qualitative, narrative and auto-ethnography. Elliott (2005) defines reliability and validity in narrative qualitative approach as follows, "Reliability is defined as the replicability or stability of research findings, validity refers to the ability of research to reflect an external reality or to measure the concepts of interest" (p.22). Furthermore, Elliott divides qualitative research validity into internal and external validity. The distinction between internal and external is as follows, "Internal validity refers to the ability to produce results that are not simply an artefact of the research design, and external validity is a measure of how far the findings relating to a particular sample can be generalized to apply to a broader population" (Elliot, 2005, p.22). In addition, Elliott (2005) posit, "For some authors, internal validity is therefore thought to be improved by the use of narrative because participants are empowered to provide more concrete and specific details about the topic discusses and to use their own vocabulary and conceptual approach to describe life experiences" (p.23). In relation to my research, by enabling my research subjects to tell their own stories in their context and using Indonesian language, it makes them feel more comfortable in exploring and sharing their feelings. It also makes me to be able to learn more about their

post-migration experiences and engage in some of their stories as I experience it myself as well.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) opine that the auto-ethnography validity relates onto how well “It evokes in readers a feeling that the experience describe is lifelike, believable, and possible”(p.751). In addition, Wall (2006) opines, “In the case of dissertation, it appears that the form can be very fluid and evolving, and include personal stories and excerpts from interviews, possibly accompanied by other mode standard components of this type of research presentation” (p.5). Thus, the auto-ethnography methodology and the post-colonial feminism approach I use for this research are connecting in terms of the fluid experience description among my research subjects. Both, the methodology and the approach give me flexibility and varieties in analyzing the data, and create a feeling of possibility on how to manage the post-migration experience challenges for the readers.

Gurvitch et al. (2008, as cited in Starr, 2010, p.4) opines that the auto-ethnography reliability is “applied in social construction of knowledge derived from the analysis of personal experience in relation to culture where a high degree of reflexivity is essential.” On the other hand, Ellis and Bochner (2000) posit, “Since we always create our own personal narrative from a situated location, trying to make our present, imagined future, and remembered past cohere, there is no such thing as orthodox reliability in auto-ethnography research” (p.751). From both opinions, Starr (2010) posits that, “Auto-ethnography study is reality-based [...] admittedly from a more constructivist perspective” (p.4). However, Starr (2010) further explains, “Despite Ellis and Bochner’s acknowledgement of the necessity for trustworthiness criteria like validity, reliability and generalize-ability, these terms are drawn from positivist inquiry of which auto-ethnography is decidedly not a member” (p.5).

The nature of auto-ethnography and post-colonial feminism are fluid and flexible. Some researchers questioned the academic rigor, claimed to detect the subjectivity and methodological validity. Chang (2008) posits that there are five potential pitfalls that auto-ethnographers need to be aware of. Among one of those five potential pitfalls is the excessive focus on self and overemphasis on narration.

For this closure, I will only elaborate briefly on those two potentials as they relate to my research. Chang (2008) posits, “The methodological focus on self is sometimes misconstrued as a license to dig deeper in personal experiences without digging wider into the cultural context of the individual stories co-mingled with others” (p.54). Furthermore, Reed-Danahay (1997, as cited in Chang, 2008) opines, “Auto-ethnographers swept by the power of story-telling can easily neglect the very important mission of auto-ethnography – cultural interpretation and analysis of auto-biographic texts” (p.55). While writing data analysis, sometimes I get carried away by my research subjects’ stories. I have to keep in mind to co-mingle each story of my research subjects and dig into wider cultural context. Many times, I also get lost in trying to engage with my research subject stories without damaging the data analysis.

6.2. Ethical considerations

In this last sub-chapter, I am going to elaborate about ethical considerations of my research. Prior to starting this research, I began to approach few Indonesian women who are living in Finland to be my research subjects. Then, I made a list of the guideline of questions that I would ask during the interview. I consider myself lucky, as I did not find any difficulties in finding research subjects. Sri, one of my research subjects, recommended two other Indonesian women whom she considered would be willing to participate in my research. She informed them about me and introduced me to them using Facebook inbox message. After I contacted both of them, I then contacted two other Indonesian women, whom I consider could comfortably participate in my research. To consider ethical issues, I prepared informed consent and confidentiality document to my research subjects. Due to the fact that all my research subjects live in different city, I sent the draft of informed consent and confidentiality documents, along with the guideline of questions, which I am going to discuss with them. I need to send the guideline of questions prior to the agreed time of interview because all of them were nervous to be interviewed by me because they have never participated in any kind of research before.

In order to protect my research subjects' identity, I gave them pseudonyms for my data analysis and the city where they live. However, some vital information such as their previous working experience in Indonesian that was necessary was included in my research. During the interviews, I was trying consciously to avoid leading questions in order to give them opportunity to share the stories their way without any interruptions from me. However, there were some moments where some of my research subjects asked me to elaborate in details about my questions.

As I mentioned in the earlier chapter, my position is that of a researcher who also has the same situation as the research subjects. The findings of this research have affected my understanding of Finnish cultures positively. In addition, it has taught me about understanding other fellow immigrants, which also raised my intercultural sensitivity.

According to Dauphinee (2010), "Auto-ethnography opens space for the reader to see the intentions – and not just the theories and methodologies – of the researcher. It opens us to a deeper form of judgement"(p.813). When I raised my concern of being biased about my own research to my supervisor, she calms me down by saying that almost every research has bias affecting them. I raised my concern because I want to engage the data with my own personal experience, but at the same time, I do not want it to cloud my judgement and my data analysis. To be able to explore further about auto-ethnography, narrative life history and post-colonialism has given me relief and space to analyse my data more flexibility.

In this research, I have explored research questions that consist of main research question, and followed by four sub-research questions. The main research question is:

How do Indonesian women portray their post-migration life in Finland?

The sub-research questions are as follows:

1. What kind of challenges do Indonesian women tell during a post-migration period of minimum three years in Finland?

2. What kind of positive experiences do Indonesian women tell during this post-migration period?
3. How do Indonesian women account their personal changes during the period?
4. How do Indonesian women portray their future?

By doing this research, it has been emotional learning journey for me as I started with a vague idea motivated by the stereotype I have learnt since I was a child. At the same time, I was not familiar with the theories and methodologies, which I had to explore many of them prior to deciding which one is more appropriate for my research. I was confused and almost frustrated on how to write this research in an approach that is more personal but still under academic guidelines. As Dauphinee (2010) says, "If all were empowered to speak and write equally, there would be less need for an ethic of scholarly writing, because scholarly writing would be just one more form of textual expression" (p.807). To start a new life in a new country is always challenging for every immigrants. However, to face and handle the challenges are much more important to be able to survive living in a new country; be positive, embrace the difference and be active in socializing with local people and other fellow immigrants.

6.3. Recommendation and reflections on possible future approach

In this sub-chapter, I am going to reflect on the research I have done, on how I could do it differently if there is possibility to do it again. In the end of this sub-chapter, I will propose recommendation to focus for future research.

Having been raised up in a culture where small talk is part of our daily life, I can relate closely to what Butet, Menik and Sri told to me during the interview. In the earlier months when I arrived here, I felt the urge to try to start and open conversation with everyone I met. It has been part of my culture to start small talks and open conversation. It always work both ways whenever I start it with fellow international students or fellow immigrants. However, it works the opposite way when I start small talks with Finnish people. It puts me in an awkward feeling and

position when they did not respond to anything I just said, or they respond to it in short sentence. Whenever I get together with fellow international students or fellow Indonesian immigrants, those kinds of stories become collective stories and in the end, it somehow creates stereotypes towards Finnish people among us.

In relation to Menik's story, regarding her bad experience with her other fellow immigrant from a language school, I remember one night I hung out with my Indonesian friend at a club where I live. There was other man who tried to approach my Indonesian friend who apparently looks like Middle Eastern type of man. My friend quickly grabbed my hand to take a distance from the man while saying, "He is a foreigner. I never want to be approached by a foreign man. They are impolite and rude." I was so shocked at that time by how my friend portrayed the man as impolite and rude foreigner as if all foreigners are the same. At the same time, my friend and I are also foreigners in Finland. We are not native Finnish people. I do not expect to hear that kind of statement from an immigrant towards other immigrant. This kind of stereotyping is happening everyday without us even realise it.

This research suggests that migrating to other district or country is not only for social economy reason but also for marriage reason. The stories above are some likely areas that are highlighted for further study. The stereotypical image from immigrants towards Finnish people and vice versa, will need to be carried out in separate research. As Kim (2011) says, "One can find a lot of resources about African-American and Caucasian couples, but it is rarely hard to find a book focused entirely on Asian and Caucasian couples" (p.244). In this matter, I have never found an academic research elaborating about Indonesian-Caucasian couple and their post-migration experience. I hope this research can be useful contribution, particularly for Indonesian society.

If I have to plan this research again from the beginning, I would like to include Indonesian men who are migrating to Finland because they are married to Finnish women. It is possible their experience will contribute even richer data and be able to view their decision, why they are following their wives instead of asking their

wives to live with them in Indonesia. It might give different perspectives and results from different gender. Therefore, this area could be another interesting focus for further research, along with previous areas I mentioned earlier in this sub-chapter.

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