

**Mobility and belonging in return migration experiences:
Narratives of Ingrian Finns' returnees from Russia**

Erina Kanazawa

Master's Thesis in Social Exclusion
Supervisors: Ann-Charlotte Palmgren
Kattis Honkanen
Faculty of Arts, Psychology, and Theology
Åbo Akademi University 2021

Table of contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	2
1. Background and previous research	4
1.1 Historical background of Ingria and Ingria Finns	4
1.2 Previous research on Ingrian Finns	5
1.3 Previous research on return migration studies	7
2. Materials and methodology	10
2.1 Materials	10
2.2 Interviewing, translations and methodology	12
2.3 Ethical considerations	14
2.3.1 Informed consent: Consenting to what?	14
2.3.2 Insider/outsider positions	14
3. Theoretical framework	16
3.1 The politics of mobility	16
3.2 Belonging and fragmentation	18
4. Rhythm and Friction: temporal reflectivity in the politics of mobility ..	21
4.1 Temporality and desire as motive force	21
4.2 Rhythm as waiting and stillness in returnees' narratives	23
4.3 Rhythm in everyday lives	24
4.4 Friction	25
4.4.1 Friction as bordering: nationality, class, gender, race and sexuality	25
4.4.2 Friction as ethnic profiling: at stores	27
5. Fragmentation: language, memories, and home	30
5.1 Fragments of language and living with borders	30
5.2 Memories of the past	32
5.3 When, where, how are Ingrian Finns?	35
6. Conclusion	40
Acknowledgement	42

List of figures	43
Map of Ingria	43
The front page of the exhibition text, Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns	43
Reference list	44

ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY - FACULTY OF ARTS, PSYCHOLOGY AND THEOLOGY
 Abstract for master's thesis

Subject: Social Exclusion	
Author: Erina Kanazawa	
Title of thesis: Mobility and belonging in return migration experiences: Narratives of Ingrian Finns' returnees from Russia	
Supervisor: Ann-Charlotte Palmgren	Supervisor: Kattis Honkanen
<p>Abstract:</p> <p>This thesis examines how Ingrian Finns experience return migration and what the implications of returning home mean for them. In 1990, the Finnish then-president Mauno Koivisto announced that Finnish descendants of the former Soviet Union citizens had the right to return to Finland. Approximately, 30,000 people migrated from the former Soviet Union to Finland as Ingrian Finns' returnees during the return migration program from 1990 to 2011. The existing research on Ingrian Finn's return migration exclusively focuses on the discursive analysis of identity construction in terms of how Ingrian Finns' Finnish background can be identified through the notion of Finnishness at the institutional level. Based on a mixed-method qualitative approach, I use semi-structured interviews with a biographical narrative method and text materials from an exhibition, <i>Ingrians - The forgotten Finns</i> held at the National Museum of Finland. My purpose in this thesis is to provide an alternative story to dominant narratives that situate Ingrian Finns in the context of Finnish cultural and historical homogeneity. Considering mobility as politics of movement, representations, and practices, I illustrate the experiences and implications of Ingrian Finn's return migration. The 1990 Koivisto's statement is not necessarily motivated them to stay in Finland but their temporal conditions and desires shape the return decisions and processes. Notably, Ingrian Finn's mobility manifests a form of bordering practices, which not only represent an ideological border between West and East but also the interconnectedness of social relations concerning nationality, language, class, race, gender, and sexuality. By incorporating the notion of fragmentation into belonging, I present the way Ingrian Finns live with the cross-border relations of language, memories, and home. The concept of fragmentation opens up possibilities for analyzing Ingrian Finns beyond the national borders and offers an insight into various modes of belonging. In the dominant narratives, Ingrian Finn's belonging is associated with the feelings of rootlessness and pains, however, my informants convey a sense of belonging through resistance and closeness to the notion of Finnishness and Ingrianness, and in-between-ness.</p>	
<p>Keywords:</p> <p>Ingrian Finns, return migration, mobility, belonging, fragmentation, biographical interviews</p>	
Date: 03.05.2021	Number of pages: 56
The abstract passed as maturity examination:	

Introduction

Who are Ingrian Finns? The question was first raised by the Finnish politicians and legislators in the early 1990s, when the Finnish then-president Mauno Koivisto announced in a televised interview that Finnish descendants of the former Soviet Union citizens had the right to return to Finland. Approximately 30,000 people migrated from the former Soviet Union to Finland as Ingrian Finns' returnees during the return migration program from 1990 to 2011 (Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja, 2015). On the legislative level, the Finnish government's concern was how to identify Ingrian Finns' Finnish background. In the academic context, similar questions were raised by many scholars whose primary focus was on the discursive analysis on how both institutions and individuals constructed Ingrian Finns' identity in relation to the notion of Finnishness. In 2020, the National Museum of Finland held an exhibition concerning Ingrian Finns titled, *Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns* with the purpose of sharing a story about Ingrian Finns' identities and histories not to be forgotten in Finland.

In my thesis, I interview Ingrian Finns with the purpose of further challenge dominant narratives that locate Ingrian Finns in proximity to Finland or its vicinity. In order to provide an alternative story to the dominant narratives, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) How and in what conditions did Ingrian Finns experience return migration in the 1990s?
- 2) What does "return" mean for Ingrian Finns, when Finland is not their origin of country but their ancestral homeland?
- 3) How do Ingrian Finns feel a sense of belonging when Finland is not their origin of country?

The studies of mobility and belonging are relevant to this thesis. Mobility studies provide a broad approach to understanding various aspects of movements that shape the Ingrian Finns' return migration. In order to understand their experiences and implications of return, I use three aspects of Cresswell (2010)'s theory of the politics of mobility: motive force, rhythm, and friction. Each aspect connects with the following features respectively: temporal and

emotional aspects of migration decision-making processes (Collins, 2018), rhythm analysis (Lefebvre, 2004; Cwerner, 2001), and bordering practices (Keskinen et al., 2018). My study is important to the Ingrian Finns' communities and researchers because I will provide an alternative way to understanding Ingrian Finns' identities through language, memories, and home. I highlight the temporal dimensions of Ingrian Finns' life histories in order to illustrate their complex and in-between subjectivities and belongings by following the concepts of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006) and fragmentation (Minh-ha, 1990; 1992).

The thesis will begin by the following order: 1) background and previous research; 2) materials and methodology; 3) theoretical framework; 4-5) two analyses chapters; and 6) conclusion.

1. Background and Previous research

1.1 Historical background of Ingria and Ingria Finns

The population of Ingrian Finns lived on the land of Ingria, which was located between the shore of the Finnish Gulf and Lake Ladoga (see Fig.1). Historically, Ingria's borderline and population was shaped and affected by the power relations between Sweden, Finland and Russia. Constant warfare changed borders and populations in Ingria. After the peace treaty of Stolbova made in 1617 between Sweden and Russia, an influx of Finnish-speaking and Lutheran-practicing people started to settle among indigenous people of Ingria in the 17th century (Zadneprovskaya, 1999). Another dramatical change in the population of Ingria happened during the Great Northern War from 1700 to 1721, with an influx of Russians that came in after Russia claimed the land of Ingria. Ingria has remained within the Russian state since the Great Northern War, and after that continuously as a part of the Russian Empire, the Russian Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union, and the modern-day Russian Federation. Ingria of today corresponds roughly to the Russian province of Leningrad Oblast surrounding the federal city of St. Petersburg (Prindiville, 2015: 16 cited Kurs, 1994: 107-130).

In the nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century, political changes in both Russia and Finland caused the mass evacuation of Ingrian Finns. From 1941, the German and Finnish forces operated the 900-day Siege of Leningrad military campaign in Leningrad and its surroundings (Matley, 1979). As a result, approximately 63,000 Ingrian Finns left for Finland as refugees, but most of them returned to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War (Anne de Tinguy, 2003). In the Ingrian Finns' return migration, the Second World War had significant implications for the Finnish governments' view and understanding of the Ingrian Finns.

In 1990, the Finnish then-president Mauno Koivisto (in office 1982-1994) announced that Ingrian Finns have the right to return to Finland. On the 10th of April 1990, Koivisto commented in the televised interview that:

In any case, a situation is that these are Finns who have been transferred to that area by Swedish authorities. For example, by religion, they are very

strongly Lutherans, not Orthodox. So, the criteria of return migration apply to them even though these families have been living there for a quite long time¹ (Koivisto 1990)

In response to the Koivisto's statement, the Finnish Immigrant service defined returnees² as below:

[a] person from the former Soviet Union can be granted a residence permit if the person's nationality is Finnish, that is, he or she is not a Finnish citizen but is of Finnish origin in terms of ethnic background³ (Prindiville, 2015:12)

The term "ethnic background" is somewhat difficult to define. In order to clarify the definition of ethnic background, the Finland's main immigration law, the 1991 Aliens Act⁴ introduced the qualifications for returnee applicants. Due to the lack of general consensus on the concept of returnees among the Finnish politicians and legislators, the notion of Finnishness was rigidly applied to the discussion on the Ingrian Finns' return migration program (Prindiville, 2015). Paasi (1996) critically attests that the iconography of Finnishness has become an ideological boundary that separates Finland from Russia after the Second World War, drawing the line of demarcation between the capitalist West and the socialist East. Ingrian Finns returnees' program was no exception for manifesting this ideological boundary of Finnishness in terms of how Ingrian Finns were identified.

1.2 Previous research on Ingrian Finns

A central theme in the research on Ingrian Finns has been on the institutional level and examined how Finnish policy makers and politicians constructed the Finnish identity through the return program. Much of the literature highlights the 1990 Mauno Koivisto's statement of

¹ [Original excerpt from the Mauno Koivisto interview in Finnish](#): *Joka tapauksessa kysymys on siitä että nämä ovat Suomalaisia jotka Ruotsin vallan toimesta aikaan on sille aluella siirretty. Esimerkiksi uskonnolta ne ovat hyvin vahvasti luterilaisia, elvätka ortodokseja. Niin, että, heihin kyllä soveltuvat nämätakaisin muuttajien kriteerit, vaikka nämä suvut ovat siellä varsin pitkään eläneet.*

² Both official documents and Finnish media applied the terms *pahuumuuttaja* (returnee) and *pahuumuutto* (return migration) in regard to migrants with Ingrian Finnish origin (Lyykorpi, 2016).

³ The original text was from Maahanmuuttovirasto, "Persons coming from the Former Soviet Union". However, the text was removed from the Maahanmuuttovirasto website. The text was cited from Prindiville's (2015) paper.

⁴ According to Prindiville (2015:136), the 1991 [Aliens Act, Section 18](#) concerned provisions for Ingrian Finns' returnees: A temporary residence permit may be granted if 1) a close relative of the alien resides in Finland or if the alien has other ties to Finland; 2) the alien will be studying at an educational institution in Finland and his/her livelihood is secure; 3) the alien may be granted a work permit, or if his/her income in Finland is otherwise secured, or if; 4) there are compelling humanitarian reasons or other special reasons for getting license. "Ulkomaalaislaki", *FINLEX Valtion säädöstietopankki*,

Ingrian Finns' return program and makes it the central starting point for research on the Ingrian Finns. Previous research shows how Ingrian Finns are aligned closely with the Finnish government's official views on "Finnishness" in relation to ancestry origin, religion, language, and memory of wartime (Hakamies, 2004; Kyntäjä, 1997; Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Prindiville, 2015; Prindiville and Hjelm, 2018; Varjone, Arnold and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013). There is an extensive study that investigates the identity construction from a historical discursive perspective when the return program existed from 1990 to 2010 (Prindiville, 2015). In the study, Prindiville (2015) analyses the key components for Finnishness, such as Lutheran religion, historical linkage to the Swedish Kingdom, and memories of the Second World War fighting against the Soviet.

Another line of research is a longitudinal study on Ingrian Finns' identity construction. Varjonen, Arnold and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2013) use a discursive psychological approach with focus group interviews and look at the ways in which Finnish identities were constructed over the course of pre- and post-migration from Russia to Finland. Along similar lines, a study from 2015 adopts a multilevel discursive identity construction approach to analyze the identity markers of Finnishness at institutional, community and interpersonal levels of text and talk (Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015).

There is a tendency in previous research to frame the question of Ingrian Finns within the nationalistic context. To be able to open up for alternative frames, I have used the theoretical framework and concepts of the politics of mobility (Cresswell, 2010), belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006) and fragmentation (Minh-ha, 1990). In this way I hope to be able to show Ingrian Finns' complexities and experience of being in-between and beyond nationalism. Amelina and Faist (2012) criticize an epistemological approach to migrants where they are only viewed from a nation-state-centered perspective. By the same token, there is an increasing criticism concerning migration researchers claiming that they assume that the nation-state is the natural social and political form of the modern world (Çaglar, 2016, Çaglar and Glick Schiller, 2018; Glich Schiller and Wimmer, 2003). In my thesis, I interview Ingrian Finns with the aim of further challenge dominant narratives that locate Ingrian Finns of cultural proximity to Finland or in its vicinity.

Drawing on Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero's (2018) proposals of qualitative migration research

design, my research takes into account multiple identities of migrants rather than reducing them only to their ethnic/national origin. With this in mind, I think of places as constructed out of social relations in which different individuals experience and interpret the world differently (Massey, 1994), depending on their gender, ethnicity, race, class, and any other form of social divisions. Thinking of places as social relations will help me to avoid the nation-state-centered view. In my analysis I look for various forms of emotions and attachments involved across the social relations as well as how multiple subjectivities are lived and practiced through everyday lives.

1.3 Previous research on return migration studies

In previous research on Ingrian Finns, various understandings and conceptualizations of "return" has not been discussed. The lack of a clear definition of the concept "return" makes it difficult for national immigration statistics or censuses to keep a precise record of returnees and its numbers are often unknown or unidentified (Battistella, 2018; Smith, 2003). What complicates the understandings of return stems from its different conceptual approaches to how return has been defined in terms of who returns when, where, why and whether return is voluntary or forced (Battistella, 2018; Black et al., 2004; Cassarino, 2004; Carling and Collin, 2018; Cerase, 1974; Hagan and Wassink, 2020; Kuschminder, 2017).

Hagan and Wassink (2020) identify two different perspectives of return migration studies: the economic sociology of return and the political sociology of return. The first perspective examines the outcome of how time spent acquiring skills and financial capital abroad affects one's socio-economic mobility upon returning home. Labor migrants and international students are a good example of this. Return occurs as a consequence of experience when one's objectives are achieved or unsuccessful in a host country, assuming that one's movement is pre-determined, voluntary, and freedom of choice (Cassarino, 2004, Hagan and Wassink, 2020). The political sociology of return examines how state and institutional actors control and manage a group of migrants who are denied entry or residency in countries of arrival. The political sociology of return focuses on return experiences of deportees, rejected asylum seekers, and other migrants forced home by states of arrival and settlement (Hagan and Wassink, 2020). In this context, return is considered from the perspective of whether migrants have the right to remain in their host countries or not (Binaiisa, 2011; Ho, 2016;

Vathi and King, 2011). With the increasing numbers of people without a legal status coming to Europe from post-conflict countries in the 1990s, 'sustainable return' was conceptualized as a means of assisting unwanted migrants to send them back home with "a cheaper and more humane alternative" to forced removals (Kuschminder, 2017). When socio-economic status and fear of violence is no longer at risk in a country of origin, individual's sustainable return is secured to integrate (Black et al., 2004).

I consider return migration as having a spectrum of experiences in both economic and political sociology of return. Moreover, it is essential to acknowledge subjectivity in a way that migrants make sense of their relation to the world before categorizing migrants' experiences into economic-political, forced-voluntary or skilled-unskilled dichotomies.

Another discussion on return migration is the implications of return migration policies. For instance, Tsuda (2010) examines a phenomenon of 'ethnic return migration' policies that encourage a country's descendants born abroad to return home. According to Tsuda (2010), ethnic return migration is a solution to what is seen as the "immigration dilemma"(Tsuda, 2010: 617-618) as it provides a much-needed unskilled labor force without causing the national unity and social stability because ethnic return individuals are co-ethnic descendants. There are clear similarities here to how the return migration of the Ingrian Finns was framed. In the early 1990s, Finland faced a labor shortage due to the economic downturn and the Finnish government considered that Ingrian Finns' returnees would sustain the Finnish labor force. Tsuda (2010) states that ethnic return migrants are more likely culturally foreign than expected, they disrupt the presumption that they would fit racialized conceptions of ethnonational identity and belonging. The same goes for the Ingrian Finns' return migration. The Finnish government gave its concern that Ingrian Finns did not identify themselves as strong as they initially expected (Prindiville, 2015) and they end the program in 2010. As Tsuda (2010: 634) predicted, ethnic return migrants are more likely to face restrictions like ordinary immigrants. In such a situation, what are differences between returnees and immigrants?

Smith (2003) critically analyses the distinction between repatriate and immigrant, suggesting the seemingly different figures contain more nuanced implications. According to Smith (2003), viewing immigrants as foreigners and repatriates as nationals returning home aims to locate every individual to only one place and distinguishing citizens from non-citizens in a

national-territorial sense. Smith calls the distinction "national order of things" by referring to Malkki (1995: 517). Smith asks whether repatriates and immigrants are really so different if we moved beyond the nation-state vantage point (Smith, 2003: 19). Thus, as stated earlier, the nation-state vantage point limits our possibilities to see returnees in a broader perspective that is not necessarily tied to national identity. In order to broaden the perspective, my research wants to highlight individuals' experiences that also take into account the role of race, class, gender and sexuality.

This thesis intends to bring Ingrian Finns' perspectives into the study of return migration by examining how Ingrian Finns talk about their own experiences of return. A starting point for my research is to focus on Ingrian Finns' narratives. According to Ludvig (2006: 249), "how individuals perceive or conceive an event would therefore vary according to how individuals are culturally constructed, what they identify themselves with and/or differentiate themselves from". From the empirical point of view, return migration subjects cannot be easily distinguished and pre-assumed. This opens outward to a possibility to blur boundaries between different categorizations of migrants who are seen as having complete agency over their migration decision or being disenfranchised, as well as different implications of return; economic/political and voluntary/forced dichotomy. Drawing upon feminist migration scholarship, my research will show in what ways Ingrian Finns' return migration is "constituted through a range of intersecting, sometimes competing forces and processes" (Silvery, 2004: 499). I will also show, through a discussion and analysis of my interview material, in what ways Ingrian Finns' subjectivities in migration could be understood, rather than viewing Ingrian Finns as a socially fixed category. Moreover, my research sheds light on how gender relations facilitate or constrain both women's and men's experience in Ingrian Finns' return migration.

2. Materials and methodology

2.1 Materials

I interviewed seven participants over a period of two months (from October 2020 to December 2020). The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours and the place was selected by the participants' preference and they often chose their own house or apartment. During the interview, most of the interviewees used Finnish. Some of them used a mix of Finnish and Russian. Because of my very limited knowledge in Finnish and Russian language, I decided to ask my partner to participate in my research as a translator. I call him Antti. He is himself an Ingrian Finn and he has the ability to communicate in Finnish, Russian and English. He was involved in the research process of interviewing, translation and transcription. Further implications of choosing one's own partner as a translator will be discussed in the following ethical consideration's section. All of the research participants in this thesis know each other very well and they were found through Antti and his parents. Borrowing Kydd-Williams's term (2019: 426), Antti was a "Gatekeeper" who is credible and trusted in the community that I wished to access and he also had the ability to introduce me to potential interviewees. I gained access to interviewing his parents and their distant relatives who migrated to Finland in the 1990s. Antti's role was crucial, especially when conducting research outside of my country along with having a limited timescale for my master's thesis. I also have to mention here that the COVID-19 pandemic affected the way my interview material was collected. For instance, one of my interviewees, Senja chose to answer my interview questions by email because her employer asked her to avoid any contact with people outside of her workplace and home.

The interviewees' age ranged from 50 to approximately 60 year of age. This thesis consists of the following informants: two couples of Aino and Pekka (Antti's parents), and Teijo and Kaarina; and Teijo's sister, Milla; Juho; and Finnish-born Ingrian Senja. Six out of seven interviewees are from the same village called Tervolovo, which is located 50 km southwest of St. Peterburg in Russia. They all moved to Finland from 1990 to 1991 when they were in their late 20s or early 30s. One interviewee, Senja was born and grew up in Finland but her mother was also from Tervolovo and moved to Finland in the 1960s. In my thesis, I did not include her texts due to the fact that she is not a returnee. However, I consider her parents for playing an important role in supporting my informants' migration settlement, ranging from

finding an apartment to teaching practical issues, such as opening a bank account. I also have to mention that I include Kaarina's narratives very less because Kaarina briefly joined in the interview with her husband Teijo. All the interviewees have lived in Rauma, which is located 92 km north of Turku. Rauma is known as an industrial city of shipbuilding, paper and pulp mills, metal, and nuclear power plant. The industrial developments in Rauma are also tightly connected with the interviewees' migration processes.

One of materials used in this thesis includes a booklet⁵ I received from an exhibition, *Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns* held at the National Museum of Finland between the 24th of January to the 19th of April in 2020 (see Fig.2). The exhibition script was written by Santeri Pakkanen and Lea Pakkanen. They are father and daughter and they both journalists who came to Finland as Ingrian Finns' returnees⁶. The purpose of the exhibition was to portray identities and histories of Ingrian Finns and spotlight the importance of their collective memories (see Pakkanen, 2020; The National Museum of Finland website⁷). Below is an extract from the text:

The past is not real. It is life we have left behind, without its smells, colours or the humming of trees. Still it evokes emotions. When half of the nation has been destroyed, its land, language and history has been taken and the only response is silence, the past turns into anxiety. Our Ingrian parents wanted to protect us by hiding from the horrors they experienced in Stalin's purges. However, the burden of the past, then pent-up pain and anxiety were passed on to their children, who were left with feelings of rootlessness, of not belonging, and questions without answers. This exhibition aims at providing an answer.

Pakkanen (2020:

48)

In the text, Pakkanen (2020) emphasizes what the fact that the histories and identities of Ingrian Finns are forgotten in Finland. In chapter 5, I will discuss an interesting contrast in Pakkanen's and my informants' narratives.

⁵ [The online booklet for Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns](#)

⁶ Regarding the collection of materials for the exhibition, Santeri and Lea Pakkanen, and Meeri Koutaniemi, a photographer and documentarist contributed. They went to St. Petersburg, Sakh, and Central Siberia in 2017, 2018 and 2019 (see Pakkanen, 2020: 5)

⁷ [The website for the exhibition of Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns](#)

2.2 Interviewing, translations and methodology

I used a mixed-method qualitative approach involving biographical-narrative and semi-structured interviews. As for the method narrative interviews not only reveal what people have experienced, but also how they construct themselves in narratives and describe who they are through telling of stories about their life (Temple, 2001).

My interview questions began with asking about their childhood, such as what they were like as a child in Tervolovo, what child activities they enjoyed, who their best friends were and so forth. These questions might be irrelevant to my final research topic but they gave me insight into how they see self and other, individual and groups depending on their life stages (see Sclater, 1998). The narrative approach suggests that people do not choose the social category to which they belong without reservation, but they choose to present themselves in particular ways on specific occasions (Temple, 2001: 398). I noticed that the narrative approach also helps me to avoid making certain assumptions about interviewees' social category. For instance, when one of my informants talked about her childhood experience of being bullied in Tervolvo, I immediately assumed it was because of her ethnicity. However, my initial assumption became questionable when she said: "Ingrianness was used against as a small extra." Because of the school hierarchy of "the most popular, beautiful and brave" people on the top, she was bullied because her quietness and non-assertiveness had put her "in the far corner" of the hierarchy. Her narrative gave me a moment of self-reflection during the interview and I felt ashamed that I had projected my assumption onto her. Temple (2001) suggests the possibilities in narratives that locate individual standpoints or identities within social groups. By examining ways of being in the world (ontological questions) and ways in which accounts are produced (epistemological questions), narratives can be used to address the political, social, and material conditions under which accounts are produced (Temple, 2001: 397).

How participants' narratives are produced in the research process should be acknowledged here and it is an important epistemological and methodological consideration especially when a researcher is working with a translator. In what follows, I define the act of 'translation.' All too often, the process of translation is considered a product of language equivalence; however, many show that it is more complex than simply translating words from one language to another (Bämberg and Dahlberg, 2013; Temple, 2002; Temple and Edwards, 2002; Tietz,

Tansley and Helinek, 2017; Wong and Poon, 2010). I follow the understanding of Sherry Simon (1996) who suggests that it is not a matter of finding equivalence of words and meaning but:

Translators must constantly make decisions about the cultural meanings which language carries, and evaluate the degree to which the two different worlds they inhabit are 'the same.' (...) In fact the process of meaning transfer has less to do with finding the cultural inscription of a term than in reconstruction its value. (Simon, 1996: 130-1)

Thus, translation work is "the production of social realities" (Tiez, Tansley and Helinek, 2017: 166) which includes "culturally and historically situated sense-making" (Tiez, Tansley and Helinek, 2017: 152). This means it is crucial to recognize the positionality of researchers and translators that can affect the process of translation. When English is not researchers' and translators' first language, it is essential to be aware of the fact that how translators make sense affects the way researchers understand. Thus, I decided to have Antti involved in the research setting of the research from the outset, such as sharing my preliminary interview questions and how I want to facilitate interviews, and ask comments for my thesis draft. While he was transcribing the recorded interviews in Finnish and translating them into English, I noticed that he started explaining the choices of words interviewees made and why he chose to translate the words in a way that I could make sense. I did not ask him but from what I have observed, his lived experiences of having studied and worked in different countries and continuously working with people from culturally different backgrounds in Finland, he was more aware of issues involved in differences in understandings of words, concepts and worldviews across different languages.

Because of my language barriers to communication in both Finnish and Russian, I am dependent on Antti's ability to translate and speak the languages for me. If I was a self-sufficient and multi-lingual researcher, I could have stopped and thought about meanings while conducting interviews. However, this was difficult when the choice of when and how to translate was determined by him. During the interview, I experienced the moments of feeling lost, confusion and awkwardness. Sometimes his translation work blocked the flow of conversation with interviewees making it unsmooth but at the same time, stimulated a trace of participants' memory and they started talking about related topics before I moved on to the next questions. Since translation took much time of the interviewing, I had to ask him to

summarize what the participants talked in order to manage time. As a result, there were moments that I could not connect the dots, but I let the conversation proceed and I hoped that I would understand the whole picture after reading the transcriptions. As we worked together on my thesis I came to understand that he was not just a partner who was helping my thesis but a co-researcher. In the following section, ethical considerations will be discussed.

2.3 Ethical considerations

2.3.1 Informed consent: Consenting to what?

Following Miller and Bell (2014: 2), I consider "consent as ongoing and renegotiated between researcher and researched throughout the research process." Initially I decided to ask consent for three steps through different steps of the research process: interviewing, analyzing participant's narratives, and reading the thesis draft. Due to the limited time of the research process, I could not fulfill the last step, but I notified my informants that I will send them my final thesis paper if needed. I accessed to potential interviewees through Antti or his parents. After I gained permission from the informants for the interviews, I asked Antti to contact them and set the interview dates. Before the interviews, I obtained verbal consent to interviewing, recording, transcribing, analyzing, and publishing from each informant. After having transcribed, Antti and I asked each informant whether they wanted to read and check the transcribed interview texts. The transcriptions were sent to informants via email and I asked them if there are needed to be correct or edit. I have changed my informants' name for the purpose of anonymizing them.

2.3.2 Insider/outsider positions

I have conducted research outside of my country of origin. In Finland, I am a non-EU student and migrant. In that sense, I am an outsider. At the same time I am a quasi-insider due to the fact that my research topic is about the community to which I am related by marriage. On the one hand, there are some things that could relate to female informants, such as gaining independence from parents after moving to Finland. On the other hand, I acknowledge that our migrant status are not the same because our experiences are shaped differently on the basis of social categories, such as nationality, race, class, gender, education, and citizenship

status.

Both my and Antti's role was shaped through interactions in a particular situations and contexts, and our roles were neither fixed nor static. In the beginning of my research, I took his insider position for granted, assuming that he knew all about his roots and family history from the inside. But then as I started sharing what I had learned about Ingrian Finns, there were some things that he did not acknowledge or that he had never thought of. According to Bruskin (2019), it would be useful to consider the role of insider and outsider as fluid rather than as a priori categorization and it is crucial to discuss what practical consequences being either an insider or outsider has for researchers.

As for the case of this research, the intimacy I have built with Antti's parents along with his insider position has enabled my informants to talk freely during the interviews. A situation where his mother talked about how she wants to live the rest of her life, I shifted my position from a researcher to a daughter-in-law while I was listening to her future retirement. Antti's insider position affected in a way that some interviewee was withholding information with the following phrase: "I guess your parents know better than me". Lentin and Bousetta (2006: 11) states that when there is a wide base of shared knowledge between the interviewer and a respondent, the latter is less inclined to provide in-depth answers, assuming that a great deal of information is already known. This is also true for translators when they are researched participants.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 The Politics of Mobility

The concept of mobility problematizes an approach that treats places as stable with an aim of going beyond the fixed notion of places (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006). Many migration studies, despite an attention to movement, privileged a sedentary norm of being settled in place (Halfacree, 2012; Urry, 2007). The idea of permanent migration seems increasingly to become an implicit assumption in the understanding of migration processes. Migration studies often interpret time as linear and relatively compartmentalized and understands migration as something that one can break up into pre-migration, migration, and then either settlement or return (Carling and Collins, 2018: 913-914). Thus, migratory flows are understood as linear and clean-cut movements from origin to destination. Migration is deeply tied to places, based on the understanding that one place pushes people out and another place pulls people in (Cresswell, 2010; Hui, 2016; Urry, 2007). Instead of emphasizing settlement in place, the concept of mobility conceptualizes places as a spatial dimension constructed through the multiplicity of social relations (Cresswell, 2010; Massey, 1994).

Several feminists have criticized the concept of mobility as a marker of "bourgeois masculine subjectivity." They argue that mobility is predicated upon individuals who are able to move freely from one place to another without any obstacles (Ahmed, 2014; Kaplan, 2005; Skegg, 2003). Taking the feminist critique of mobility into account, I consider Cresswell's (2010) concept of the politics of mobility as a way to broaden our understanding of the interconnectedness between one's subjectivity and one's experience of migration. Cresswell defines the politics of mobility as follows:

By the politics of mobility I mean the ways in which mobilities are both productive of such social relations and produced by them. Social relations are of course complicated and diverse. They include relations between classes, genders, ethnicities, nationalities, and religious groups. (Cresswell, 2010: 21)

By highlighting the interconnectedness of social relations, Coresswell's concept opens up ways to understand how the cause and effect of power relations concerning class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and religion that shape one's mobility. Considering how these relations shape Ingrian Finns' return migration is important because there is very little reflection on

these issues in previous research. In my research, I regard Ingrian Finns as social actors whose experience of return migration expands beyond the scale of national borders so that Ingrian Finns' multiple subjectivities and cross-border social relations can be acknowledged (see Çağlar, 2016; Çağlar and Glick Schiller, 2018).

Cresswell (2010) suggests three different aspects of mobilities that one can study: 1) physical movement (i.e. Who moves furthest? Who moves fastest? Who moves most often?); 2) representation of movement (i.e. How is mobility discursively constituted? What narratives have been constructed about mobility? How are mobilities represented?); 3) embodied practice of movement (i.e. How is mobility experienced? Is it forced or free?). In the case of the Ingrian Finns' return migration, the Finnish government played a central role in constructing the meaning of "returnees" through various representations concerning the return migration. Thus, the dominant narratives of Ingrian Finns' return migration were constructed through particular national institutions. In my work, I take Ingrian Finns' narratives as a starting point to understand how and in what conditions the return migration was actually experienced. In my empirical study of Ingrian Finns' return migration, I use three aspects of Cresswell's (2010) theory of the politics of mobility. These are: motive force, rhythm, and friction. In the following section, I will further discuss how these aspects are helpful in a study of Ingrian Finns' return migration.

Motive force helps us to understand how mobility is instigated. It is tightly connected with the aspect concerning the infrastructure of transportation and technology as well as rules and regulations of law that forces or sets one's movement in motion (Cresswell, 2010). In my research, I want to add an emotional and psychological aspect to the understanding of what sets movement in motion. Collins (2018: 965) conceptualizes this as "desire as a social force" and I will include the role of this aspect in the Ingrian Finns' migration. According to Collins (2018: 966), one's migration decision-making involves the combination of strategic planning and opportunism in order to achieve or avoid (un) desirable futures. The 1990 Koivisto's statement is considered to be a major motive force for Ingrian Finns in making their return possible. Collin's (2018) concept of desire as a social force enables us to rethink what motivated Ingrian Finns to return by encompassing their decision-making process in relation to migration.

The term rhythm draws upon Lefebvre's (2004) rhythm analysis and is a measure of time

governed by social order and historical periods that in turn contradict one's lived and embodied rhythm (Cresswell, 2001). According to Cwerner (2001), different temporal references (i.e. calendar, memories, history) and the different pace of daily activities create particular forms of resistance and opposition in migrants' lives. It is crucial to consider the rhythmical features produced by Ingrian Finns' returnees as a constitutive element of their return experiences that are imbued with different meanings, memories, and belongings.

Cresswell (2001: 26) understands the term friction as an aspect that stops mobility. Friction can be investigated by asking questions such as, "when and how does mobility stop?" In my thesis, the concept of friction is twofold: friction is found in various bordering practices that control the everyday lives of Ingrian Finns; it is also a form of ethnic profiling that slows down or suspends Ingrian Finns' mobility. The first form of friction highlights social relations that are involved on a personal level. The notion of friction enables us to study how mobility is constructed and understood by Ingrian Finns in their everyday encounters.

With the help of the elements of motive force, rhythm, and friction, my research is to provide an alternative story to the nationalistic discourse produced by the Finnish politicians and legislators.

3.2 Belonging and fragmentation

The idea of belonging has been a tool for immigration and citizenship policymakers to examine how individuals can access membership in a nation-state. Several researchers criticize the view of belonging because it obscures the fact that people can actually belong in many different ways (Block, 2016; Ellermann, 2019; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman, 2006). Thus, belonging should not be contextualized as the demarcation of which individuals can be included and excluded in the political community (Block, 2016). As for the case of Ingrian Finns' belonging, previous research discusses the extent to which belonging is considered to be identity markers of Finnishness for Ingrian Finns (Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Prindiville, 2015; Prindiville and Hjelm, 2017). The Finnish government used two central markers of Finnish identity to exclude Ingrian Finns' returnees at the end of the return program (Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015). However, there is a limitation to

understanding various forms of Ingrian Finns' belonging when the identity markers of Finnishness are essentialized.

In order to illustrate more nuanced and in-between forms of Ingrian Finns' belonging, I draw on Yuval-Davis's (2006) notion of belonging. Her concept of belonging is grounded in the idea that "belonging is also about the emotions created through how individuals feel about their different positionings and their different location" from which how they narrate, in terms of gender, class, stage in the life cycle, etc. even in relation to the same community (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman, 2005: 521-523). I consider Yuval-Davis's (2006) concept of belonging as a way to situate Ingrian Finns' narratives according to the way they see themselves and others without essentializing their subjectivities.

Yuval-Davis's (2006: 199) separates three different levels of belonging analytically: the first level concerns social locations: the second relates to individuals' identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groundings: the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging/s'. In my thesis, I explore how the first level, the social locations of Ingrian Finns relate to the second level of emotional investments and attachments, in particular, to home. According to Ahmed (1999: 341), home is sentimentalized as a space of belonging. For Ingrian Finns, Finland is not their origin of country, but their ancestral homeland. The concept of belonging is helpful in Ingrian Finns' studies to understand the extent to which home they feel belong.

To further contextualize the framework of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006), I used the concept of fragmentation proposed by a filmmaker and writer, Trinh Minh-ha (1990; 1992). In the following text, she explains the notion of fragmentation in connection with her life spent in Vietnam and the United States. Fragmentation is:

a way of living with differences without turning [differences] into opposites, [without] trying to assimilate [differences] out of insecurity. Since the self is not so much a core as a process, one finds oneself, in the context of cultural hybridity, always pushing one's questioning of oneself to the limit of what one is and what one is not. When am I Vietnamese? When am I American? Which language should I speak, which is closest to myself, and when is that language more adequate than another? By working one's limits, one has the potential to modify them. Fragmentation is therefore a way of living at the borders.

(Minh-ha, 1990: 72)

The difference becomes a key term within the concept of fragmentation. For Minh-ha, the difference does not mean uniqueness or special identity, but a "way of living at the borders", which means recognize differences that distinguish oneself from another (Minh-ha, 1989). Fragmentation is helpful to open up possibilities for multiple forms of Ingrian Finns' belonging by incorporating the reflexive questions of when, where, and how belonging can be acknowledged.

4. Rhythm and Friction: temporal reflectivity in politics of mobility

In this chapter, the focus is on how Ingrian Finns experienced the return migration process by examining three aspects of Cresswell's (2010) theory of the politics of mobility: motive force, rhythm, and friction. In the first sections, I illustrate what motivated Ingrian Finns to return to Finland and how the decision-making processes were made. The next section focuses on Ingrian Finns' temporality and rhythm and analyzes how these were practiced in Finland. The last section particularly examines various forms of friction concerning bordering practices and ethnic profiling.

4.1 Temporality and desire as motive force

This section sets out to question what instigated Ingrian Finns' return migration under what conditions and how the process went. With much literature on Ingrian Finns' return migration very little further reflection on how individuals' experiences of return actually took place. My informants came first to Finland on a guest invitation visa (*vierailukutsu*), which only granted permission to visit his relatives for one month. A story begins by Teijo:

I moved to Finland after Mauno Koivisto's speech. Inkerin-Liitto always had some news about what's happening in Europe. Russia was still the Soviet Union when I moved to Finland. Things started to change when Mauno had his speech. So I went to buy a car in Finland and asking for some work at the same time. After I headed towards the shipyard in Rauma, there was an open position for a construction cleaner. It was only short-term work for one week. A manager at the shipyard asked me if I was interested in metal skills. It was what I had learned in the village. He asked me if I wanted to start working. Of course, I wanted. But I did not have the courage to enter the course alone. I had told the manager that I will tell my friends about this opportunity and we will think about it together. I could have stayed and entered there right away but I needed to visit back home. I went back home and I talked about this with my best friends, Pekka and Juho.

The text shows the Mauno Koivisto's speech was what made Teijo decide to go to Finland. However, his main purposes include the aspects of strategy and desire for finding a job and buying a car in Finland, which I consider as a part of "desire as social force" (Collins, 2018:965). According to Teijo, there had always been an opportunity for Ingrian Finns to find a job in Russia through Pietarin Inkerin-Liitto (the St. Petersburg Society of Ingrian Finns), where Finnish employers provided short-term or seasonal jobs (i.e. picking strawberries). Instead of searching for work through the association, he decided to find a long-term job by

himself, and Rauma was the first place where he saw the potential prospect of jobs. At Teijo's suggestion, Pekka and Juho decided to go to Rauma. The next extract is from Pekka:

I left the village because big changes started to happen in Russia. It was Teijo's idea to go asking for work in Finland. But I thought that the work would be a fixed contract. I did not have solid information about whether we could live in Finland. I was certain that the work would not continue a long time and I would be deported back to Russia. After Teijo, Juho, and I arrived at Rauma and went to the shipyard to discuss the training program and work. When the shipyard accepted us, we went back to the village and quit our jobs.

Big changes refer to the early 1990s, the former Soviet Union had started its transition to the Russian Federation. Many interviewees recounted the collapse of the Soviet Union as a significant event before moving to Finland. The above text shows times of uncertainty in both Russia and Finland subjected Pekka to forms of temporal conditions that create a sense of uncertainty for the future. According to Griffiths, Rogers, and Anderson (2013: 28), unpredictability and uncertainty in migration process can be understood as a form of disjuncture, in which an individual feels outside of the normal flow of time of mainstream society. As Pekka recounts in the above text, he imagined the undesirable outcome of being sent back home to Russia, but at the same time, he negotiated the worst-case scenario by keeping his job back in their home country. The fact that Teijo, Juho, and Pekka had one-month visa condition opportunities for employment, as Juho states: " I only came to Finland to search some work to earn a bit money in Finland."

Mauno Koivisto's statement is not necessarily the starting point for my informants to returning to Finland except Teijo. Because of the different temporality, they experienced in Russia, the collapse of the Soviet Union has a significant meaning for the motive force. Despite the category of "returnee" associated with Ingrian Finns, Mauno Koivisto's statement was not determined by my informants' settlement immediately after moving to Finland. Because of the lack of consensus in the concept of a returnee among the Finnish politicians, my informants had less access to "solid information" about whether my informants could actually live in Finland in the beginning. For Teijo, Pekka Juho, having a sense of uncertainty around the future made it impossible for them to think of staying permanently in Finland from the beginning.

4.2 Rhythm as waiting and stillness in returnees' narratives

This section examines aspects of waiting and stillness in Ingrian Finns' return migration processes. According to Creswell (2014: 648), waiting and stillness can be part of an inquiry into the politics of mobility because it provides an insight into further reflection on immobility. Times of waitings are essential for migrants' experiences. Public services and bureaucratic procedures mark migrants by different tempos based on immigration law (Griffiths, Rogers, and Anderson, 2013; Cwerner, 2001) The excerpt below illustrates a form of waiting that creates rhythms as a result of migration control. Pekka says:

When Teijo, Juho, and I entered the vocational school through the shipyard [in Rauma], and the courses started on the 21st of January 1991. We visited a police station and they granted us permission to stay longer in Finland. We repeated this almost every month and they always renewed our visa. After three months, they granted us longer-term permission. We also asked whether I could bring our families here. The permission was granted. My family moved to Finland on the 3rd of May 1991.

The text shows how the temporal condition created the rhythm in renewing a visa status every month and also affected the choice of whether to settle or return home at several moments in their lifetime. Bauböck (2011: 670) points out that subjective intentions of migrants about the length of their stay frequently change over time and can then conflict with non-corresponding expectations in the wider society about their departure. This was also my initial expectation concerning my interviewees whose decision-making on settlement must have occurred at a singular moment and that their decision was already made *before* departure. However, the analytical lens of waiting has enabled me to rethink migratory processes as being "much more temporally distributed" (Carling and Collins, 2018: 913-914).

The following paragraph discusses other forms of temporal conditions in relation to waiting and stillness experienced by Aino. Aino waited for the moment to join her husband, Pekka in Finland. Her mode of waiting suggests a "productive notion of waiting and subjectivity" (Gray, 2011: 429). Aino says:

I asked a friend to bring dishes to Pekka. (...) I just thought that it would be easier for our household if the dishes were already here before moving to Finland. Then I sent some Russian food supplies for Pekka so that he could save money on food expenses. I packed basic food such as porridge. Pekka

always thanked me but also added that we already had fine food here and showed me good coffee. Well, I just wanted to save their money.

In the text, waiting illustrates a "mode of hope to work towards an outcome, or life plan" as well as a mode of gendered expectations and familial household arrangements (Gray, 2011: 429). In migration studies, waiting is considered to be a wasted moment or a kind of emptiness and inactivity (Cresswell, 2014), however, this section demonstrates that waiting could be an analytical lens that offers an insight into Ingrian Finns' return experiences and processes.

4.3 Rhythm in everyday lives

This section is to focus on the aspect of rhythm in the everyday lives of Ingrian Finns. According to Lefebvre (2004: 15), everywhere where there is an interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm. Rhythm also produces modes of belonging in which time can be thought of as a "homogenous present or presence" (Bastian, 2011: 153). For instance, celebrating and enjoying holidays and social gatherings can resume its familiar paces, timings, sequences, and durations (Cwerner, 2001). The interview text illustrates a form of rhythm. Teijo says:

Time passes so fast. When we moved to Rauma Pekka, Juho, and I bought [our own] houses eventually and the kids went to school so that they wouldn't have different lives from Finnish children. Then you just count time and wait May Day - Christmas - May Day - Christmas. Life goes on so fast.

The text shows a repetitive cycle of May Day and Christmas as what Griffiths, Rogers, and Anderson (2013: 30) call "synchronicity", which creates "national bonds" and attempts to "integrate and coordinate industrial, cultural and natural' times." In the text, the repetitiveness creates a familiar space for both Teijo and his kids and the mode of belonging to Finland.

Rhythm also generates dissonances that are unaccustomed to one's way of belonging. Some interviewees stated the temporal differences between Finland and Russia in relation to communication styles and social norms and values. For example, Juho associated Finnishness with a calm and slow pace of movement and conversation in comparison to a "fast and hard rhythm of life" in Russia. Along similar lines, Aino describes:

energetic conversations with an open-hearted temperament [is at the core of Russianness but] everything will bounce back [when approaching to Finnish people, because] they don't warm up to you [so you] cannot befriend them fast.

The pace of interactions was also described in the manner of what accepted social norms are there in both Finland and Russia. As Aino explained "Finns are scheduled people" in contrast to Russian people whom "you can visit without worrying about time". Teijo also points out in a similar way that "you have to notify them that you're coming beforehand". Place-based rhythms and temporal systems are constantly shaped by a set of values, symbols, and meanings (Adam, 1990). They are also elements for my informants to understand the meaning of Finnishness and Russianness constructed through rhythm and temporality.

4.4 Friction

In this section, I pay attention to friction of mobility. The politics of friction is embedded in various migration control and border regimes (Cresswell, 2010). With an increasing immigration and border controls stricter in the EU, particular subjects are seen as a threat (De Genova, 2016; Yıldız and De Genova, 2018). I argue that friction is not only about various bordering practices that control the everyday lives of Ingrian Finns, but also a form of ethnic profiling that slows down or suspends Ingrian Finns' mobility. In my thesis I define ethnic profiling as "selective and targeted control acts that are based on assumptions of an individual's belonging to a racial, ethnic, religious or national minority group, and mainly performed by public or private security personnel" (Keskinen et al., 2018: 3). What follows in this section, I illustrate various kinds of friction and how friction is experienced and dealt with by interviewees.

4.4.1 Friction as bordering: nationality, class, gender, race and sexuality

This section looks to bordering processes that my informants encountered in their everyday lives. Bordering practices invite our attention to the pervasiveness of mobility control also within these borders and to its complex societal consequences (Tervonen, Pallander, and Yuval-Davis, 2018: 140, Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018; 2019). According to Leinonen (2017), the borderline between Finland and Russia plays a key role in

understanding Finland's relationship to the East and the West in relation to race, gender, class, and sexuality. In what follows, I present various bordering practices that involve the role of nationality, race, gender, class, and sexuality and how bordering practices were understood by Ingrian Finns in their everyday encounters.

An example of bordering practices in relation to social categories is illustrated by Iida in the text:

If people don't know that I'm Ingrian, they usually think I'm Estonian. (...) If you tell Finnish people that you're from Russia they will get the image that you're an import-wife, like you're here just for getting married to a Finnish guy. When people saw me as Estonian I thought I had to explain who I am, but later on, I noticed that people don't see where the border goes. I don't care to explain about myself afterward.

The word import-wife illustrates how Russian women are represented and portrayed. The assumption of Russian women is classed, racialized, and sexualized. The stereotype of Russian women as fortune hunters is persistent in Finland (Leinonen, 2012 cited in Jerman 2009:99, Reuter and Kyntäjä 2006, and Urponen, 2008; Leinonen, (2017); Krivonos, 2020). The implication of fortune hunters is tied to class status because it rests on an assumption of their materially deprived lives, where the real motive for marrying a Finnish man is to escape from the Soviet Union or the Eastern Europe (Leinonen, 2017; Sverdljuk, 2009). According to Krivonos (2020: 393), since the collapse of the socialist regime, post-socialist subjects have been representatives of failed socialist modernity who have no other choice but to catch up with neoliberal capitalism. The image of deprived materiality demonstrates that so-called fortune hunters are not part of the Western modernity. The negative associations attached to Russian women can be understood as examples of the fact that Eastern Europeans are not of "Europeanness racial equivalence that ostensibly offered the privileges of white identity to all European heritage peoples" (Bonnett (1998: 1030). As Yıldız and De Genova (2018) suggest, non-European forms of whiteness are embedded in historical and geographical contexts with the operations of hierarchical sociopolitical orders of nationality, race, ethnicity, class, and gender.

Another stereotypical image associated with Russian women is vulgar. The word vulgar implicates excessive sexuality that is often seen as a marker of Russian femininity, but also as an immoral signifier carried with the stigma of prostitution (Diatlova, 2019; Krivonos, 2020). Since sexuality is attached to the idealized monogamous and normative relation through the purity of morality and race, women embody the role of symbolic markers of national identity

(Carter, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Thus, for those who are represented as immoral figures, have their sexuality becomes a line of demarcation for controlling and defining group borders (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1989). The word "import-wife" thus is a combination of all these aspects: nationality, class, race, gender, and sexuality.

As opposed to Iida, Aino clearly showed resistance to the assumption that was imposed by Finnish people in the interview excerpt below:

If I tell Finnish people a story that I moved here from the Soviet Union, first they would assume that I'm a Russian who just came here. They would ask: "did you get married to a Finnish man?" I would say: "No, I already had everything when moved here, a husband, family, and children. I didn't take anybody's job. I achieved everything by myself. I did not compete with anybody.

Aino made clear her positioning by saying "I already had everything". The way she situated herself indicated that she had already socio-economic mobility before coming to Finland. This is a way to resist the assumption made concerning Russian women. Insistence on "I achieved everything by myself" shows that she had already built the foundation in Russia: "a husband, family, and children". Aino resisted the assumption that people had. The phrase, "I did not compete with anybody" shows that her reason for coming to Finland is neither upward mobility nor a stepping stone to access to Western modernity and it also shows what kinds of negotiations people have to make.

In the discussion of Ingrian Finns' return migration program, the borderline between Finland and Russia became an ideological border that separates Lutheran religion from Russian Orthodox. In this section, I show how bordering practices are not only about ideological borders but also the interconnectedness of social relations that are situated in everyday encounters.

4.4.2 Friction as ethnic profiling: at stores

This section examines ethnic profiling that interviewees experienced in both Finland and Russia. As will be discussed, some experienced discomfort of being followed by a security guard at stores and by the immobility of being suspended at border station points. *The Stopped - Ethnic profiling in Finland* (Keskinen et al., 2018) is an extensive study of ethnic profiling in Finland. The authors reported that racialized non-white young men were more

likely targeted of ethnic profiling by police and security guards.

Ingrian Finns recognizably pass as whites. In the discussion of race, the notion of whiteness has been predominantly constructed in relation to non-white. As a result, non-European forms of whiteness are often excluded (Bonnett, 2008; Krivonos, 2019). Based on the interviewees, the Russian language and style of clothing are targets of ethnic profiling that my informants experienced in Finland as will be discussed.

Russian-speakers⁸ are commonly treated as a single group of Russians in Finland despite the fact that the population is heterogeneous (Viimaranta, Protassova, and Mustajoki, 2018). In the Finnish statistics, ethnic or racial background usually figures in language-based categories. When Juho expressed surprise that people saw him as Russian, this reflects the tendency of viewing Russian-speakers as a single population: "if you came from the Russian side of the border you are automatically a Russian". Juho speaks of what he experienced at a store in the 1990s in the interview text below:

For example, when I spoke Russian in a store, a guard followed us and came in some distance. You could see that clearly, the guard was checking on us. The guard thought that we would steal something. Because of this, we tried to blend in the crowd by speaking Finnish in public spaces. Sure, it made you feel bad when Russian speakers are automatically labeled criminals.

Leinonen (2012) pays attention to "audible visibility"(Toivanen, 2014) through the use of language that produces a highly racialized and class-based figure of immigrants. Because of the historical past relationship between the Soviet Union and Finland, Leinonen (2012) argues that there is an emotionally negative image of Russian people. It is my argument that Juho avoided the audible visibility by switching over to the Finnish language in order to "blend in" in a public space. Language is a tool for homogenizing the population and singling out people who speak different languages.

In addition to language use and audible visibility, I also consider the style of clothing as significant to visibility. Several interviewees mention the significant differences in fashion between Finland and Russia. For instance, Iida presented some examples during the

⁸ The Russian-speaking population consists of Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and other former-Soviet Union countries.

interview:

In my opinion, fashion is the most visible difference between Finland and Russia. If you are in Turku or Helsinki, the difference would be big, compared to Rauma. It is the same when you compared Tervolovo to St. Petersburg. There are different kinds of fashion. Of course, fur hats and coats were more popular in Russia than in Finland. I think quilted jackets are quite ordinary, light, and comfortable here [in Finland].

In the text, fashion preference is exemplified by differences. The significant differences in fashion gave me further insight into what could be markers for ethnic profiling in the context of Ingrian Finns. In the next extract, Aino explains a situation in which she was followed by a guard:

Finns stared at us with judging eyes in a store when we spoke Russian. When we were at a store speaking Russian, we noticed that a guard was following us. There were not much Russians here [in Rauma] at that time but nowadays there are a lot of different nationalities. It was strange that the guard followed us to the cashier. Probably the guard watched us so that we wouldn't steal anything. I was ready to punch [the guard] in the face at some point if [the guard] came to us and made a comment on Russianness or the language. Pekka noticed a guard following us, more often than I did. I'm a woman! My attention was on the store goods. This didn't affect my behavior in public. I had so much stuff to do at home that I had no time to reflect on these kinds of things. I had all sorts of things to do at home, such as doing laundry, feeding Pekka and two boys, and cleaning at home.

For Aino, the experience of being followed by the guard did not change her behavior in public. She told me that there was no time to reflect upon how she managed in Finland right after moving to Finland, because having two children "took all of my energy", and "my thoughts were somewhere else". The way Aino deals with friction was different from Juho and this may possibly mean that friction can be gendered.

This section examines the way Ingrian Finns experienced friction at stores. As Balibar (Balibar, 2004) says, borders are not only found at national borders but also situated in spaces. The key markers of ethnic profiling are the Russian language as audible visibility and style of clothing as physical appearances.

5. Fragmentation: language, memories, and home

This chapter sets out to question how Ingrian Finns feel a sense of belonging through language, memories, and home. Finland is linked to a historical and ancestral homeland in which they were actually not born and raised. According to Griffiths, Rogers, and Anderson (2013), when a 'lost' homeland is imagined, the idea of a shared past, of heritage and memory becomes a mode of belonging for nations and communities. Is returning home an endpoint to which belonging is to synthesize what is lost in Ingrian Finns?

By following Yuval-Davis's (2006; 2005:521-523) notion of belonging, I consider belonging as forms of emotions and attachments that created through how individuals feel about their different social location from which how they narrate. For my study, I define social locations as one's social positions within interconnected relations of class, race, ethnicity, nationality, and gender created through historical, political, economic, geographic factors (Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

In order to understand various forms of belongings, I incorporate Minh-ha's (1990; 1992) concept of fragmentation. Fragmentation asks the reflexive and contextual questions of when, where, and how one is rather than ask who one is in order to avoid essentialize one's belonging. According to Minh-ha (1990; 1989), fragmentation is a way of living at borders and with differences. In the following sections, I illustrate the way Ingrian Finns live at borders through language, memories, and home, at the same time I examine when, where, and how they feel a sense of belonging.

5.1 Fragments of language and living with borders

The use of language is the key to unifying the nation in the process of nation building. Accents, tones, and rhythms in how one speaks language are at play in producing otherness. In the Finnish context, language plays a major role in marking immigrants as visible (Leinonen, 2012: 217). Those with imperfect Finnish skills - let alone those who do not speak Finnish at all - are left outside the exclusive "circle of Finnishness" (Leinonen, 2012: 217 cited in Lepola 2000: 328). Burbaker (2015: 87) suggests that both language and religion are "basic sources and forms of social, cultural, and political identification" that are equivalent to

ethnicity and nationalism. In fact, language was used in officials' discourse on Ingrian Finns as markers of inclusion, it was also used against them to exclude them (Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold, and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015), when Finnish politicians started questioning the level of Ingrian Finns' competence in the Finnish language. The Alien's Act amendment in 2002 and 2003⁹ introduced a Finnish language requirement for Ingrian Finns' returnee applicants, as an answer to the Finnish politicians questioning of the Ingrian Finns' integration capacity into the Finnish society. At the end of the return program, Ingrian Finns' ancestral connections were too distant to be counted as meaningful, and the distinction between Ingrian Finns and Russians was actually less distinct than previously for the Finnish politicians (Prindiville and Hjelm, 2018: 17). Thus, it is important to situate the relationship between the Finnish language and Ingrian Finns from the informants' perspectives in order to avoid connecting the idea of Finnishness with a form of authenticity and belonging.

Two interviewees, Juho and Teijo talked about the relations to Finnish language through their intergenerations back in their home village. In the below interview text, Juho explains how Finnish language has developed in Tervolovo:

I spoke Russian with my parents but my grandparents spoke only Finnish and I replied in Russian. My grandpanrents lived all their life in Russia but they could not speak Russian. It was so because the language didn't develop further in Ingrian land. The language remained outdated. It contained a lot of loan words from the Russian language. Probably most of the ordinary Finnish persons would have not understood the language.

Along similar lines, Teijo also mentioned how the Russian language was experienced with the everyday's use of the Finnish language spoken by his grandparents' generation. His narrative also indicates the historical linkage of both Finland and Russia. The idea of one-nation-one language is deeply embedded in an idea of stasis and seen as natural or timeless. In Europe, immigration and citizenship policies introduce formal language and citizenship tests to which immigrants are qualified for national values (Fortier, 2017). Seen from this perspective, the proper Finnish language becomes a mode of "Finnishness". Teijo 's narrative illustrates fragmentation through living at the borders with two languages in the text

⁹ The minimum requirements for language capability were set as sufficient knowledge of Finnish or Swedish at the skill level of A2 in [the Common European Framework language proficiency rating scale](#) (Prindiville and Hjelm, 2018). A2 is a level of proficiency that basic needs for direct social interaction and brief narrative.

below:

There were many words that were used in the Russian language. People learned many kinds of words via TV. [For example], when [people see] a refrigerator in a store, nobody called it by the Finnish word. Everybody called it by Russian "holodil'nik (холодильник)". Grandmother spoke poorly Russian but she knew what is holodil'nik.

Both Juho and Teijo's narratives show that language is also about fragmentation, which is "a way of living with differences" (Minh-ha, 1990: 72). The notion of fragmentation is different from assimilating differences to a unifying sense of belonging. Teijo grew up hearing both the Russian and the Finnish language at home. He also mentioned that the significant influence of the Russian language on Ingrian Finns' people because there were many Russian residents in Tervolovo. At home, his grandmother was a primary caretaker whenever his parents were at work. Teijo says, "my grandparents spoke Finnish with each other, of course, I spoke the language what I heard". The below interview text shows that language is not completely in line with national identity or belonging but a way of living with differences. Teijo says:

When I entered school, I spoke Russian with my friends but before that, I spoke Finnish. First I started speaking Finnish and I mixed Russian language but then I moved to pure Russian language. Especially when everything was developing and there were new machines, it is easier to give Russian names for the devices and machines. My parents and grandparents and elderly people in the village knew the Finnish name for some things but not in Russian. When elderly people talked with each other, they mixed those new Russian words in the Finnish language.

The above text illustrated how language was lived with the discontinuity of its history in a way of "hampering cohesion" (Fortier, 2018: 1255). It is also connected to the everyday practices and it is interesting how language becomes a marker of the one nation one language idea and the fact that it does not operate in practice.

5.2 Memories of the past

In this section, the focus is to illustrate memories of the past presented by Pakkanen (2020) and my informants. Memories play a key role in the exhibition, *Ingrians - The Forgotten Finns*. In the exhibition, the past was evoked as being "left with feelings of rootlessness, of not belonging, and questions without answers." Fortier (2000; 2006) explains that nations and transnational communities draw on memory and nostalgia to re-establish group identities,

such as using the performance of war remembrances and re-interpreting of homes, homelands, and histories.

As Greenhouse (1989: 1633) suggests, the shape of time is contested, negotiated, defended, and transformed in the juxtaposition of personal and institutional forms that comprise social life anywhere. Thus, the interpretation of history and past is contested between personal and institutional levels. This means that how the Ingrian Finns interpret their history and past are different from particular national institutions.

Memories also play a central role in the Ingrians Finns return migration. In 2003, the Alien Acts narrowly divided in applicants into two groups: those who transferred to the Soviet Union from 1943 to 1944, and those who had served in the Finnish Army between 1939 and 1945¹⁰. Prindivile and Hjelm (2018) suggest that the collective memory of the wartime suffering caused by the Soviet Union in the Second World War appeared to be of lasting importance among the Finnish politicians and policymakers in terms of what conditions residence permits should be granted.

Notably, when some interviewees narrated the wartime experiences of their parents or grandparents during the Second World War, their narration started at a point of how they had escaped the German army. Below is an interview excerpt from Aino. She had not heard her mother talking about the wartime experience until she turned 50 years old. Her mother told a story of how they escaped from the village and where they lived during that time. Aino says:

When the German army approached St. Petersburg, mother started escaping. I was so surprised when she told me that she had a sister called Nadja who died in the bombings on the way to making their escape from St. Petersburg to Estonia. So my mother was the only child left alive for her parents. When my mother and my grandmother arrived at Klooga, Estonia, farm masters and hostesses came to look after the Ingrian camp. And they selected workers for themselves. Grandma and mother were chosen. They were taken to a forest and there were a lot of fields.

The story refers to the 900-day siege of Leningrad, when the German and Finnish armies reached today's St Petersburg's areas (Leningrad) in 1941. The Finnish-German military alliance took shape from 1941 to 1944, during which time the governments of Finland and

¹⁰ According to Prindivile and Hjelm (2018:15), the 2002 and 2003 amendments stated that returnee status may be granted on these conditions: 1) if the applicant belonged to the Ingrian Finnish emigrants who between 1943 and 1944 were transferred to Finland and then after the War returned to the Soviet Union; 2) if the applicant has served in the Finnish Army between 1939 and 1945.

Germany agreed to evacuate the Ingrian Finns from Leningrad. Klooga in Estonia was one of many places, where Ingrian Finns were detained before they were transported by train to dozens of camps in different parts of Finland. Despite the Finnish cooperation with Germany, the dominant public views on wartime tend to describe it as "a separate Finnish war" as if Finland fought its own war against the Soviet Union (Meinander, 2011: 60).

There were approximately 63,000 Ingrian Finns who were evacuated from the surroundings of today's St. Petersburg area as refugees, and 55,000 who supposedly voluntarily returned at the end of the Second World War to the Soviet Union. (Prindiville, 2015: 62 cited in Anne de Tinguy, 2003: 17). According to Erdal and Oppen (2018: 987), it is hard to distinguish between forced and voluntary migration without having an empirical point of view. The below excerpt by Juho shows what he had heard from his own parents when they were sent back to the Soviet Union:

My parents told me very little about Ingrian history about the time of what they were in Finland and what they did. Then they told me something about how they were taken to the Soviet Union from Finland, and how they came back to Tervolovo. The guards just locked people in the train cars and sent them back to the Soviet Union. After crossing the border, people were transported anywhere in the Soviet Union. Some even were forced to Siberia. It was only when Stalin died that people were able to move to their home village. Many people died during the transportation. My parents were transported from Finland to Pskov. But they did not have well enough food and clothing with them. My grandmother and mother's older brother went to Estonia for earning money. They had to ride on top of a train car because they had no money for the ticket. They worked for a while. Then mother's brother got sick. He got violent flue and died at the age of 14. He was buried in Estonia. I was also told that many houses were occupied when they returned Tervolovo. Somebody already lived in my parents' house. First they could not live in their original house right away.

For Juho, the evaluation of Mauno Koivisto's statement was "fair" because Ingrian Finns had been "betrayed" and "hanging out to dry". The feeling of being betrayed was not necessarily connected with the Soviet Union, but rather expanded through Finland to Russia and Estonia. In contrast to Prindiville and Hjelm's (2018) discursive analyses on the return migration program, the memory of suffering against the Soviet Union was not specifically cited by my informants as a significant event. Belonging is not just about membership, rights and duties but also about the emotions that such membership evokes (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman, 2005: 526). As Pakkanen's text shows, the feelings of "pain", "fear", "sad", and "ashamed" set the tone for what it means to be Ingrian Finns. However, when these feelings are essentialized as a mode of belonging, it sets a limit and becomes determining of who

Ingrian Finns are and who are not. Seen from this view, memories can be tied to specific emotions that produce a mode of belonging.

According to Fortier (2006), memory is also found in cultural practices. Such cultural practices, Fortier (2006) suggests, are not necessarily tied to one's identity and belonging to one place but they are dispersed. One of the interviewees, Iida recounted her childhood memories of Christmas and Easter in Tervolovo:

In the village, our parents arranged celebrational days such as Christmas and Easter. (...) We were taught Christmas songs and poems. We wrote down our Christmas wishes and mailed them to Santa Clause. (...) We had always Christmas on the 24th and 25th of December, even we had to be at work. My grandparents arranged Christmas for us and we arranged Christmas for our children. Maybe because of that Finns feel that Ingrians are closer to them.

In Russia, Christmas is most widely celebrated on the 7th of January because the Russian Orthodox Church uses the Julian calendar. For Iida, Christmas provided a frame of reference for cultural proximity to Finland, saying, "maybe because of that Finns feel that Ingrians are closer to them". Fortier (2006) suggests viewing traditions as cultural fragments rather than expressions of a way of life. In doing so, multiple forms of belongings reside in memory and resist the moralizing tendencies of origin narratives (Fortier, 2006: 321).

5.3 When, where, how are Ingrian Finns?

In this section, I examine the way Ingrian Finns feel a sense of belonging through home. According to Ahmed (1999: 338), definitions of home shift across a number of belongings: home can mean where one usually lives, or it can mean where one's family lives, or it can mean one's native country. For Ingrian Finns, they have cultural and historical connections to Finland, but Finland is not their origin of country. In that sense, how they feel a sense of belonging in their ancestral homeland? In what follows, by following Minh-ha's (1990) notion of fragmentation I examine when, where, and how Ingrian Finns' belonging can be acknowledged.

The excerpt below from Aino shows diverse understandings of the self through difference in time and place:

At elementary school, I was chuhna and others were ryssä. When moved here from the Soviet Union, I was automatically labeled as ryssä. When I talked

with people about my background I was categorized as Ingrian Finn and people thought milder about me.

Chuhna is a derogatory name used for Finns in Russia, while ryssä (russki) also corresponds with a negative Finnish word used for Russians. In her childhood, she had never thought about her roots as she stated in the interview: "I didn't think about my Ingrianness at all. I didn't think I was different" from other classmates in Tervolovo. However, she explained that her quiet and noncommittal personality had let them bully her because of the school hierarchy in which one's popularity developed from being "pretty and brave" and "Ingrianness was mentioned on the side as a small extra." When she moved to Finland, she was no longer labeled chukhna but ryssä until she was identified as an Ingrian Finn. In the above interview excerpt, Aino described Ingrian Finns' category as "milder", which had the opposite effect of being Russians who were seen as "taking monetary benefits" in Finland. Once she was categorized as an Ingrian Finn, people saw her "with good eyes." From this view, Ingrianness is seen as a desirable form of closeness to Finland.

In an excerpt below, Aino explains how Ingrianness emerged and how Ingrianness is imagined through the idea of home:

I have been raised in Russia and by Russian cultural standards. The Ingrianness came out only here in Finland. Some people use it as an advantage because it makes a big difference whether you are a Russian or an Ingrian Finns' returnees. I never used it as my advantage. I am who I am. If you're an Ingrian Finn, you will be looked with good eyes. As if you're returned to your original home country, a country where you originally belong. If you are a Russian you will be seen as you came to the welfare state taking monetary benefits. Finland is not my country. For me, my home country is Russia.

On the one hand, Aino acknowledged how Ingrian Finns are imagined and felt through Finland that as if they were returning to their origin of home country. On the other hand, she claimed, "my home country is Russia". Nevertheless, it does not necessarily mean that she identifies herself as a Russian, instead, she states: "I am who I am", while at the same time she differentiates from those who used Ingrianness as an advantage. Aino situates herself outside of the parameters that are usually thought of as defining Ingrianness.

For Aino, belonging is the site where displays resistance to the notion of Ingrianness in contrast to Pakkanen (2020) who describes his belonging as "feelings of rootlessness" in the

exhibition. Aino 's subjective perceptions are fragmented with the movement of time and the shifting of places.

The next interview excerpt is from Iida. She mentions a feeling in-between that is ambivalent and contested:

I probably identify myself as an Ingrian Finn. I always had this kind of stronger feeling....it is difficult because I have friends in both sides. Well, however, at home was...this really depends. I never have thought that I can proudly beat my chest and declare that I am a Russian or a Finn. I am feeling in-between them. It's difficult to answer. I do perfectly adapt [in Russia] too. Probably Finland is now closer to my heart. This is such a personal choice. Why I moved to Finland is because I had a problem with my ex-husband. It's easier to be in Finland and here's safety.

Iida figuratively describes the gesture of a patriotic act by using the words ("beating my chest" and "declare") and expression ("proudly"). At the beginning of the text, she identifies herself as an Ingrian Finn. However, when it comes to where she feels "at home", it was difficult for her to take sides. Having friends in both countries was one of the reasons that she cannot completely "stay removed from" (Ahmed, 2004:27) either Finland or Russia. Her feeling in-between is similar to what Ang (2011: 194) describes as "hybrid in-between-ness". In Ang's (2011) account, hybridity is not simply about fusion and synthesis as well as a comfortable position to be in. Iida 's condition of being "suspended in-between" (Ang, 2011: 194) makes her uneasy to claim to which she belongs, "I am a Russian or a Finn". Instead, she puts her in-between positioning into another sentence: "Probably Finland is now closer to me".

In a similar way, Teijo also commented that he is "more on the Finnish side", although he "felt like 50-50 in the beginning." The below text was an interview where both Teijo and his wife Kaarina explained to us:

Teijo: Now I feel like I'm more on the Finnish side. I feel my life more like a Finnish one.

Kaarina: First it felt nostalgia about Russia but we grew out of it. We feel good in here.

Teijo: I think of myself more as a Finn. It really felt like 50-50 in the beginning. When we visit Russia, it feels good to go but after two weeks we already feel like going home to Finland. It's so nice to return back home. When you cross the border back to Finland, you will get the feeling of relief, phew.

It is nice to visit Russia. My relatives and friends are living there.

Notably, Teijo frequently expressed his closeness to Finland by using the word "more" in the interview. Instead of clearly stating his positioning, the expression of "more" displays a continuum between the borderlines of Finland and Russia. Teijo describes the state of mind "feeling of relief" when he crosses the border from Russia to Finland. Feeling a rush of "going home" and "returning back home" indicate his emotional attachment to Finland. I consider what makes it possible for Teijo to think of himself more as a Finn are conditions that are already given and inherited from the past. Inheritances, according to Ahmed (2007: 154), can be re-thought not only in terms of blood and genes but also in terms of orientations to we inherit "the reachability of some objects (i.e. physical objects, styles, capacities, aspirations, techniques, and habits), those that are given to us, or at least made available to us, within 'what' it is around". When the reachability and proximity appear through inheritance, it generates not only a sense of the ability to move one place to another but also a familial space of "likeness" (Ahmed, 2007: 155). In the text below, Juho explains what made his transition "easy" in relation to inheritances:

I feel as...well, I have Russian friends and Finnish friends. I think I have changed somehow. Finland changed me and it was an easy change. I have been living here longer than in Russia. I was ready for this change because my grandparents were like Finnish people. They spoke and behaved in similar ways.

The following interview excerpt from Pekka shows how likeness is transcended. Pekka explained that his youth years spent in Russia and "some Russian ways of life" still remained in his mind, such as reading and watching Russian news regularly. When he said, "I am more of the Russian side", in this context, it meant his political view is more on the Russian side. When it comes to how he feels in Finland, he associated himself with his colleagues who have been supportive and nice to him, saying "I like to be here". However, Pekka also acknowledged the fact that it is not easy for others, which means:

Everyone understood that Teijo, Juho, and I wanted to be Finns or stay in this country. For others it is not easy if they speak Finnish with an accent and their customs are completely different.

The text shows who can or cannot relate to Finland. The below text shows that "others" means those who have an "accent" and different "customs."

Fragmentation re-structures the Ingrian Finns' ways of relating to the world as changes in time and place. In terms of belonging, fragmentation opens up possibilities for Ingrian Finns' plurality and in-between-ness in belonging.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I interview Ingrian Finns with the aim of further challenge dominant narratives that situate Ingrian Finns in the context of Finnish cultural and historical homogeneity. Much attention has been paid to the Ingrian Finns' identity construction in close proximity to the notion of Finnishness by various platforms, such as the national institutions, public media, and academia. However, there has been very little attention to Ingrian Finns' empirical point of view to investigate their experiences and practices of return migration. To provide an alternative framework to the dominant narratives, this thesis sets out three questions: 1) how the Ingrian Finns experienced return migration after the return migration program was introduced in the 1990s in Finland; 2) What are the implications of return for the Ingrian Finns, when Finland is considered to be their country of an ancestral homeland but they grew up outside of Finland and; 3) related to the second question, when Finland is not their origin of country, then how do Ingrian Finns feel a sense of belonging? To answer these questions, I used a mixed-method qualitative approach involving semi-structured interviews and biographical-narrative method, as well as text materials from the Ingrian Finns' exhibition held at the National Museum of Finland.

Based on the key analytical framework I used in this thesis, I briefly discuss what are my main findings are. By following the three aspects of Cresswell's (Cresswell, 2010) theory of the politics of mobility: motive force, rhythm, and friction, I examine how and in what condition the Ingrian Finns actually experienced return migration. Despite the Mauno Koivisto's announcement of the Ingrian Finns return migration program, my informants had less chance to stay longer in Finland after moving to Finland due to the fact that there was very little information. This reflected the fact that there was the lack of consensus in the concept of a returnee among the Finnish politicians. The collapse of the Soviet Union had a significant meaning for my informants to move to Finland, however, Koivisto's statement was not determined my informants' decision to live in Finland immediately. As their work contract continued, they decided to stay in Finland. My informants experienced various forms of bordering practices and ethnic profiling that control their mobility. By focusing on my informants' everyday encounters, I illustrate how the interconnectedness of social relations affects the way my informants are seen. The role of nationality, race, class, gender, and

sexuality, as well as language and physical appearances was involved in both bordering practices and ethnic profiling.

As for Ingrian Finns' belonging, I used the concepts of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006) and fragmentation (Minh-ha, 1990; 1992). I illustrate the way Ingrian Finns feel a sense of belonging through language, memories, and home. The idea of fragmentation is also about the borders surrounding fragments of language and memories that can be found in the Ingrian Finns' narratives. For my informants, language is not connected to the idea of one nation and one language and the fact it is a way of living in cross-border countries between Finland and Russia. Memories play a key role in both the Ingrian Finn's return migration program and the exhibition, however, the interpretation of history and past is different from my informants. In the dominant narratives, Ingrian Finn's belonging is associated with the feelings of rootlessness and pains, however, my informants convey a sense of belonging through resistance and closeness to the notion of Finnishness and Ingrianness, and in-between-ness. But while this thesis specifically focuses on the Ingrian Finns' returnees, what remains unexamined is the generational differences between the first and second-generation Ingrian Finns' returnees in terms of how they negotiate the meanings of the return and the ancestral homeland since the second-generation grew up in Finland.

Acknowledgement

I express my profound gratitude to my partner for providing me support throughout the research processes. Without his contribution to the work of translation and transcriptions, this thesis would not have been accomplished. I would also like to thank my informants who share their stories for my thesis. I am deeply thankful to my two supervisors of Gender Studies, Ann-Charlotte Palmgren and Kattis Honkanen. They always navigate me in the right direction whenever I needed it.

List of figures

Fig. 1. Map of Ingria (Pakkanen, S. and Pakkanen, L. (2020). *Ingrians - The forgotten Finns*. The National Museum of Finland, page 15.)



Fig. 2. The front page of the exhibition text, Ingrians-The Forgotten Finns (Pakkanen, 2020)



Reference list

- Adam, B. (1990). *Time and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ahmed, S. (1999). Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(3), pp. 329-347.
- Ahmed, S. (2004). Collective Feelings Or, The Impression Left by Others. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21(2), pp.25-42.
- Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory*, 8(2), pp.149-168, DOI: 10.1177/1464700107078139
- Ahmed, S. (2014). *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburg University Press.
- Alcof, L. M. (2003). Latino/as, Asian Americans, and the Black-White Binary. *The Journal of Ethics*, 7, pp.5-27.
- Alexievich, S. (2017). *The Unwomanly Face of War*. In: translated by Pevevar, R. and Volokhonsky, L. Penguin Classics.
- Amelina, A. and Faist, T. (2012). De-naturalizing the national in research methodologies: key concepts of transnational studies in migration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(10), pp.1707-1724.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.
- Anderson, B. (2013). *Us and Them? : The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford University Press.
- Ang, I. (2011). *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*. Routledge.
- Anne de Tinguy, (2003). Ethnic Migrations of the 1990s from and to the Successor States of the Former Soviet Union: Repatriation or Privileged Migration? In: Münz, R. and Ohliger, R. eds, *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel and Post –Soviet Successor States in Comparative Perspective*, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003, p.100-113.
- Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1983). Contextualizing feminism: gender, ethnic and class divisions, *Feminist Review*, 4, pp.62–75.
- Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Macioti, P.G. and Squire, V. (2013). Mobility interrogating free movement: Roma acts of European citizenship. In: Isin, E.F. and Saward, M. ed., *Enacting European Citizenship*. Cambridge University Press.
- Balibar, É. (2002). *Politics and the Other Scene*. London: Verso.
- Balibar, É. (2004). *We, the people of Euorpe?: reflections on transnational citizenship*. Princeton University Press.
- Barker, V. (2017). Nordic vagabonds: The Roma and the logic of benevolent violence in the

Swedish welfare state. *European Journal of Criminology*. 14(1), pp.120-139, DOI:10.1177/1477370816640141

Bastian, M. (2011). The contradictory simultaneity of being with others: exploring concepts of time and community in the work of Gloria Anzaldù. *Feminist Review* 97, pp.151-167.

Bauböck, R. (2011). Temporary migrants, partial citizenship and hypermigration. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. 14(5), pp. 665-693, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2011.617127

Battistella, C. (2018). *Return Migration: A Conceptual and Policy Framework*. Center For Migration Studies.

Bämberg, E. B. and Dahlberg, K. (2013). Interpreters in Cross-Cultural Interviews: A Three-Way Conconstruction of Data, *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(2), pp.241-247.

Binaisa, N. (2011). Negotiating 'Belonging' to the Ancestral 'Homeland': Uganda Refugee Descendents 'Return'. *Mobilities*, 6(4), pp.519-534.

Black, R., K. Koser, K. Monk, G. Atfield, L. D'Onofrio, and R. Tiemok. (2004) *Understanding Voluntary Return*. Home Office Report 50/04, London: Home Office.

Block, L. (2016). *Policy Frames on Spousal Migration in Germany: Regulating Membership, Regulating the Family*. Berlin: Springer Verlag.

Bonnett, A. (1998). Who was white? The disappearance of non-European white identities and the formation of European racial whiteness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(6), pp.1029-1055, DOI: 10.1080/01419879808565651

Bonnett, A. (2008). White studies revisited. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(1), pp.185-196, DOI: 10.1080/01419870701539016

Botterill, K. (2015). "We Don't See Things as They Are, We See Things as We Are": Questioning the "Outsider" in Polish Migration Research. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 16(2), pp.1-17.

Braidotti, R. (1994). *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2011). *Nomadic Theory: The Portable Rosi Braidotti*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2013). *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bruskin, S. (2019). Insider or outsider? Exploring the fluidity of the roles through social identity theory. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, 8(2), pp.159-170.

Burbaker, R. (2004). *Grounds for Difference*. Harvard University Press.

Carling and Collins. (2018). Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp. 909-926.

Carter, S. (2008). *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*. The University of Alberta Press.

Cassarino, J. P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 6(2), pp.253-279. Available at: <https://www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol6/issue2/art4>.

Cerese, P. F. (1974) 'Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy'. *The International Migration Review*, 8(2), pp.245-262.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Chen, J. and Bao, J. (2019). Rethinking time and lifestyle migration: Multiple temporalities, identity formation, and post-migration life of Chinese Houniao. *The Geographical Journal*, 186, pp.213-223, DOI: 10.1111/geoj.12339

Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28, pp.17-31.

Cresswell, T. (2014). Mobilities II : Still. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(5), pp.645-653.

Collins, F. L. (2018). Desire as a theory for migration studies: temporality, assemblage and becoming in the narratives of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(60), pp.964-980.

Cwerner, S. B. (2001). The Times of Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(1), pp. 7-36, DOI: 10.1080/13691830125283

Çaglar, A. (2016). Still 'migrants' after all those years: foundational mobilities, temporal frames and emplacement of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(60), pp.952-969.

Çaglar, A and Glick Schiller, N. (2018). *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

De Genova, N. (2016). The European question: Migration, race and postcoloniality in Europe. *Social Text*, 128, pp.75-102.

Diatlova, A. (2019). *Between Visibility and Invisibility: Russian-Speaking Women Engaged in Commercial Sex in Finland*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Erdal, M. B. (2020). Theorizing interactions of migrant transnationalism and integration through a multiscale approach. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 8(31), pp. 1-16.

Erdal, M. B. and Oeppen, C. (2018) 'Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp. 981-998.

European Migration Network (EMN). (2007). [Return Migration](#). [pdf] European Commission, 32 pages.

- Fortier, A. M. (2000). *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*. Oxford: Berg.
- Fortier, A. M. (2006). The Politics of Scaling, Timinig and Embodying: Rethinking the 'New Europe'. *Mobilities*, 1(3), pp.313-331.
- Fortier, A. N. (2007). Too close for comfort: loving thy neighbour and the management of multicultural intimacies. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25, pp.104-119.
- Fortier, A. M. (2017). The social life of citizenisation and naturalisation: Outlining an analytical framework. *COLLeGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 23, pp.12-30.
- Fortier, A. M. (2018). On (Not) Speaking English: Colonial Legacies in Language Requirements for British Citizenship. *Sociology*, 52(6), pp.1254-1269, DOI: 10.1177/0038038517742854
- Glich Schiller, N. and Wimmer, A. (2003). Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology. *The International Migration Review*, 37(3), pp. 576-610.
- Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Transnationality. In: Nugent, D. and Vincent, J. ed., *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Gray, B. (2011). Becoming non-migrant: lives worth waiting for. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 18(3), pp.417-432, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.566403
- Greenhouse, C. J. (1989). Just in Time: Temporality and the Cultural Legitimation of Law. *The Yale Law Journal*, 98(8), *Symposium: Popular Legal Culture*, pp.1631-1651.
- Griffin, G. and Braidotti, R. (2002). Whiteness and European situatedness. In: Griffin, G. and Braidotti, R. eds, *Thinking differently: a reader in European women's studies*. London and New York: Zed Books, pp.221-236.
- Griffiths, M., Rogers, A. and Anderson, B. (2013). Migration, Time and Temporalities: Review and Prospect. *COMPAS Research Resources Paper*, 31 pages.
- Hagan, J. M. and Wassink, J. T. (2020). Return Migration Around the World: An Integrated Agenda for Future Research. *The Annual Review of Sociology*, 46(3), pp.553-552.
- Hakamies, P. (2004). Finns in Russia, Russians in Finland. In: Siikala, A., Klein, B. and Mathise, R. ed., *Creating Diversities Folklore, Religion and the Politics of Heritage*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Halfacree, K. (2012). Heterolocal Identities? Counter-Urbanisation, Second Homes, and Rural Consumption in the Era of Mobilities. *Population, Space and Place* 18, pp.209-224.
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings. *Mobilities*, 1(1), pp.1-22.
- Ho, E. L. (2016). Incongruent migration categorisations and competing citizenship claims: 'return' and hypermigration in transnational migration circuits. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(14), pp. 2379-2394.

- Hui, A. (2016). The Boundaries of Interdisciplinary Fields: Temporalities Shaping the Past and Future of Dialogue between Migration and Mobilities Research. *Mobilities*, 11(1), pp.66-82.
- Jacobsen, C. M., Karlsen, M. A. and Khosravi, S. (2021). *Waiting and the Temporalities of Irregular Migration*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jerman, H. (2009). Venäläiset tulivat: tutkija kohtaa median kuvan maahanmuuttajista. In: Keskinen, S., Rastas, A. and Tuori, S. eds, *En ole rasisti, mutta...Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä*. Tampere: Vastapaino and Nuorsotutkimusverkosto, pp. 92-105.
- Jong, S. and Dannecker, P. (2018). Connecting and confronting transnationalism: bridging concepts and moving critique. *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 25(5), pp.493-506.
- Kaplan, C. (2006). Mobility and war: the cosmic view of US 'air power'. *Environment and Planning A*, 38, pp.395-407.
- Keskinen, S., Norocel, O.C. and Jørgensen, M. (2016). The politics and policies of welfare chauvinism under the economic crisis. *Critical Social Policy*, 36(3), pp.321-329.
- Keskinen, S., Skaptadóttir, U. D., and Toivanen, M. (2019). *Undoing Homogeneity in the Nordic Region: Migration, Difference, and the Politics of Solidarity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Keskinen, S., Alemanji, A. A., Himanen, M., Kivijärvi, A., Osazee, U., Pöyhölä, N. and Rousku, V. (2018). [THE STOPPED - ETHNIC PROFILING IN FINLAND](#). Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki.
- Krinovos, D. (2018). Claims to whiteness: Young unemployed Russian-speakers' declassificatory struggles in Finland. *The sociological Review*, 66(6), pp. 1145-1160, DOI: 10.1177/0038026117737412
- Krivonos, D. (2019). Welfare chauvinism the margins of whiteness: Young unemployed Russian-speakers negotiations of worker-citizenship in Finland. In: Keskinen, S., Skaptadóttir, U.D. and Toivanen, M. ed., *Undoing Homogeneity in the Nordic Region: Migration, Difference, and the Politics of Solidarity*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 139-141.
- Krivonos, D. (2020). Swedish surnames, British accents: passing among post-Soviet migrants in Helsinki. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(16), pp.388-406. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1813319
- Kurs, O. (1994). Ingria: The broken landbridge between Estonia and Finland. *GeoJournal*, 33, pp.107-113.
- Kuschminder, K. (2017). Interrogating the Relationship between Remigration and Sustainable Return. *Internationa Migration*, 55(6), pp.107-121.
- Kydd-Williams, R. (2019). Ethical Issues of Insider/Outsider Interviewing: Qualitative Research in Grenada, A Carribean Island. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 13(4), pp.424-433.

Kyntäjä, E. (1997). Ethnic Remigration from the Former Soviet Union to Finland - Patterns of Ethnic Identity and Acculturation among the Ingrian Finns. *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland*, 34, pp.102-113.

Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis: space, time and everyday life Continuum*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Leinonen, J. (2012). Invisible Immigrants, Visible Expats? Americans in Finnish discourses on immigration and internationalization. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*. 2(3), pp. 213-223, DOI:10.2478/v10202-011-0043-8

Leinonen, J. (2017). Hierarchies of Desirability: Racialized Cartographies in Media Discourses on Relationships between Finns and Foreigners. *Scandinavian studies*, 89(2), pp.217-239.

Lentin, R. and Bousetta, H. (2006). "But What Is Interesting Is the Story of Why and How Migration Happened". *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7(3), 13 pages.

Lepola, O. (2000). *Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi: monikulttuurisuus, kansalaisuus ja suomalaisuus 1990-luvun maahanmuuttopoliittisessa keskustelussa*, Helsinki: SkS.

Liija, E. (2020). Keitä me oikein olemme? *Helsingin Sanomat suununtaina 11.10.2020*, p. B8-11.

Lloyd, M. (2005). *Beyond Identity Politics: Feminism, Power and Politics*. London: Sage.

Ludvig, A. (2006). Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), pp.245-258.

Lyykorpi, R. (2016). *This is my homeland, what else can I say? Ingrian Finns' reason for staying put in Russia*. MA. University of Eastern Finland.

Malkki, L. H. (1995). Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review Anthropology*, 24, pp.495-523.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. (1995). Places and Their Pasts. *History Workshop Journal*, Spring No. 39, pp. 182-192.

Massey, D. (2005). *for space*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Matley, I. M. (1979). The Dispersal of the Ingrian Finns. *Slavic Review*, 38(1), pp.1-16.

Mähönen, T. A., Varjonen, S., Prindiville, N., Arnold, L., and Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). Boundaries of National Belonging in Ingrian Finnish Return Migration: A Multi-level Perspective. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 5(3), pp.126-134.

Meinander, H. (2011). A Separate Story? Interpretations of Finland in the Second World War. In: Stenius, H. ed. *Nordic Narrative of the Second World War: National Historiographies Revisited*. Nordic Academic Press.

- Mezzadra, S. and Neilson, B. (2013). *Borders as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Duke University Press.
- Miller, T. and Bell, L. (2014). Consenting to What Issues of Access, Gate-Keeping and 'Informed Consent'. In: Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, pp.61-75.
- Minh-ha, T. (1989). Difference: A Special Third World Women Issue. *Feminist Review*. Spring, 25, pp. 5-22.
- Minh-ha, T. (1990). Woman, Native, Other. *Feminist Review*, 36, pp. 65-74.
- Minh-ha, T. (1992). *Framer Framed: Film Scripts and Interviews*. Taylor and Francis Group.
- Nail, T. (2015). *The Figure of the Migrant*. Stanford University Press.
- Oda, E. (2010). Ethnic migration and memory: disputes over the ethnic origins of Japanese Brazilians in Japan. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(3), pp. 515-532.
- Pakkanen, S., and Pakkanen, L. (2020). *Ingrians - The Forgotten Finns*. The National Museum of Finland.
- Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, John Wiley and Sons Ltds.
- Pessar, P. R. and Mahler, S. J. (2003). Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender in. *The International Migration Review*, 37(3), pp.812-846.
- Povinelli, E. A. (2000). *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Prindiville, N. (2015). *The Return of the Ingrian Finns: Ethnicity, Identity and Reforms in Finland's Return Immigration Policy 1990-2010*. PhD. University College London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies. Available at:
- Prindiville, N. and Hjelm, T. (2018). The "secularization" and ethnicization of migration discourse: the Ingrian Finnish Right to Return in Finnish politics. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(9), pp. 1574-1593.
- Reuter, A. and Kyntäjä, E. (2006). Kansainvälinen avioliitto ja stigma. In: Martikainen, T. ed, *Ylirajainen kulttuuri: etnisyys Suomessa 2000-luvulla*, Helsinki: SKS, pp.104-125.
- Rutz, H. J. (1992). *The Politics of Time*. Amer Anthropological Assn.
- Sarvijärvi, I. and Sarvijärvi, M. (1998). Language Contacts in Ingrian-Finnish, In: Teinonen, M. and Virtanen, T. ed., *Ingrians and Neighbours: Focus on the eastern Baltic Sea region*, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp.23-47.
- Slater, S. D. (1998). Creating the self: Stories as transitional phenomena. *Auto/Biography*, 6(1-2), pp.85-92.

- Silvery, R. (2004). Power, difference and mobility: feminist advances in migration studies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(4), pp.490-506.
- Simon, S. (1996). *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Skaptadóttir, U. D., and Toivanen, M. ed., *Undoing Homogeneity in the Nordic Region: Migration, Difference, and the Politics of Solidarity*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 103-118.
- Skeggs, B. (2003). *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, A. L. (2003). *Europe's Invisible Migrants*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Spijkerboer, T. (2018). The Global Mobility Infrastructure: Reconceptualising the Externalisation of Migration Control. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 20, pp.452-469, DOI: 10.1163/15718166-12340038
- Svašek, M. (2010). On the Move: Emotions and Human Mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(6), pp. 865-880, DOI: 10.1080/13691831003643322
- Sverdljuk, J. (2009). Contradicting the 'Prostitution Stigma'. In: Keskinen, S., Sara, T., Irni, S. and Mulinari, D. ed, In: *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*. UK: Ashgate, pp.137-153.
- Temple, B. (2001). Polish Families A Narrative Approach. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22(3), pp.386-399.
- Temple, B. (2002). Crossed Wires: Intepreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(6), pp.844-854.
- Temple, B. and Edwards, R. (2002). Interpreters/Translators and Cross-Language Research: Reflexivity and Border Crossings, *International Institute for Qualitative Methodology (IIQM)*, 1(2), pp. 1-12.
- Tervonen, M., Pallander, S. and Yuval-Davis, N. (2018). Everyday Bordering in the Nordic Countries. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 8(3), pp.139-142.
- Tietz, S., Tansley, C. and Helinek, E. (2017). The translator as agent in management knowledge transfer, *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 17(1), pp.151-169.
- Toivanen, M. (2014). The Visual Lexica of (National) Belonging and Non-belonging in the Accounts of Young Kurds in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 4(4), pp.192-200.
- Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction*. Princeton University Press.
- Tsuda, T. (2010). Ethnic return migration and the nation-state: encouraging the diaspora to return 'home'. *Nations and Nationalism*, 16(4), pp.616-636.

Varjonen, S., Arnold, L., and Jasinskaya-Lahti, I. (2013). 'We're Finns here, and Russians there': A longitudinal study on ethnic identity construction in the context of ethnic migration. *Discourse and Society*, 24(1), pp.110-134.

Vathi, Z. and King, R. (2011). Return Visits of the Young Albanian Second Generation in Europe: Contrasting Themes and Comparative Host-Country Perspective. *Mobilities*, 6(4), pp.503-518.

Viimaranta, H., Protassova, E. and Mustajoki, A. (2018). Russian-Speakers in Finland: The ambiguities of a growing minority. *P.U.F. Revue d' études comparatives Est-Quest*, 4(4), pp.95-128.

Waldinger, R. (2015). *The Cross-Border Connection*. Harvard University Press.

Waldinger, R. (2017). A cross-border perspective on migration: beyond the assimilation /transnationalism debate. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(1), pp.3-17.

Wimmer, A. and Glick Schiller. (2003). Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology. *The Center for Migration Studies of New York*, 37(3), pp.576-610.

Wong, J. and Poon, M. (2010). Bringing Translation Out of the Shadows: Translation as an Issue of Methodological Significance in Cross-Cultural Qualitative Research, *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 21(2), pp.151-158.

Urponen, M. (2008). Monikulttuurinen parisuhde ja suomalaisen julkisuuden sukupuolittuneet luokkakuvat. In: Tolonen, T. ed, *Yhteiskuntaluokka ja sukupuoli*. Tampere: Vastapaino, pp.122-145.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Yalaz, E. and Zapata-Barrero, R. (2018). Mapping the Qualitative Migration Research in Europe: An Exploratory Analysis. In: Yalaz, E. and Zapata-Barrero, R. ed., *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*, IMISCOE Research Series, pp.9-31.

Yuval-Daivis, N. (1997). *Gender and Nation*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), pp.197-214.

Yuval-Daivis, N., Anthias, F. and Kofman, E. (2006). Secure borders and safe haven and the gendered politics of belonging: Beyond social cohesion. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 28(3). pp. 513-535, DOI: 10.1080/0141987042000337867

Yuval-Davis, N. (2010). Theorizing identity: beyond the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44(3), pp.261-280.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*. SAGE Publication Ltd.

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, F. and Cassidy, K. (2018). Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation, *Sociology*, 52(2), pp.228-244, DOI: 10.1177/0038038517702599

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. (2019). *Bordering*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ylijoki, O. (2010). Future orientations in episodic labour: Short-term academics as a case in point. *Time and Society*, 19(3), pp.365-386, DOI: 10.1177/0961463X10356220

Yıldız, C. and De Genova, N. (2018). Un/Free mobility: Roma migrants in the European Union. *Social Identities*. 24(4), pp. 425-441.

Zadneprovskaya, A. (1998). The Ingrian-Finnish remigrants: Factors preventing and promoting integration, In: Teinonen, M. and Virtanen, T. ed., *Ingrians and Neighbours: Focus on the eastern Baltic Sea region*, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp.85-97.