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Finnish Somali Women: Defining and Living Citizenship in Turku

Finnish Somali Women: Defining and Living Citizenship in Turku

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Key message

- To many Finnish Somali women, citizenship does not mean a formal status, but a series of practices that help them feel like fuller members of society. My participants define citizenship in three main ways: as a balance between work and family life; as a learning practice – for both them and the majority population; as a key to online banking and travelling abroad.
- They experience full citizenship in Finland as employment, mutual learning and respect, organising one's time and transnational social connections.
- Many Finnish Somali women and people working with them may face challenges (e.g. prejudice, mistrust, incommunicability) around employment, family and living together in Finland. To tackle these challenges, more flexible and low-threshold tools should be developed (e.g. workshops and drop-in counselling), encompassing the multiple roles of Finnish Somali women as mothers, learners and (sometimes future) professionals.

Introduction

This briefing investigates Finnish Somali women's lived citizenship, exploring what citizenship means to them, and the material and social relations connected with such meanings – in simpler terms, 'citizenship from below'. My topic belongs to human geography and critical explorations of citizenship, descending from everyday and feminist geographies.

My research joins the current debates on Somali diaspora's citizenship and on 'lived citizenship', contributing an original empirical case and an analysis of the underexplored everyday dimensions of citizenship. My main contribution lies in letting people, who are usually defined by citizenship, define citizenship themselves. Finnish Somalis can enrich the meanings of European citizenship through Islam, their migration experiences and nomadic tradition.1,2 This study contributes to societal debates about the integration of people arrived as refugees, supporting the efforts towards their self-realisation in Finnish society. The value of my research is to show different paths towards full membership in society through the eyes of the individuals for whom integration programmes are designed. This research is part of my on-going PhD on the everyday geographies of people with a refugee background in Turku.

Considerable research has been done on, with and by Finnish Somalis on a range of topics. However, no study has yet had Finnish Somali women to define citizenship. Many sociologists have studied the strategies of Finnish Somalis' associations³, their participation in civil society⁴ and their political potential as voters⁵. Isotalo has discussed Finnish Somali women's experiences of the

urban space and racism.⁶ Still, little research is available on how Finnish Somalis practice citizenship in mundane and informal ways. About citizenship in a transnational and diaspora perspective, key references are Harinen et al's exploration of Somalis' civic integration⁷; Sotkasiira & Haverinen's examination of their battles for citizenship⁸; and Al-Sharmani & Horst's analysis of how Somalis create other forms of citizenship⁹. My research adds insights to these discussions through its local focus and my participants' innovative definitions of Finnish citizenship: thus, my work differs from analyses of Somalis' citizenship practices in transnational spaces⁹ or of their strife for substantial citizenship rights which can be defined as conventional – such as the right to privacy, security and social benefits.⁸

My work shares some aspects with research about belonging. 10,11 In her examination of belonging among young Kurds in Finland, Toivanen asked her participants what citizenship or the lack of it mean to them. 12 Yet, Toivanen focused on identities and belonging, not on citizenship. Also, my research rather concentrates on informal practices of citizenship beyond so-called civil society. Although belonging and lived citizenship are conceptually close to one another, belonging concerns identities, attachments, locations and boundary negotiations; instead, lived citizenship illuminates the claims people make – often, but not only, on the basis of belonging and identities – and the negotiations for their place and space in the everyday urban context, in Finland and in their political community at large.

Studies on lived citizenship draw attention to meanings, practices, materialities and social relations. Accordingly, I explore the data based on the following research questions: how do Finnish Somali women define citizenship, i.e. what meanings do they attach to Finnish, Somali, general citizenship? What are the material spaces connected with such definitions? What are the roles of Finnish Somali women and the social relations linked with such meanings of citizenship? In line with the literature on lived citizenship, my research is contextual and situated. My focus on the local level is also practical: in Finland, municipalities implement many rights.⁸

In what follows, first I introduce my theoretical concepts. Subsequently, I present my methods of data collection

and analysis. Then, I briefly introduce Turku from my participants' perspective and discuss three meanings of citizenship which emerged from my analysis. Finally, I draw my conclusions and offer some policy suggestions.

Central concepts

In my research, I consider citizenship as "particular ways of being situated within and responding to relations of power through which a community is governed or ruled". ¹³ In contrast with traditional reflections on citizenship, my work explores how Finnish Somalis define and perceive citizenship themselves.

Two geographical concepts, 'lived citizenship'¹⁴ and 'spaces of citizenship'¹⁵, are essential for my analysis. Lived citizenship refers to what citizenship actually means in the lives of people. As such, it could also be understood as 'citizenship from below'. The concept was proposed by geographer Lister to grasp how people conceive of and negotiate rights, responsibilities, belonging and participation, how their lives as citizens are influenced by both their social and cultural backgrounds and their material circumstances.¹⁴

As many have noted, there can be tensions between citizenship as formal status and citizenship as experience. 8,16,17 Entitlement to formal rights does not necessarily mean actual access to such rights. Likewise, acquiring formal citizenship may not bring meaningful changes in the lives of some people, since their negotiations and claims may lie in the economic, social or cultural spheres.

The concept of spaces of citizenship encompasses people's everyday routines, experiences and the spaces connected with what citizenship means to them. In this perspective, citizenship can be understood as negotiation, the process of carving out one's space in the city and in society. Therefore, people holding very different statuses – from citizens to non-citizens – practise citizenship. This spatial concept casts light on the materialities, social relations and perceptions of everyday life.

The everyday realities of Finnish Somalis have not been explored yet using lived citizenship and spaces of citi-

zenship; nonetheless, these two concepts are strongly relevant, as recent theoretical^{18–20} as well as empirical ^{17,21} works demonstrate. In particular, Pascucci's work²¹ has inspired my analysis, which highlights the meanings of citizenship and the routines, materialities and social relations connected with such meanings.

Data and analysis

For this study, I interviewed fifteen women: seven of them individually and eight in two separate group interviews – one including three women, the other five. To recruit participants, I contacted associations engaged with Somaliness, Islam, womanhood and multiculturalism; they suggested me potential gatekeepers, participants and places to access the field. It was crucial to build personal trust and contacts. Snowball sampling (i.e. letting the interviewees suggest further potential interviewees) became my main recruitment method. In line with the networks and spaces that gave me access to the field, women who are learning or consolidating their Finnish language skills in adult education institutions and civil society are overrepresented in my data (table 1). Doing intersectional analysis²², I consider the significance of

my participants' gender, race and class. I also acknowledge their position in the life cycle, their time of arrival in Finland and the number of years spent here, which can influence relations with others in Finland.²³

I conducted semi-structured interviews in Finnish and English, asking my participants about their background information, self-definitions and identities, meanings of citizenship and everyday urban routines (places, feelings, and practices). I freely adopted some elements of grounded theory24: at the end of the interview, I asked the participants what research should focus on and what they deem important beyond my interview questions. I included this information in my study. Interviewing my participants twice when possible, keeping actively in contact with them and including their own themes gave better perspective to the data. I coded the data with NVivo, drawing categories from my interview scripts and from the themes raised by participants; I did content analysis and examined the connections between the coded themes. I have adapted into English language the interview excerpts in this report.

	Age	Nr of years in Finland	Citizenship	Children	Occupation	Fin. lang. proficiency
Amina	~40	>10	Finnish	grown up children	Mother, work practice	intermediate
Samira	~50	>5	Somali	(no info)	Work practice	intermediate
Naima	20+	~5	Somali	small children and/or child coming	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	fluent
Suleekho	20+	>5	Somali	small children and/or child coming	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	basic
Cambaro	20+	<5	Finnish	small children and/or child coming	Employed, mother	fluent
Rihan	20+	>5	Somali	small children and/or child coming	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	intermediate
Khadija	20+	~10	Finnish	small children and/or child coming	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	fluent
Aar	20+	~5	Somali	yes	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	intermediate
Dawo	~40	<5	Somali	(no info)	Studying Fin. lang.	intermediate
Salaado	~40	>5	Somali	yes	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	basic
Ismahan	~20	>5	Somali	yes	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	basic
Ladan	40+	<5	Somali	yes	Mother, studying Fin. lang.	basic
Amaal	40+	>20	Finnish	grown up children	Employed, mother	fluent
Nasteho	20+	>20	Finnish	small children and/or child coming	Mother, self-employed	mother tongue
Asha	20+	>5	(no info)	(no info)	Studying	fluent

Table 1. Research participants and their various positionalities.

Analysis and results

Experiences of Turku

My participants perceived Turku positively. The qualities they appreciated the most are the city's tranquillity and sense of safety. More generally, they also referred to peace – understandable for people who were forced to migrate due to war and violence. Another positive feature is that everything is nearby. Nearly all my participants moved mostly by bus. Last but not least, many mothers emphasised the good quality of the health care, social services and education – which for Somalis apply to Finland as a whole.²³

Such positive views prevail, although nearly all participants shared stories of racism. However frequent such negative experiences could be for them, they did not give generalising or self-victimising accounts of racism.⁶ Many stressed that not all Finnish people are racist and that racism is not a peculiarity of Finland, e.g. Amina said: "I don't say 'only Finland is racist' – the world, every place is racist. For example, Finland – part is good, part is racist ... Yes, the world is all the same". From Asha's interview: "She thinks there are negative people everywhere – and in the Somali community, too. ... For

one person being racist, there are two good people. If somebody stares at her ... or calls her names because of what she looks like – it doesn't touch her" (observation notes).

Amina's and Asha's words call for recognising individual differences and the presence of non-racist people. Also, some participants' accounts suggest that they may resist racism by choosing to focus on the positive aspects or by conveying a sense of pride, confidence and self-awareness. These claims aim at shaping positions, power relations and reactions to racism: thus, they can be seen as citizenship practices. Through observation, I have learned that many participants have friends of other ethnicities, including Finns, even if they may not mention it.

Balancing work and family

All my participants were born abroad and arrived in Finland at some point – as children or as adults; from more than 20 to one year and a half ago. Several participants expressed their ambitions, most of which concerned employment and family. When I asked Amina what she considered important and what we should research, she had no doubt: employment is a challenge, we should discuss it and work to overcome it. Several participants talked about the difficulties of finding jobs in general, but also "as immigrants". They were both Finnish and Somali citizens. Jobs were perceived as scarce for everybody; at the same time, some participants have experienced discrimination around work based on their name – revealing a supposed foreign identity –, racism and so-called islamophobia.²³

Several participants shared ambition and plans to pursue a profession. However, some women may have small children, may be still developing language skills or lack time and resources to study. Despite wanting it, they may not obtain a professional degree, and thus never be able to access what they see as a better-paid, higher-status and preferred job. Some participants felt their skills could not be recognised by the current system, as Amina powerfully put it:

This is a person, she does not have a profession, but she's hardworking and knows well how to do things: the job, the things done till the end, in time, everything working well. Finnish people do not understand, they only write into the computer 'Tic tic tic', this is Amina, has no profession, gets no job. The computer cannot understand who I am.

Amina never attended school in Somalia, but she has learned Finnish; she has been doing work practices for years and has established experience working in the field of multiculturalism. However, without a degree, her value as a worker is invisible in the system. To sum up with Dawo's words: "Having a Finnish passport is different from having a job".

Family is an important space for Finnish Somali women – and a central conversation topic to connect with new people. For several participants, many everyday spaces are linked with the home and family: in addition to studying and working, they do the housework and go to buy food and clothes for their family. If they have young children, their routines often comprise taking them to and from their school and hobby venues. It should be noted that such spaces are not all near their home or in their neighbourhood. Most of my participants would move by bus, covering different parts of Turku; some of them got to know the city through their everyday tasks.

Studying, obtaining a professional degree and a job is a years-long process that many have to balance with family life. A balance is possible, as table 1 suggests, but it may not be easy to achieve and maintain for everybody. I have observed that the number of children may have an impact on women's employment, but there can be individual and family differences. More precisely, as table 1 illustrates, the relation between the time women spent in Finland and learning Finnish, their language skills and employment is not always linear.

Last but not least, mothers saw education as a key issue in their children's lives. Based on my data, the school could be seen as a central space for the whole family: Amina, Amaal and Khadija called for more dialogue and tighter cooperation between parents and teachers to discuss together the needs and challenges of teachers, students and parents. As Amaal put it: "If the parents are in cooperation with the school ... and with the teachers. If the children know that the parents and teachers are in

contact [with each other], for sure they do not do anything silly". One critical aspect was the need to cooperate with families to ensure that girls and boys are equally motivated to study; too often girls' school and free time is exchanged for housework. In sum, children's education – and education in general, as the next subsection will show – can be seen as a further citizenship space for my participants.

Citizenship as learning

Women who are still consolidating Finnish language skills are over-represented in my sample. Thus, studying Finnish recurred as an everyday activity and a practice toward achieving citizenship. From the interview with Samira: "When I go home ... I relax ... Then, I start my homework for citizenship – about 20 minutes –, Finnish language exercises" (observation notes). In addition, some participants mentioned learning about the system, the culture and the habits in Finland.

Asha shared an interesting view on learning about people's diversity and shared values. Drawing from her family's migration history, she saw travelling as essential to learning about different people and being able to say which the best place to live is. She herself travels quite much and spends time with all kinds of peoples. This could be seen as an ability to negotiate one's own space. Similarly, Khadija shared thoughts illustrating the relational nature of citizenship and how everybody negotiates with others in different ways. Commenting on racism, she noted: "Maybe immigrants have not lived for long here in Finland ... We know that ... it's hard to learn their culture and life". Therefore:

Khadija thinks that, both for their children and for the misunderstandings and hates between people, ... there should be a place where people can make coffee all together and cook, everyone the food of their own culture, get to know each other.. everybody, not just Finns and Somalis, but all kinds of people. (Observation notes)

Also Nasteho's words suggest the need for dialogue: "About feeling out of place, Nasteho says that, for her, this feeling goes away when she starts speaking with the person in front of her, with the human" (observation notes). Reconnecting to Asha's idea, such exchanges

could be seen as travelling and translation: citizenship as negotiation entails all parties travelling toward one another, translating emotions, perceptions and values and working together toward solutions.

Finnish citizenship as opportunity

For many of my participants, (Finnish) citizenship represented a key to Internet banking and travelling. These aspects are closely related to the transnational dimensions of Somali diaspora. The existing literature confirms that Finnish citizenship can assume highly emotional as well as practically grounded meanings.¹²

Unlike other people with refugee background, due to the situation in Somalia, many Finnish Somalis cannot prove their identity: so, many banks have decided not to provide their Somali customers with internet banking credentials even if they have a residence permit. Such credentials are important in Finland, as they allow dealing with many services online, in one's own time and space. In practice, this means that many Finnish Somalis may have to adjust their schedules to queue in every office they need.

Many women mentioned applying for Finnish citizenship to get the passport and be able to travel to their relatives and friends all over the world. This suggests a view of full citizenship as entailing rights and obligations in Finland and, at the same time, belonging and ties with people in other countries.

Conclusions

For the Finnish Somali women I interviewed, practices and experiences contribute more than formal status and entitlements to feeling like full members of Finnish society. This suggests that lived citizenship may be an interesting concept to investigate the lives of many other Finnish Somalis and of people with a refugee background. Formal citizenship (the passport) did not seem to impact my participants' actual membership in the political community and feelings thereof; other areas of everyday life such as work, family life, help and humanity have emerged as their spaces of citizenship, i.e. the material and social spaces where Finnish Somali women negotiate their citizenship. The data suggest that,

for them, full citizenship means balancing employment and family, mutual learning, handling one's own services independently and the opportunity to travel and remain connected with people and places beyond Finland. These themes emerged from our interviews and may be connected to the context and particular encounters between my participants and me. The literature has highlighted other important themes which can be linked with citizenship and considered as spaces thereof, e.g. being active in the Muslim community²³, the role of mosques in integration processes²⁵, the importance of remittances and supporting Somalia²³.

For my participants, it can be said that "rights to citizenship cannot be taken for granted, but have to be justified over and over again". Their belonging to Finland could be seen as often questioned in the dimensions of employment, migration, race and religion, even when they have Finnish citizenship. My focus on informal negotiations across different legal and social positions suggests that people practise citizenship and lay claims irrespective of their legal status. Therefore, citizenship can be fruitfully explored as a practice pertaining to individuals as they live and interact in society and in the city space.

About employment and "knowing the system", my results support the observed correlation between belonging, education and employment and confirm the proved challenges in these domains that many Somalis face. Although writing on belonging, Abdirashid's findings are meaningful in terms of citizenship, too: "[S]atisfactory employment is considered a determinant in the sense of identity and belonging to the society and the country, and it also enhances the overall wellbeing of the individual and the family".11 About family life and the multiplicity of spaces and roles lived by Finnish Somali women, my results resonate with Erel's point that "[m] igrant mothers link their social positioning with cultural and moral values in complex ways, referencing multiple resources for identification, as well as the multi-layered power relations in which they are embedded"; also, my findings match Erel's idea that working and negotiating

for children's education is a valuable citizenship practice of migrant mothers.²⁶

I hereby offer some suggestions for those working with people in positions similar to my participants. Some social and material spaces where racism and harassment happen can be seen as private and semi-private spaces (the home and neighbourhood), as well as spaces of mobility (the street, the bus and the bus stop). In some neighbourhoods, important actors help mediate and translate possible tensions and fears in various ways (such as Mustikka Opetuskoti in Halinen or Akseli Kiinteistöpalvelut in Varissuo). As to public spaces, more campaigns stimulating awareness and solidarity against racism could be developed in closer cooperation with those directly concerned.

More low threshold tools to report and counter workrelated discrimination could be created; if they already exist, the information about them could be spread more efficiently. Seminars and workshops could be organised with employers to discuss together the needs and constraints both parties face, build trust and work toward common solutions - for example about mutual prejudice, ignorance and mistrust, about discrimination and incommunicability in the work environment. Spaces that support the development of Finnish Somali women's multiple roles and help find flexible solutions to balancing their needs (such as an työväenopisto, an adult education institute where they can learn while being close to their children) work well. In some cases, how to support women as professionals once their children have grown up seems to be an open question.

Some people may have no profession, but may have consolidated valuable knowledge about immigration, integration, segregation and interaction through experience. Facilitating the recognition of their knowledge and employing their skills could prove beneficial for them, newcomers, municipal workers and civil society. In this sense, I would encourage short courses, workshops and trainings to map, recognise and certify such competences.

During fieldwork, many people expressed the need to find someone to speak Finnish with. I would add that many newcomers who are learning Finnish may benefit from speaking Finnish with someone in a more equal relation than e.g. their language teacher, the social or tax office workers, the authorities. Language cafés exist, but they can be crowded. Some people are extremely active and reach out on their own, but some others do not, due to their personality, mind-set or experience. Helping the latter to develop their Finnish language skills can imply investing considerable time

and energies into quite individual work, which is challenging. Further work should focus on finding solutions to these needs.

My study advances the understanding of citizenship from the perspective of Finnish Somali women. Thanks to its focus on everyday life, it circulates information on themes that are important to my participants and to the actors engaged in their spaces of citizenship – family, employers, civil society and municipal workers.

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